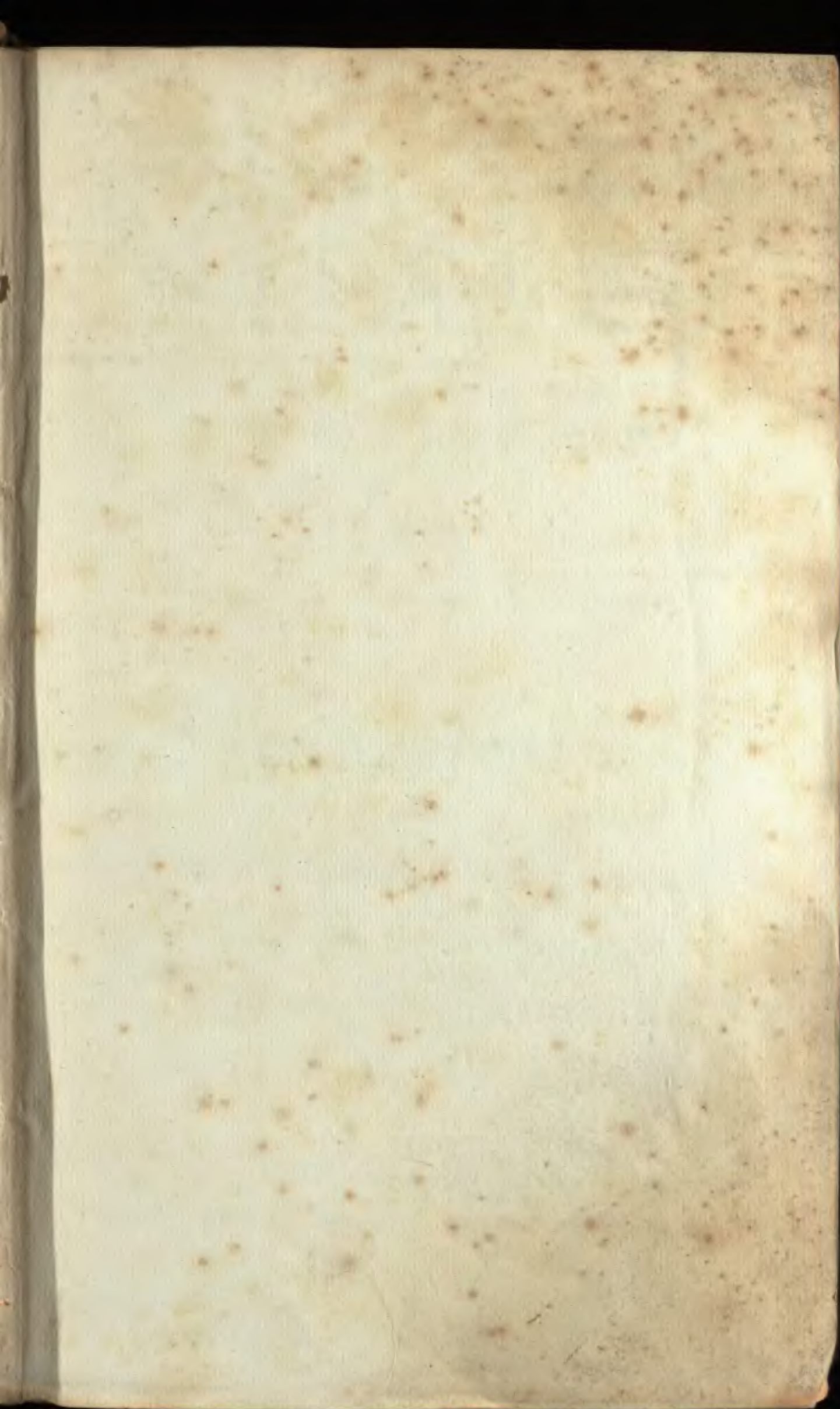


MINUTES
SLAVE
TRADE



40 in
1857



MINUTES

OF THE

EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE A

Committee of the House of Commons,

BEING

A SELECT COMMITTEE,

Appointed on the 23d Day of APRIL 1790,

To take the Examination of the several Witnesses
ordered by the House to attend the Committee of
the whole House, to whom it is referred to consider
further of the Circumstances of the SLAVE
TRADE.

1790.

A

MINUTES

OF THE
FELDERN C B

Committee of the House of Commons

ON THE
MATTERS

RELATIVE TO THE
MANAGEMENT OF THE
REVENUE OF THE
INDIAN TERRITORIES
IN THE YEAR 1848

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE.

Jovis, 1^o die Aprilis 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed for the Purpose of taking the Examination of such Witnesses as shall be produced on the Part of the several Petitioners, who have petitioned the House of Commons against the Abolition of the Slave Trade, in pursuance of the Instruction from the House of the 23d Day of February last, proceeded to take the Examination of Captain Hall, Mr. Falconbridge, and Mr. Wilson.—And, having been informed, that Captain Lace could give some material Information touching several Circumstances mentioned in the Evidence of Captain Hall, they thought proper to take his Examination also.

Lunæ, 1^o die Martii 1790.

CAPTAIN JOHN ASHLEY HALL.

What is your present situation?

I command a ship in the West India trade, belonging to the port of London.

Have you been in the African Slave Trade; in what years, and in what capacities?

I have, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, and 1776. I have made two voyages to the Coast of Africa on board the ship

Neptune, John Smith, master, belonging to London, as third mate, second mate, and chief mate.

To what parts of the Coast?

We touched at Cape Mount, on the Windward Coast, and sailed along shore, sometimes anchoring, trading for rice, till we reached Cape Palmas. From thence we sailed, the first voyage, to the river Del Rey, in the Bight of Biafra, where we slaved. The second voyage, we sailed from Cape Palmas to the river Del Rey; but finding trade very dull, we went from thence to the river Old Calabar, where we slaved.

By whom and in what manner were the Slaves you purchased brought to the ships?

They were brought on board by the Black traders, with their arms pinioned behind them, and sometimes I have seen four or five of them with collars about their necks, and chained together.

Did these traders go for them on your arrival; did they go armed, or in what manner?

They always went after the arrival of the ship, with the goods they got from the ship; they went in war-canoes. I have seen from three to ten canoes in a fleet, each canoe having on board from forty to sixty paddlers, and from twenty to thirty traders, and other people with a number of muskets, I should suppose one to each man, with a three or four pounder lashed down on the bow of the canoes.

How long were they generally absent?

From ten days to about three weeks.

Did you hear from these traders how they got their Slaves?

I have frequently enquired the mode of purchasing the Slaves inland, and been informed by the traders, that they were prisoners of war, and sold by the people who captured them.

Did you ever see Slaves brought on board with wounds upon them, and in what proportion?

I never saw one brought on board with a fresh wound; I have sometimes seen them, but not often, with old scars.

Did you ever hear Slaves in the West Indies describe the methods by which they became Slaves; and what was their account?

I have frequently asked them how they became Slaves; and they have constantly said, they were either surprized in their towns, or at work in the fields, or taken in fixed battle.

Were

Were children from eight to twelve or thirteen years of age brought to be sold, and were these brought with or without their parents or other near relations, for whose crimes they might be supposed to have been condemned, and in whose punishment to be involved?

I have frequently seen Slaves brought on board from eight to thirteen years of age; they always came without any relations; I never knew but one instance to the contrary, which was a woman with a child, about six weeks old, sucking at the breast.

Is it usual in the rivers Calabar and Del Rey to trade by means of pawns?

That is the way the trade is carried on in those two rivers.

Of whom are these pawns supposed to consist?

Very often they are the sons and daughters of the traders, who bring them on board as their pawns.

Did you ever observe in the Africans any indifference as to the fate of the pawns, who had been put into your hands as securities for your goods?

They were always particularly anxious about the fate of the pawns, and seemed very much distressed whenever they took up an idea that the ship would sail away with the pawns.

Did you ever observe in any of the king's houses in Africa a considerable number of guns which were said to be kept for shew?

I never saw more guns in the houses of the kings and principal traders than appeared to be for use, and those were never trade guns, but of a better sort; on the sea coast they were afraid to fire a trade gun.

Can you give any account of a remarkable transaction said to have happened at Old Calabar in the year 1767?

In the river Old Calabar there are two towns, the one called Old Town and the other New Town; the New Town was a settlement from the Old Town: in process of time the New Town became rivals in trade to the Old Town; in consequence of this rivalry a jealousy was spread in both towns; so much were they afraid of each other, that for a considerable time no canoe could leave their towns to go up the river for Slaves—this happened in the year 1767. I beg leave to correct an error in point of time: when I was examined before the Honourable Privy Council, I said this transaction happened in 1768.—In 1767 there were

were seven ships laying off the point which separates the two towns; the captains of six of the ships invited the people of both towns on board the different ships on a certain day, as if to bring about a reconciliation between the two towns; at the same time they entered into an agreement with the people of the New Town to cut off all the Old Town people who should be on board the next morning. In consequence of this invitation, the Old Town people, who were fully persuaded of the sincerity of the proposition of the captains to bring about a reconciliation, went on board without suspicion in great numbers; the next morning, at eight o'clock, one of the ships fired a gun as a signal to the other ships to commence hostilities; the firing immediately became general on board the other ships, some of the traders were secured on board the different ships; some were killed in resisting, and some got overboard, when they were fired upon by the people on board the ships; as soon as the firing commenced the people of New Town, who were lying in ambush behind the point, came forward, and picked up the people of Old Town that were swimming, and had escaped the firing of the ships; after the firing was over, the captains of five of the ships delivered their prisoners, who were persons of consequence, to the New Town canoes, two of whom had their heads struck off in the canoes along side the ships; the inferior prisoners were kept on board the ships, and carried to the West Indies. One of the captains, who had secured three of the king's brothers, delivered one of them up to the principal man of New Town, who was one of the two men who had his head cut off along side the ship; the other two of the king's brothers he kept on board, and promised, when the ship was flaved, to deliver them up to the principal man of New Town. His ship was soon flaved, in consequence of his promise, and the number of prisoners that were made on that day. When his ship was flaved, he refused to deliver the said king's two brothers, and carried them off the Coast to the West Indies, where they were sold; from thence they made their escape in a vessel bound to Virginia, where, after staying above three years, they made their escape in another ship bound to Bristol. When they got to Bristol, the captain who brought them from Virginia, though privy to their leaving Virginia in his ship, fearing he had done wrong, meditated carrying them back to Virginia, or sending them there in some other ship. Mr. Jones, a merchant of Bristol, concerned in the African Trade, who had ships trading to Old Calabar, got them taken out of the ship, where they were in irons, by a Habeas Corpus; and after being fully examined to the manner in which they were brought from the

the Coast of Africa, they were liberated, and put on board one of Mr. Jones's ships, then ready to sail for Old Calabar. I was at Old Calabar when these two men (brothers to the king) arrived from Bristol in the ship *Cato*, John Langdon, master. They said they were treated very ill in the West Indies, but much better in Virginia. So perfectly satisfied were the people of Old Town, in the year 1767, of the sincerity of the captains who had invited them on board their ships, and of the sincerity of the New Town people towards a reconciliation, that the night before the massacre the principal man of Old Town gave to the principal man of New Town one of his favourite women as a wife. It was said, that from three to four hundred persons were killed on that day on board the different ships, and in the water, or carried off the coast. The king made his escape from on board the ship he was in, but not till he had killed two of the crew who attempted to seize him. After he jumped overboard he got into a little canoe, called a one-man canoe, and paddled from the ship to the shore. One of the ships fired a six-pounder at the canoe, which struck her, and broke her to pieces. He then swam on shore to the woods near the ship, and effected his retreat to his own town, though closely pursued. It was said the king received eleven wounds that morning from musket shot.

Upon what different testimonies do you relate this ?

First from Thomas Rutter, who was boatswain of the ship *Neptune* the first voyage I was in that ship. The same Thomas Rutter was boatswain in the year 1767 on board the ship *Canterbury*, Captain Sparkes, belonging to London, and concerned in the massacre of the Old Town people. Thomas Rutter told me the story exactly as I have related it, as far as relates to that day: he never varied in his account.—The second voyage I heard the same account repeatedly from the king's two brothers, who came to Calabar in the *Cato*, Captain Langdon, and who were the two men taken off on that occasion. Their story agreed exactly with Rutter's.

Have you any grounds for believing that the natives of the Windward Coast have sometimes been carried off by the Guinea ships by fraud and violence ?

When sailing along the Windward Coast, I have often seen canoes hovering about the ship for a considerable time; and after much entreaty they have come on board, but with so much caution and suspicion that they have kept constantly near the ship's

side, in order to jump overboard the instant they saw any inclination to stop them. I have asked them the reasons of their suspicions and fears; and they have replied, that they were afraid of being taken off the Coast, for that some of their countrymen had been carried off in that manner.

When the Slaves are brought on board to be sold, do they usually appear dejected?

Always; it soon wears off with the young Slaves, and some of the women; but the men are dejected, and appear unhappy in the extreme, the whole of the voyage.

To what did you ascribe this dejection?

To their being taken forcibly from their nearest and dearest connections, and their native country.

Are the Slaves brought on board in irons, and are they kept in irons when on board?

They are always brought on board with their arms pinioned behind them with small cords twisted, from the bark of trees and grass; sometimes three, four, and five men have been brought on board with collars about their necks, and chained together. They are immediately put in irons on their coming on board, two men together, and kept in irons, on hands and feet, till their arrival in the West Indies, unless they are taken ill, in which case they are taken out of irons.

Do you mean to speak both of male and female slaves?

I never saw a female Slave put in irons, in either of my voyages.

Are there ever disagreements between the Slaves that are linked together, and on what occasions?

They frequently disagree in the night about their sleeping places; and frequently the men linked together disagree and fight, when one wants perhaps to obey the calls of nature, and the other has been unwilling to go with him.

What is the usual food of the Slaves on board?

Horse-beans, rice, and yams, with a little palm oil and pepper for sauce.

Have you known them refuse to eat, and what methods have been taken on those occasions?

They frequently refuse to eat, particularly beans ; and when they have so refused, they are corrected with a cat o'nine tails.

May not their refusal to eat have been sometimes attributed to fullness, when it has in fact been owing to indisposition ?

I have met with such instances, particularly one man who was corrected for not eating (but not immoderately) supposing he had been stubborn, which man was found dead next morning.

Do the Slaves ever dance when on board, and in what does this dancing consist ?

They are made after each meal to jump up and down upon the beating of a drum ; this is what I have heard called dancing, but not what I consider as dancing, as it is not to music of their own.

Are they ever compelled to it, and by what means ?

Whenever they refuse to dance, or jump up and down, they are compelled to do it by the use of the cat, which is a very common instrument on board every African ship I have been on board.

Have you ever observed the Slaves to suffer much in consequence of heat, or for want of air ?

I have frequently heard them crying out when below for the want of air, and between decks of an African ship with their Slaves on board, it is so violently hot, that I have frequently, after being below but a few minutes, had my shirt so wet by perspiration, that I could have wrung it as if it had been steeped in water.

What was the tonnage of your vessel, and how many Slaves did you purchase in each voyage ?

Her tonnage by register was about 180 tons ; we purchased the first voyage about 270 Slaves ; the second voyage I can speak with more accuracy to, we then purchased 280 Slaves.

How many did you lose in the course of the two voyages respectively ?

In the first voyage we lost, I think twenty ; in the second voyage we lost exactly ninety ; the reason I could not speak with the same certainty to the number purchased and lost in my first voyage, proceeds from my having been ill, and obliged to give up my journal ; of the second voyage I have a very correct journal.

What

What is your opinion of the loss of Slaves on board other vessels?

From the ships I have seen come into the West Indies, I have found the loss to be very considerable on board many of them; I have known instances of ships burying half their cargo of Slaves, some a quarter, and some a third; and it is a very uncommon instance to find ships come into the West Indies without the loss of some of their Slaves.

How many seamen did you lose in those two voyages respectively?

We lost ten the first voyage out of twenty-three; and on the second voyage, nine of thirty.

Have you any journal of these losses now in your possession?
I have.

Was it made at the time?

Both journals were kept daily, so that the transactions were immediately mentioned after they happened.

Can you bring those journals before the Committee, if required.

I can.

Was any other vessel employed in the Slave Trade at the same time as yours, belonging to the same concern?

There was a Ship, called the Venus, that sailed with us both voyages from England, belonging to the same owners; we kept company to the river Del Rey the first voyage, where we flaved; that ship buried in that voyage eighteen men out of thirty. The second voyage we kept company to the river Calabar, where we both flaved; and in that voyage her mortality of seamen exceeded ours in proportion to her complement, but I cannot speak to the exact loss.

Have you met with instances of other Guinea-men on the Coast, which have experienced a great mortality in their crew?

In the second voyage we spoke to the ship York, captain Adams, on the Windward Coast; she had been ten months from Liverpool, and had lost fifty-one of her people, among whom were six mates, out of a complement of seventy-five men, which she left Liverpool with.

Do

Do you mean that she had set out with six mates, or that she had lost six persons who were either originally her mates, or were successively appointed to that office on the death of the former?

The ships trading upon the Windward Coast, by procuring their cargoes of Slaves chiefly by their boats, generally carry out more mates than the other African ships; and I should suppose the six mates said to have been lost, were mates originally with the ship upon leaving Liverpool.

Do you relate this instance entirely from memory, or from any journal you may have kept?

I relate this instance from a remark made in my journal on the day we spoke the York on the Windward Coast of Africa.

Do you know of any Guinea-men which, on their arrival in the West Indies, have been found to have suffered considerably in their crews?

I do; in the year 1788, in the month of May, two ships arrived from Africa, called the Hornet and Benson; they anchored close to my ship; I went on board the Hornet, and was informed they had lost eleven men out of thirty-five (their original crew); when the Benson came to anchor I was on board my own ship, and could only see two White men upon her yards handing the sails, the rest were Black boys, Slaves.

In what state is a Guinea-man's crew commonly landed in the West Indies?

The crews of the African ships, when they arrive in the West Indies, are generally (I do not know a single instance to the contrary) in a sickly debilitated state, and the seamen who are discharged, or desert from those ships in the West Indies, are the most miserable objects I ever met with in any country in my life; I have frequently seen them with their toes rotted off, their legs swelled to the size of their thighs, and in an ulcerated state all over; such is their situation, that however inclined to relieve them, by taking them on board our ships, we are deterred from it by not having surgeons on board to give them that assistance that they stand so much in need of: I have seen them on the different Wharfs in the Islands of Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica (particularly at the two last Islands); I have also seen them laying under the cranes and the balconies of the houses near the water side in Barbadoes and Jamaica expiring, and some

quite dead. I met with an instance last July of a dead seaman laying on one of the wharfs in Bridge Town Barbadoes, who had been landed out of an African ship.

Have you ever shipped a single African seaman, or how many, in the West Indies in any one of the voyages you have made there?

I never shipped an African seaman in any voyage I have made to the West Indies.

How long have you commanded a West Indiaman, and how many voyages have you made since you have been in that capacity?

I have commanded a West Indiaman ten years, and have made ten voyages.

Can you state the number of seamen you have lost in each of those voyages respectively, and the causes of the mortality?

I never lost but one seaman since I have commanded a West India ship, and that was owing to the man's own intemperance.

Do you then consider the Slave Trade as being more destructive than any other to the seamen employed in it?

I believe the African Slave Trade to be particularly destructive to the seamen employed in it, and beyond every degree of comparison with any trade I am acquainted with.

In your opinion are seamen worse treated in the Slave Trade than in any other?

I believe they are in general treated with great barbarity in the African Slave ships; and I do not know of their being treated ill in any other service.

What are the productions which you remember to have seen on the continent of Africa?

On the Windward Coast I have seen rice, ivory, and Malaguetta pepper, which are articles of commerce; I have also seen plantanes, bananas, yams, and many of the tropical fruits. On the Leeward Coast I have seen palm oil, ivory, and bar-wood, and also yams, plantanes, bananas, and most of the tropical fruits; I have seen very fine sugar canes brought on board the ships.

Have you ever seen tobacco?

I have

I have seen the traders and canoe-men smoking tobacco of their own growth.

What is the quality of the African rice?

It was considered, in the ship I sailed in, much heartier food than the Carolina rice.

Do you remember any circumstance in confirmation of that opinion?

We used to put two cruets of water to one cruet of rice of the Carolina production, and three cruets of water to one cruet of rice of the African production. I speak this as being the practice of the ship wherein I was.

Do you know concerning the rice plantations in America, and is there any difference of the soil in which the rice of the two continents is produced?

I have been at South Carolina, but never saw rice growing; yet I have been constantly informed, upon enquiry, that it grew in swamps and marshy ground. I have seen rice grow in Africa, and it has been in a dry soil.

Is the rice on the continent of Africa brought on board the vessels in any quantity at a time, and is it frequently lost in the surf, or not?

I have been purchasing it on the Windward Coast from the natives, who bring it on board in small canoes (frequently only one man in a canoe) in a kind of basket; and I have been frequently on shore purchasing it in our own boats, and I do not recollect of ever losing any from the surf.

Is the surf in any of the West India Islands, from whence hogheads of sugar or other bulky articles are shipped, as great as on the Gold and Windward Coasts of Africa, or as on other parts of that continent?

I have seen the surf at the Islands of Dominique and St. Christopher full as high as I ever saw it on the Windward Coast of Africa. I never was on the Gold Coast, therefore cannot speak as to the surf there; and on the Leeward Coast I was in the rivers where there was no surf.

Are there any rivers on the Windward Coast, that might be used in shipping articles of commerce?

There are rivers on the Windward Coast, but I never was up any of them, therefore cannot speak to that question.

Do

Do the Europeans who trade for Slaves in the Bight of Benin purchase any articles from the natives of the island of Furnandipo?

They purchase great quantities of yams and eddoes from the people of Furnandipo.

Is it considered as a regular market, and are the natives in consequence prepared to furnish the shipping with yams to the extent of their demands?

I have frequently been at Furnandipo in the ship's long-boat, from the rivers Del Rey and Calabar, for the purpose of purchasing yams, and I always found them very ready to trade. We always completed our purchase in a very short time.

Is the number of ships considerable which they thus supply?

The ships from the rivers Old Calabar, Del Rey, and the Cameroons, I believe all send to Furnandipo for yams and eddoes, as I have frequently spoke with boats from those rivers trading to that island; and I believe at some time the number of ships must have been considerable.

Have you ever been yourself upon the island.
I have.

Did you observe that agriculture was carried to greater perfection there, so far as related to the articles of yams and eddoes, than on the continent of Africa, where there is no market for the exportation of these articles?

I have been seven miles at least in the interior part of the island of Furnandipo, and the yam and eddoe plantations I have always found kept in the highest order, and much more so than those of Calabar.

Was the culture of them carried to as great perfection as in the West Indies?

The yams were much better and larger than any I ever met with in the West Indies, but I cannot say whether the production is greater for the land planted.

Do you know if there is any difference in the mode of culture?

I do not; only that at Furnandipo they put small sticks in the ground for the yam vines to run upon.

Is there any commerce in Slaves carried on by the natives of Furnandipo?

There is not. There are some instances in which they have been taken off by the ships and boats touching there.

What proportion do the Slaves bear to the free men, so far as you have been able to observe, in the parts of Africa where you have been?

As I never slaved upon the Windward Coast, I never had an opportunity of seeing any Slaves there. At Calabar and Del Rey the only people that I heard called Slaves were the canoe-boys, who bear a small proportion to the people of those places.

What have you observed concerning the treatment of the Slaves in these places?

I have always seen them treated with great kindness and familiarity; so much so, that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the master from the Slave.

In the different villages which you have seen in Africa, did you observe children in any number, or any other marks of populousness?

The towns and villages which I have seen in Africa appeared to be fully peopled; and I have seen as many children, in proportion to the grown people, as I have met with in this country.

What is your opinion, in general, of the disposition of the Natives on the continent of Africa?

I believe them to be as tractable and ingenious as the people of Europe, under the same disadvantages; and I believe them capable of all the virtues in as eminent a degree as Europeans.

Do you conceive them to be insurmountably indolent, if they had proper inducements to industry?

I never saw them particularly indolent when there was an opportunity of employing themselves to advantage.

What was your reason for quitting the Slave Trade?

I quitted it from conviction that it was perfectly illegal, and founded in blood.

Could you have had a ship in that Trade if you had chosen it; and would such an appointment have been a profitable one?

I could frequently have obtained the command of a ship in that service,

service, and it was at that time a very lucrative service for the masters employed therein.

Have you any information to give respecting the treatment of Slaves in the West Indies?

Called upon as I have been, I have delivered my sentiments of the Slave Trade as far as it relates to the Coast of Africa and the Middle Passage; but I am not competent, nor do I wish to speak to the West Indies.

Of what age was you when you went out as second mate in 1772?
In my twenty-second year.

Was you often on shore at that time?

I was frequently on shore on the Windward Coast, and frequently on shore in the river Calabar, not often at Del Rey.

What was your situation on your second voyage in 1774?

I was second mate and chief mate in the course of that voyage; we slaved that voyage at Old Calabar, but called first at Del Rey.

Was you often on shore at Calabar?

Very frequently, sometimes three or four different times in one day.

Had you any particular duty to call you on shore?

Whenever I went on shore it was on the ship's duty.

What did that duty consist of?

To bring on board sometimes Slaves, and sometimes palm oil, and other articles.

Did you attend the Slaves to the ship?

Yes.

Was that your last voyage?

Yes.

Was you not engaged to have gone a third voyage with Captain Smith, as chief mate?

I was not.

Did you quit the Trade to go to the West Indies to receive a legacy, or from conscientious principles?

I quitted the Trade from conscientious principles, and not to receive a legacy in the West Indies.

Did you go to the West Indies?

I did.

And did you receive a legacy?

I did not.

• Why did you go to the West Indies?

To see my friends.

Who offered you the command of a ship afterwards in the African Trade?

I was offered the command of a ship in the African Trade, in the Island of Antigua, by Mr. Taylor, in 1782.

Had you any offer of a ship from 1774 to 1782?

Not for the African Trade.

Have you had any other offer of a ship in the African Trade than the one you have mentioned?

I have.

From whom and when?

From Mr. Cox, in the year 1781 and 1782.

Who is Mr. Cox?

A merchant in London.

Is he an African merchant?

No; he would have purchased a ship for that Trade, and given me the command of her, but I declined it.

What employment was you in at that time?

• I commanded a ship in the West India trade.

Had you any other offers in the African trade?

I had not, because I had declared I would never go there again.

In the transaction which you have mentioned at Calabar, and which you heard from Rutter and the king's two brothers, did you take that account down in writing when you first heard it?

No, I did not.

Do you speak then only from memory?

• I saw at Calabar the depositions that were taken at Bristol of these

these two men, and of William Floyd, who was mate of one of the ships when the transaction happened.

Did you take a copy of those depositions?
I did not.

Do you speak then only from memory?
From nothing else.

When was this account first told to you?
In 1772, in my passage to Africa.

And did the fact alluded to happen in 1767?
Yes.

In whose possessions were the depositions you saw at Calabar?
In the possession of the two men (brothers to the king) who had been carried off on that occasion.

What were the names of the ships, and the names of the captains, that were at Calabar at that time?

I cannot remember the names of all of them, but of some I can; namely, the ship Duke of York, Captain Beaven, of Liverpool; the ship Edgar, Captain Lace, of Liverpool; the Indian Queen, Captain Lewis, of Bristol; the ship Nancy, Captain Maxwell, of Bristol; the ship Canterbury, Captain Sparkes, of London.

Did you ever hear of Captain Lace's taking under his care any of the king's sons?
No.

What number of people from the Old Town came on board the ships?
I was informed more than 400.

Did they all stay the night on board the ships?
I apprehend most of them did.

Were the king and his brothers on board the ship?
They were.

How near were the ships to the Old Town?
I should suppose about three miles.

And

And how near to the New Town?

I never saw the New Town, therefore cannot say; but I have been informed that the towns are about eight miles distant from each other.

Were the ships much nearer the Old Town than the New Town?

I should suppose they were.

When the people from the New Town were on shore to intercept the Old Town people swimming from the ships, were there no people from the Old Town on shore to be witnesses of the transaction?

The New Town people were in their canoes round the point of land, which was a very thick wood, near the ships; and the Old Town people were all of them along-side the ships in their canoes, and on board the ships.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Martis, 2^o die Martii 1790.

Captain Hall called in, and further examined.

Were the English as well received at Old Calabar, after the transaction which happened there, as they were before? Captain HALL.

I was not there before the transaction happened, nor did I go to that river till seven years afterwards.

Did not you inform the Privy Council the English were as well received after that transaction?

They were very well received when I was there.

Question repeated.

I did; I alluded to my going there.

If you did not know that they were as well received after as before, why did you give that account to the Privy Council?

Ships had traded there between that transaction and my going there, and I never heard there had been any dispute.

Is Rutter the boatswain still alive?

I have not seen him since the ship returned, in the year 1774.

Do you know whether he is alive?

I have never heard of him, or about him, since we parted.

You have said, that the Slaves came pinioned to the ship, and were continued in irons during the voyage; is that the practice in African ships?

I have seen them brought on board Guinea-men; they do not put the first eight or ten in irons, but after that every man is put in irons when he came on board; and on board my ship they were kept in irons, unless in case of sickness, till we reached the West Indies.

Question repeated.

It was the practice in my ship.

Do you or do you not know that it is the practice in other African ships?

I believe it is the general practice.

Did the boats you saw going from Calabar, in which many men were armed, go for the purpose of trading, or to make war?

I believe for the purpose of trading, as I never heard to the contrary.

You said that the Negroes in the West Indies told you, that they were either taken from their houses in Africa, or in the fields; do you not know that the lands in Africa are commonly cultivated by women?

I do not.

Do you imagine that the Slaves which were carried to the West Indies, having been convicted of crimes, would confess their guilt?

I do not believe they would.

You

You mentioned, that the African natives were very much attached to their pawns; did you ever know of a ship sailing from the Coast of Africa without giving notice of its intention of departure?

I did not.

Is there not always time given for redeeming the pawns?

I can only speak to my own ship, and in her that was the case.

You mentioned, that on the Windward Coast some men came on board your ship from a boat, and that they shewed great caution; is that your only ground for thinking they are often improperly taken away?

And the question being objected to,

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

And the following answer being read to him,

“ When sailing along the Windward Coast, I have often
 “ seen canoes hovering about the ship for a considerable
 “ time; and after much entreaty they have come on
 “ board, but with so much caution and suspicion,
 “ and that they have kept constantly near the ship’s
 “ side, in order to jump overboard the instant they saw
 “ any inclination to stop them. I have asked them the
 “ reasons of their suspicions and fears; and they have
 “ replied, that they were afraid of being taken off the
 “ Coast, for that some of their countrymen had been
 “ carried off in that manner;”

He was asked,

Did you ever know or hear of any persons being carried off from the canoes by the ships to the West Indies?

I heard one instance.

State that instance?

Captain Jeremiah Smith informed me, that the voyage before I was with his brother, which was in 1772, that the vessel had taken off some of the people from the Windward Coast.

What vessel was it, and of what nation?

It was an English vessel; I never heard the ship’s name, but the

the captain's name was Fox; Captain Smith also informed me that Captain Fox had called himself Smith, and that in consequence of it he had a dispute near Cape Palmas.

Was it an African ship?

Yes.

Do you know of any instance, from your own knowledge, of persons being taken away?

I do not.

You mentioned the Slaves being made to dance on board the ships; is that a common practice on board African ships?

I believe it is.

You have stated, that the crews of the African ships, when they arrive in the West Indies, are generally in a sickly debilitated state, and the seamen who are discharged or desert from those ships in the West Indies are the most miserable objects you ever met with in any country; and that you have frequently seen them with their toes rotted off, their legs swelled to the size of their thighs, and in an ulcerated state all over;—can you inform the Committee what had occasioned those calamities?

I believe they proceed generally from the scurvy.

Is that complaint confined to African ships?

I believe it is oftener in the African ships than in any other that I know of.

Are sailors in ships in other trades liable to it?

I never saw a man in any ship that I have sailed in labouring under the scurvy in a great degree.

Did you ever see any body in the Island of Barbadoes that was afflicted with that calamity, that had not been in an African ship?

I do not recollect ever seeing a sailor afflicted with it belonging to any other ships in the merchants service.

Question repeated.

I have seen people labouring under the black scurvy or leprosy.

Does the black scurvy produce that effect on the toes and legs?

I believe it does, but I do not know myself the difference between the scurvy and the leprosy.

Have

Have you known frequent instances of sailors running away, or being discharged, that had their toes rotted off and their legs swelled?

I have seen many with their legs swelled, and with ulcers on their legs; but not many (though some) with their toes off.

On the Windward Coast, was you able to obtain as much rice as you chose?

We carried out both voyages some Carolina rice, in case we should not be able to get any on the Windward Coast; but we were two ships in company both voyages, and we procured as much rice, in addition to what we had on board, as we wanted.

Could you have got rice enough to have loaded a vessel of 200 tons?

I do not know.

What is the most distant plantation for rice from the sea shore?

I never was more than from three to four miles on the Windward Coast.

Did you see any plantations of rice there?

I have seen fields of rice.

What is the most distant plantation of rice from the sea shore that you have seen?

From three to four miles.

In what manner could that rice be carried to the ships?

In baskets, on persons heads.

Is that the common or only conveyance?

I have never seen them bring the rice out of the country, but I have seen them bring it down in that manner from the towns near the shore to the water-side.

How is the rice carried from the plantations to the towns?

I do not know.

How is it carried from the towns to the water-side?

In baskets, on persons heads.

Are there any carts or beasts of burthen there?

I never saw any.

Are there any roads?

There are tracks and path-ways.

In what manner do you think the rice could be conveyed from the plantations to the water-side?

If the plantations were at no great distance, I think it might be carried on persons heads.

And if they were at a great distance, how could the rice be carried?

I cannot answer that question.

Did you see much ivory on the Windward Coast?

Very little.

From whence did that ivory come?

I cannot say particularly from what towns it came, but it was brought on board in canoes.

Did it come from a distant country?

I do not know.

Do you imagine that a greater quantity of ivory could be obtained?

I do not know.

You said, that on the Leeward Coast you saw some ivory, was that ivory in any quantity?

I believe we might have purchased about three tons in each voyage.

Do you know from whence that ivory came, and how it was brought down?

I do not.

Has this country any command or controul over the states of Africa?

Not that I know of.

Has this country any power of enforcing regulations of commerce over the states of Africa?

I do not know.

Have you heard of a law for regulating the Middle Passage?

I have.

Do

Do you think that that law may correct many of the evils which you have stated in the Middle Passage?

I never read the act.

You have stated, that it is between thirteen or fourteen years since you left the African Trade; is what you have stated relating to that Trade confined to that period?

It is not.

What period does it relate to?

Till very lately.

Do you speak of your own knowledge, having left the Trade?

I have frequently, since I left the Trade, seen the people from the African ships in the situation I have already stated.

You stated that the provisions given the Slaves on board the African ships were horse-beans, rice, and yams, mixed with palm-oil and pepper; are those the only provisions they are allowed?

Those were the general provisions, but I have known a small quantity of bread given now and then to the sick; and we have got at the Island of Annabona a few cocoa-nuts, and some Cassada flour, of which we occasionally gave the Slaves a little.

Do they give them nothing else?

The sick Slaves sometimes had a dram in the morning.

Had not the ships commonly live stock on board?

Not for the Slaves; I confine myself in my answers to my own ship.

Can you speak to the practice of other ships?

I cannot.

Do you suppose that the armed canoes which you mentioned to have seen in Del Rey river, were equipped in that manner to commit hostilities, or for the protection merely of those who were in them, and their goods?

For the protection of those that were on board them, and their goods.

Do you know whether the chiefs of the Negroes possess Slaves as a property which they have a right to dispose of?

I never knew of their disposing of any in my ship.

Do

Do you know of their disposing of them in any other ship?
I do not.

Do you know whether the Africans sell those who are convicted of theft, adultery, and other crimes?
I never purchased one.

Question repeated.

I never saw them sell any of them to any other ship.

Do you know whether they do or do not sell them?
I do not.

Did you ever purchase a Slave of any description?
No, I have not.

Do you know any thing at all about the Slave Trade, if you never purchased a Slave?

At Calabar and Del Rey the Slaves were always purchased by the captains; on the Windward Coast they are in a great measure purchased in boats, which is done by the mates.

Did you ever purchase a Slave when you was a mate?
No, we did not then purchase any Slaves on the Windward Coast.

What was your duty as mate?
When second mate, my duty was in the hold when upon the Coast.

Do you know in what situation of life the Slaves had been in before they were brought to the ship, and while they were offered for sale?
I do not.

Then how can you assert that the Trade is founded in blood, and is illegal?

It is my opinion that many Slaves are killed, and of course I must be of opinion that it is a bloody trade.

Upon what information do you found that opinion?

From having heard from some of the traders, that the Slaves were prisoners of war, and from some of them in the West Indies having told me they were kidnapt.

Did

Did not you assert before the Privy Council, that you did not believe any wars were entered into upon the sea coast for the purpose of making Slaves?

I did.

Was your information respecting the kidnapping of Slaves obtained from the information of Slaves in the West Indies?

It was.

You have stated that there were 400 of the Old Town people on board English ships at Calabar, or in their canoes alongside of them, when the transaction which you related is supposed to have happened, and that the king killed two White men who attempted to seize him;—were all his followers unarmed, and were the 400 men that were with him unequal to cope with the crews of the seven ships?

I do not know in what state of defence the people in the canoes were at that time, but when they came on board, in the common course of trade and visits, they had very few muskets in their canoes, and they are never suffered to bring their arms into the ships, therefore those that were on board were incapable of resisting.

How many of these Old Town people do you suppose were on board each of the ships?

I should suppose the greater part of them were canoe-boys (as they are called) and kept in the canoes.

Do you know Ephraim Robin John, commonly called Duke Ephraim, a man of consequence of Old Town?

I know Ephraim Robin John, but when I was at Calabar he was called King George.

Do you know Captain Lace of Liverpool, and did he protect Duke Ephraim's son from the vengeance of the New Town people; and though offered a very high price for him, did he bring the young man to England, keep him there several years, till the war was over, and then send him to his father?

I do not know Captain Lace, nor have I heard the story as related in the question.

From what information are you now able to correct the date of the transaction at Calabar?

I have, since I have been examined by the Honourable Privy Council, seen a second copy of the depositions of William Floyd,

mate of the Indian Queen, Captain Lewis, and of the King's two brothers, taken at Bristol.

What is the general character of the people at Old Calabar?

They behaved very well to the ship I belonged to, in the voyage we flaved to that river.

Question repeated.

I never heard any thing against them by any body while I was in the Trade. I heard Captain Jeremiah Smith, of the ship Venus, having had a dispute with them, I think in the years 1777 or 1778, but what was the cause, and who the aggressor, I know not; that is the only instance of their having had disputes with any body that I know of.

Did you ever hear of the Calabar people seizing, imprisoning, and poisoning Captains Fidler and Doyle, of Liverpool, in the year 1775?

I have heard that those two captains were poisoned; but as far as my memory serves, it was by the New Town people.

How far did your ship lay from the New Town?
My ship lay abreast of the Old Town.

What was the character of the inhabitants of the Old Town?

They always behaved very well to my ship, the voyage it flaved in that river.

Did you ever hear that they were a ferocious and vindictive people?

I never did.

Do you believe the story of Fidler and Doyle to be true?

I do.

Can you account for it?

I cannot.

Do you believe the people of New Town are more ferocious than those of the Old Town?

I never had any connections with them.

Have you, from any information, or from any thing you have

have ever heard, reason to believe they are or are not more ferocious, more vindictive, or worse disposed than those of the Old Town?

I have heard the Old Town people charge them with being rogues.

Question repeated.

I have not.

Can you account for their cruelty to the two Liverpool captains, Fidler and Doyle?

I cannot.

Do you know that the natives upon the Windward Coast have frequently stopt and detained the officers from ships on shore, and extorted goods for their release?

I have heard of such instances, but never saw one.

Do you know that they attempted to seize and actually boarded his Majesty's ship Chesterfield, Captain Barton, off Cape Palmas?

I have heard of that being once done.

Do you know that they frequently attacked trading shallops and boats, murdered the crew, and plundered the goods on board them?

No, I do not.

Have you ever heard it?

I have heard of such instances.

Do you not think that such actions may be the probable cause of the caution you have stated, when they come on board our ships?

It may in some instances.

Have you not heard that the natives on the Windward Coast have frequently passed base metal for gold in their transactions with the British ships?

I have not.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Joris,

Jovis, 4^o die Martii 1790.

Captain Hall called in, and further examined.

Captain HALL. Have you brought the journal alluded to in your former evidence?

I have brought the journal of my second voyage.

Could you not procure the journal of your first voyage?
I have lost it.

When did you first discover the loss of that journal?
Upon looking among my old journals the day before yesterday.

Can you recollect when you last saw that journal which is lost?
I cannot.

Can you recollect whether you have ever seen it since your last voyage was completed, and when?
I have; about seven years ago.

Has the evidence which you have given respecting your first voyage been given from memory, or from any written memorandum?
From memory.

As a mate on board the Neptune, in the capacity of first, second, and third mate, what was your duty while the ship remained in Africa, and on the Middle Passage?

My duty upon the Coast, as second mate, was in the hold. I was shipped as third mate on the first voyage in London river, and made a second mate the same voyage, before the ship left the river. I continued second mate till the ship arrived at the island of Dominique. The captain stayed at Dominique about some business; the chief mate commenced captain, and I came home chief mate. The second voyage I shipped as second mate. The chief mate was discharged at Jamaica, and I came home chief mate. I beg leave here to explain my answer to the preceding

preceding question. My duty, as second mate, was in the hold, when the provisions and water were to be served, or goods wanted for trade; upon every other occasion I deemed my duty upon deck and in the boats as necessary. In the Middle Passage, my duty was to serve out the provisions, and to attend upon the quarter-deck and round-house when the Slaves were messing.

Explain what you mean by necessary duty? .

Over-hauling the rigging, going on shore according to the directions of the captain on various occasions, and any other of the ship's duty that was requisite.

What was your particular duty in the ship, in the boats when you were sent on shore; and was you at all concerned in the purchase of Slaves as mate of the ship?

My duty on board the ship was to do every thing that was necessary, and every other duty required in a ship; when I was sent ashore in the boats, it was to bring on board fire-wood, and any thing else that was wanted by the ship from the town; I have been sent to the Island of Furnandipo as officer of the boat, to purchase yams and eddoes; I never was employed to purchase Slaves; it is not the duty of the mates so to do at Del Rey and Calabar, the captains managing that business themselves.

Did all the time that you spent on shore in Africa amount to one week?

Yes, to a great deal more; I never slept on shore in Africa.

Describe the different times you went on shore, the business you went upon, and the places you were at, and how far you went inland into the country at any one time?

With respect to the different times I have been on shore, it is impossible for me to say; on the Windward Coast I frequently went on shore on both voyages to purchase rice and to procure wood; I have been, on the Windward Coast, about three miles inland, as near as I can guess.

Was you ever in any higher rank than that of second mate, either upon the Coast or on the Middle Passage?

I have said before I was not.

Did you ever go on shore for the purpose of gaining information respecting the Slave Trade, and manners and customs of the natives?

I was not sent from the ship for that purpose. With respect to the natives, the knowledge I obtained was from the necessary intercourse I had with them on the ship's duty.

Can you recollect how long you were absent from the ship at any one time, and who did your duty while absent?

I do not believe I was ever absent from the ship more than eight or nine days at any one time; and during that absence the chief mate did my duty on board.

When you were on shore, did you entrust yourself with the natives, or did you reside in some of the English factories?

I trusted myself with the natives—I never saw an English factory on the Coast.

Do you mean that you trusted yourself with the natives eight or nine days together?

No; when I was absent from the ship eight or nine days, it was when I was sent from the rivers Del Rey and Calabar to the island of Furnandipo.

What other time was you absent besides that when you went to Furnandipo?

When I was on shore on the Windward Coast, or at Calabar.

For how long a time together?

On the Windward Coast for some hours; at Calabar frequently an hour, sometimes more.

What part of the Coast was you upon, when you went about three miles up the country?

I cannot recollect—it was between Cape Mesurado and Cape Three Points.

Did you understand the language of the natives?

I did not.

Did you take any interpreter with you, when you went on shore?

I did not.

Then how did you gain your information respecting the manner of Slaves being made in that country, the reasons of their being offered for sale, and other circumstances relating to the Slave Trade?

From

From the traders, who all of them speak English, some of them very good.

Do you mean to state, that every thing you have said relating to the Slave Trade is hearsay evidence, collected from other people?

Yes; I have said so before.

On the different parts of the Windward Coast where you have been, did you land with equal safety as at St. Christopher's and Dominique?.

I did.

Do you know that upon the Windward Coast the surf in general runs very high, and that the sea breaks to a considerable distance from the shore, which frequently makes it inaccessible?

The surf does sometimes run very high on the Windward Coast, and the sea, in some places, does break at some distance from the shore.

Can you at any time land on the beach with safety in a boat?

I always went on shore without meeting with any accident to the people or boat.

How long was you upon the Windward Coast.

As near as I can recollect, from sixteen days to three weeks each voyage.

Was you ever there in the rainy season?

I was not.

Have you ever heard whether there is more or less surf there in the rainy season?

I have not.

Is it not the usual way to anchor on the Windward Coast in a boat at a distance, and land in a canoe?

I have anchored in a boat on that Coast, and I have also gone on shore in a small boat, landed upon the beach with her, and hauled her up while we staid.

Why did you anchor at a distance from the shore?

On account of the surf.

Why did you go in a small boat?

On account of the surf, and not having any bulky articles to take on board the large boat; had that been the case, we could have effected it in the same manner as it is done at the Islands of Dominique and St. Christopher, which is by anchoring at a little distance from the shore, and having two long joists, called skids, placed over the boat's stern, reaching to the shore; which is the manner of taking off sugars in those Islands where there is a surf.

Why did you haul the boat on shore?

On account of the surf, and it being a small light boat.

Do you mean to say, that during the time you were on the Windward Coast you could at any time have landed in that boat?

No, not at all times.

Could you have landed as often as you have been prevented by the surf?

I believe I could.

Did you observe the same precautions in landing at St. Christopher's and Dominique, as in landing upon the Windward Coast?

I did.

Are not ports at St. Christopher's and Dominique in general to leeward, and guarded by the highlands from the trade winds?

The ports I have been in at Dominique and St. Christopher's were, at Dominique, Roseau Bay; and at St. Christopher's, Baffterre. Those ports are at the leeward of the Island; but I have frequently known the sea breeze to blow very strong in both those ports.

Did you ever know the sea breeze to blow so strong as to do any mischief, or to make it difficult in landing?

I have.

What do you mean by the sea breeze?

The wind that blows in the day time is generally called the sea breeze; and when the trade wind has been far to the southward of the east (which it sometimes is) it makes a large surf on shore.

Is that the regular trade wind?

The

The trade wind is not confined to any one point of the compass ; I have known it blow from north-north-east to south-east.

Does it not generally blow from east-north-east to east-south-east ?

Generally.

How many points of the compass does it ever vary ?

I have said from north-north-east to south-east, which are ten points.

Is not that during the hurricane months ?

I have known it blow in that manner from April to July, not constantly, but at times, in each of those months.

Can the wind that varies ten points be called a trade wind ?

I cannot say it can very properly be called so, but yet it is generally called so.

When goods are to be shipped on the Windward Coast, at what distance does the large boat anchor from the shore ?

I never anchored at a greater distance than about fifty fathoms from the shore.

Did you use the same precautions at the ports you have said you have been at in the Islands of Saint Christopher and Dominique ?

At Dominique I did, but not at that distance, because I had bulky articles to take on board, which was not the case upon the Windward Coast. I never loaded at Saint Christopher's, I have only gone in there in the war, to join the ships of the fleet ; and I have seen them use the same precautions, but I did not do it myself.

If you had had bulky articles, would you have gone so near the shore as within fifty fathoms on the Windward Coast ?

I should have gone in some places as near as I did at Dominique.

How near did you go to the shore at Dominique, under those circumstances ?

So near, that jolts of about thirty feet reached the shore from the boat.

Could you have gone as near as that upon the Windward Coast?
I could.

On what part?
I cannot say particularly the name of the part, but it was between Cape Mesurado and Cape Three Points.

Could you have done it on any other part?
I do not know whether I could or could not.

You have said that ivory is an article of trade on the Windward Coast; is it customary with the natives to cut a hole in each elephant's tooth, and why?

We purchased very little ivory on the Coast, and I cannot recollect the circumstance of the hole; the ivory we bought on the Windward Coast was all small.

You have said that rice is an article of commerce on the Windward Coast; did the ship to which you belonged call there for the purpose of procuring that article?

It did.

Can you recollect the quantity which was purchased each voyage?
About five tons.

How long did it take to procure that quantity?
From sixteen days to about three weeks; there was another ship in company with us both voyages, which purchased about the same quantity.

Is the rice generally wet with salt water, so as to require drying in the sun before it is fit to stow away?

It sometimes is when brought in the little canoe.

Is it not oftener so than otherwise?
I cannot say it is.

Can you say it is not?
I believe it is not; but I cannot speak with correctness to the number of times that the rice came on board wet or dry.

What appearance has the African rice?
It has a reddish appearance.

Do you know the distinction between red and white rice?
I do.

What is the distinction, and are they equally fit for the European market?

The African rice which I have seen has generally a red colour externally, the Carolina rice is white; I do not know whether the African rice would sell at an European market, but I know it to be a very hearty and good food.

Do you not think that exercise is necessary for the health of the Slaves in the Middle Passage?

Certainly.

In what manner are the Slaves prevailed upon to take that exercise?

In my own ship, after they had done messing, a man struck upon a drum, and they were made to jump up and down; those who refused were compelled with the cat.

Did it often happen that they were compelled?

It sometimes happened among the men, but very seldom among the women.

You have stated that the Slaves room was very hot, have you never known the Slaves complain of being too cold at night, and do they not more frequently complain of being too cold than too hot?

I never knew them complain of being too cold in the ship I belonged to.

Was the ship you belonged to properly furnished with gratings and air ports?

She was properly furnished with gratings, but had no air ports.

Do you know whether African ships in general have air ports, and that an African ship cannot be said to be properly fitted out that has not got such air ports?

I have frequently met with African ships without air ports, but since I have left the Trade I have seen more with air ports coming to the West Indies than without.

Were those persons who died on board the Neptune able or ordinary seamen, landsmen, or apprentices?

They

They were most of them able seamen, but I cannot distinguish the proportions; we had no landsmen on board but the cooper and armourer, and the carpenter's mate, I think, one voyage; and we never had an apprentice in the ship.

Were any boys in the ship who were not apprentices?
I believe there were two each voyage.

Do you know how many of those persons who died on board the Venus were able seamen?

I do not; but the Venus, to the best of my recollection, lost all her officers the first voyage, except the chief mate and captain.

Do you know that the York was a small vessel not 150 tons burthen?

I do not; in looking over my journal for that transaction respecting the York, I found it was the York's boat which we spoke with, and which gave me the account alluded to in my former evidence.

Do you know the number of men that the York carried?
The boat informed us, that she left Liverpool with 75 men.

Is it usual for a vessel of 150 tons burthen to carry 75 men in time of peace?

It is not; but I did not know the size of the York, whether it was 150 or 300 tons burthen.

Is it usual for a ship of 300 tons burthen to carry 75 men in time of peace?

The ships in the African trade carry a great many men, but I do not know the regular proportion to the tonnage.

After you had made two voyages in the Neptune, did you not agree to go as chief mate with Captain King?

I did; I wished to see the Gold Coast where Captain King was bound, but before the ship had got in a forwardness for sea I wrote a letter to Mr. Calvert, who was owner of the ship, thanking him for his offering me the birth, but that I begged leave to decline proceeding in the ship. This happened in the very year that I finished my second voyage.

Did you state, in any part of that letter, that you had a legacy left you, which you were going to the West Indies to receive?

I do

I do not recollect that I did; I told Captain Calvert in the letter, that I was going to the West Indies.

Do you recollect that you did not?

I am not positive. I had a legacy left me in the West Indies, but I did not receive it till two years afterwards.

Did you not go out to the West Indies in expectation of receiving it sooner?

I did not.

You have said that you touched at the island of Annabona, and procured some cocoa nuts and Cassada flour, were those all the refreshments you got there?

They were.

Do you know whether there are refreshments of live stock, plantanes, and bananas to be procured in great plenty there?

I saw some live stock, some plantanes, and some bananas brought along-side our ship; the captain purchased some of them for the use of the cabin.

Were any of the sick Slaves supplied with any refreshments of that sort?

They were not. The Slaves had in that voyage a dysentery, and the captain was afraid to give them plantanes and bananas in that state; and we had no room upon deck for coops for fowls.

Was there no room in the ship or boats for live stock, or could they not have lashed the coops on the quarters of the ship for that purpose?

There was no room in any part of the ship, except in the boats; the boat wherein we might have put coops was a small one; coops might have been lashed on the quarters of the ship, but she had no coops lashed there.

Do you know that the island of Furnandipo was ceded by Portugal to Spain, with an intention to establish a factory there, to carry on the African Trade?

I have heard that that island was in possession of the Spaniards, but for what purpose I have not heard.

Is not the land at Furnandipo high and dry, and, in consequence

sequence thereof, produces better yams than the swamps about Del Rey and Calabar?

It is very high land; they have a great deal of rain there in the rainy season. The yams are much better than at Calabar, which, I should suppose, proceeds from the difference of soil; and the people of Furnandipo, not having any other trade, give the whole of their attention to the cultivation of the land.

State to the Committee all the instances which you know, of your own knowledge, of the natives being carried off by ships and trading boats from Furnandipo, or any part of Africa?

I have said before, that I never knew an instance upon the Coast of Africa. At the island of Furnandipo, in my second voyage, a boat belonging to the ship *Venus*, Captain Jeremiah Smith, which had been sent for yams from Calabar to Furnandipo, enticed a canoe to come along-side, with about ten men in her; as soon as she got very near, the men fired into her from the ship's boat, upon which they jumped overboard; some of them were wounded, one of whom was taken out of the water, and died in less than an hour on board the boat; two others were taken up unhurt, and carried to the river Calabar to the ship. Captain Smith was angry at the officer for his conduct, and sent another officer in the boat to land the two men in the bay from whence they were taken. Immediately after the boat had brought off these two persons, I went into the bay in our own long-boat, and upon sending on shore two persons to fill some water, they were surrounded by the natives, who drove three spears into one of the men, and wounded the other with a large stick. This must have been in consequence of taking away the two men just mentioned.—I know of no other instance.

Did the Negroes who were in the canoe attempt to cut off the boat; and what was the provocation which made it necessary for the men in the boat to fire at the canoe?

They did not attempt to cut off the boat. The boat had seven men in her, and was well armed; the people of Furnandipo had no fire-arms, therefore it is not probable they would attempt to cut off a boat armed and protected in the manner the boat of the *Venus* was.

Have you ever heard of the natives of Furnandipo attempting to cut off boats with Europeans in them; and is it likely that the Europeans would fire into the canoe without having had some provocation?

I never

I never heard of their attempting to cut off a boat. Sometimes they have disputes with the people on shore trading with them for yams; this was said to be the case in this instance, but they had not done any of the boat's crew any injury.

Was the ship offered you by Mr. Cox a store-ship, or a regular African ship?

She was a store-ship; but Mr. Cox would have had me purchased Slaves (after delivering the stores) to carry to the West Indies.

Have you that competent knowledge of the countries of Del Rey and Calabar to affirm that there are no Slaves there but the canoe-men?

I never saw any others, except the women.

Have you any other knowledge of the African Trade but what you have gained in your two voyages as mate, from the year 1772 to 1776?

I have not; and from conversing with persons who have been much longer in the service.

As you have said you never slept a night on shore at Del Rey and Calabar, in what space of time did you go fifteen leagues up the river Del Rey and return to the ship?

I never went more than two miles from the ship in the river Del Rey, except in the long-boat to Furnandipo. When I spoke of fifteen leagues up the river Del Rey, I said the ship lay at anchor about that distance from the river's mouth.

You have said before the Privy Council, the country was well inhabited as far as you went up the rivers, which was fifteen leagues up the river Del Rey, and ten leagues up the river Calabar;—how long did those different excursions up those rivers occasion you to be absent from the ship?

I never was more than two miles from the ship; I said the ship went up that distance from the river's mouth.

Where, and before whom did you say so?

I told the Honourable Privy Council that the ship went up that distance.

Did you go into the houses of many of the kings and principal traders in the country?

I did.

How

How long was it after you quitted the African Trade in 1776, before you went to see your friends in the West Indies?

Immediately after.

To what Island did you go?

To Barbadoes.

How long did you continue there?

About a fortnight.

Where did you go to from Barbadoes?

To England.

When did you first enter into the West India trade as commander of a vessel?

The latter end of the year 1780.

In what employ were you from the time of your quitting the African Trade to the latter end of the year 1780?

I made a voyage to the West Indies in 1777, and between that time and the latter end of 1780 I was on board the ship Tartar, Captain Edward Fiott, a private ship of war.

From what port in England did the ship you first commanded in the West India trade sail, and to what Island?

She belonged to the port of London, and sailed to the Island of Antigua.

How long did she continue in that trade?

I made one voyage in her.

Who husbanded that ship in London?

Henry and Samuel Cox.

From what ports, and to what Islands, were your other voyages as commander?

My second voyage was from the port of London, and we were lost in the Downs going to Antigua. My third voyage I failed from London to the Island of Antigua, Messieurs Lane, Son, and Frazer were the ship's husbands; in that ship I made a voyage from Antigua to America. My next voyages were from London to the same Island in another ship, husbanded by the same gentlemen. My seventh voyage was from London to the Island of Barbadoes, the ship's husband Samuel Whitehead. My next two

voyages were from London to the same Island in another ship, husbanded by Messieurs Cox and Sherrin.

Do you continue in that ship, and are you in that employ at present ?

I am.

Are you shortly bound out for Barbadoes ?

I am, and expect and hope to sail on Monday or Tuesday next.

Were the offers of the command of a vessel in the African Trade, which were made to you in 1781 or 1782 by Mr. Cox of London, and in 1782 by Mr. Taylor of Antigua, the only instances which you mentioned to have refused accepting of ?

They were ; but I constantly declared my aversion to the Trade, which I believe has prevented similar offers.

Did you ever declare that aversion to Mr. Cox and Mr. Taylor before their offers to you ?

I did not.

Do you not apprehend that the property acquired on board a private ship of war may be said to be a traffic, though legalized by act of parliament, in some measure founded in blood ?

I do not think myself competent to answer that question.

Is not the property acquired by the African Trade equally legalized by act of parliament ; and if so, you having given it as your opinion that that Trade is perfectly illegal, are you not equally competent to deliver your opinion in that respect as to privateering ?

When I was in a private ship of war, I considered the war we were then engaged in in a very different light from the wars and pillage carried on in Africa, commonly called war ; and when I entered into the privateer service, the ship I served on board was a very respectable ship, of 34 guns and 230 men, and I thought and wished to have an opportunity of serving my country in that ship, and I served on board that ship as first lieutenant.

By whose labour is the sugar, rum, and other produce of the
7 F Island

Island of Barbadoes, which you now gain your livelihood by the transporting of from that Island to Great Britain, manufactured? By natives of that country, and Africans.

Are they called Freemen or Slaves?
Slaves.

Are not the means which you therefore necessarily draw from the employment which you are now in, of maintaining yourself and family, necessarily connected with that Trade on the coast of Africa, which you have abandoned from conscience sake as being founded in blood?

It is no doubt connected with the African Trade; I knew that to be the case when I made my former declaration.

Did you serve on board the private ship of war for the good of your country, or your own private interest only?
For both.

Do you know a place in the Island of Dominique called Woodbridge's Bay?
I have seen such a place.

How far may it be from Roseau?
A very little way.

Do not ships lay there in smoother water, and where the surf on the shore is commonly of very little obstruction to the shipping and landing of goods?

I never was more than one voyage at Dominique, and then no ship lay there; I know the surf is less there than at Roseau, but I never heard of any other produce but that belonging to the estate of Mr. Woodbridge being shipped from thence.

Do you mean by that to say, that the beach is private property, and that no other produce but that of the proprietor of that estate can be shipped from thence?

I do not; I believe all beaches are considered as the King's property, and free for any body to use as far as high water mark.

Do you not know, or believe, that Woodbridge Bay is the general place where all Guinea-men in particular bring up on their arrival, and where they take on board their homeward-bound cargo?

I have heard that was the case.

Is or is not the port at Basseterre at St. Christopher's directly open to the south, or to what other point of the compass?

It is open to the southward.

Do boats, which take the sugar from the shore to carry on board the ships in that road, generally come to an anchor at the distance of fifty fathoms from the shore, and receive the sugar from thence in smaller boats?

The large boats I have seen come to anchor at some distance from the shore.

What distance?

I cannot speak with accuracy.

Do not the boats which employ skids come close on the beach, and receive the sugar over their sides by means of those skids?

I have seen them receive the sugar over the sides and over the sterns of the boats. I have not seen much sugar taken off from the Island of St. Christopher.

Do you not know, or have you not heard, that the surf at Basseterre is frequently so high, as to prevent the boats from taking off sugar for days together?

I do not know that to be the case, but I have frequently heard so.

Do you know a shipping place called Half Moon Bay, on the windward side of St. Christopher's?

I do not.

State to the Committee what you know, of your own knowledge, as to the manner of feeding, cloathing, lodging, and the general treatment of Slaves, as far as your observation has gone, in Barbadoes, and the other West India Islands where you have been?

I am not competent; and as so much information has been given to the Committee on that subject already, I beg leave to decline answering that question.

You have been two voyages to the Coast of Africa, and have thought yourself competent to give particular information respecting the manner of the African Trade; and you have been ten voyages to the West India Islands, and yet you are incompetent to speak of the manner in which Slaves are treated there—State
8 what

what you know of that matter, as far as you may be competent thereto?

I wish to decline answering that question, as I am really not competent; as my duty, while in the African service, called upon me more immediately to make the observations I have given to this Committee.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 5^o die Martii 1790.

Captain Hall called in; and further examined.

Captain HALL: Can you tell how the receiving a legacy should induce any man to leave one line of sea-faring life for another, not requiring a larger capital to carry it on?

I do not know that it would induce a man so to do.

Do you think any comparison can be instituted between the cases of fighting the declared enemy of your country, in lawful war, under a commission from your King, and of exercising cruelties upon a number of individuals, who are defenceless, and have given no offence?

I think there is no comparison.

Do you think that a man, who should assign motives of feeling and tenderness for the animal creation as the reason for not chusing to exercise the trades of a butcher or drover, might, without subjecting himself to the charge of insincerity, continue to sustain himself and his family upon meat bought of butchers?

Most certainly.

Did you hear the Calabar story from any persons besides those you have already mentioned?

I have heard Captain Jeremiah Smith, who arrived a very short time after in the river Calabar, mention the story, but not in that particular manner—He spoke only to the supposed number killed and carried off, and conceived it to be a very bloody transaction.

What

What was the number of seamen which you heard was lost in the Benson, when you saw her in the West Indies?

I heard that she had lost thirty-one persons.

Did you ever see the Slaves in Africa eating with their masters?
I have.

What causes in general have you heard assigned for the natives of Africa detaining the officers and crews of ships boats, and requiring a ransom for their release?

I have heard that it has proceeded from disputes with the ships and ships boats, and done by way of retaliation.

You have said before the Privy Council, that the surgeon of one of the London ships attended on shore the king, who had been wounded in the Calabar transaction; was it the surgeon of one of the ships which had been actively engaged in it?

It was not.

Were the two brothers of the king, who, you have said, agreed with Rutter in the particulars of the Calabar transaction, carried off to the West Indies on board the ship of which Rutter was boatswain?

No.

Before the Privy Council you said, that the king of the Old Town gave his daughter for wife to a principal trader of the New Town, and you have before this Committee said it was his favourite woman; can you account for this inconsistency?

The boatswain informed me she was the daughter of the king; but the two brothers said she was a favourite woman.—I think it is likely the boatswain might be mistaken as to the quality of the woman.

Are you sure, on recollection, that the Duke of York, Captain Bevan, was a Liverpool ship?

Upon recollection, I believe she belonged to Bristol.

Was it your general custom, during your voyages, to set down in writing any thing you might hear of what had passed at former periods, or only the transactions of the present time?

Only the transactions of the present time.

Did you hear the Calabar story once only, or frequently, from Rutter ?

Frequently.

Was Captain Smith, with whom you sailed, of a harsh and cruel disposition, or the contrary ?

I never knew an instance of harsh or inhuman treatment practised by Captain Smith, in either of the voyages I was with him ; on the contrary, he was particularly attentive to the sick, both of the crew and the Slaves.

Can you give any particular proofs of his humanity ?

I remember an instance of a woman being purchased, with her child about six weeks old ; the child was very cross from indisposition, and had made much noise at night ; the boatswain wished much to have permission to throw it overboard, he even solicited the captain for that permission, and gave as a reason, that the child would not live, and if it did it would fetch nothing in the West Indies ; which request the captain received with horror and detestation.

When asked, “ Do you suppose that the armed canoes which “ you mentioned to have seen in Del Rey river were equipped in “ that manner to commit hostilities, or for the protection merely “ of those who were in them, and their goods ? ” You answered, “ For protection of those that were on board them, and their “ goods : ” — Do you mean to give it as your opinion, that the armed canoes would not take any opportunities that might offer of seizing and carrying off any persons whom they might be able to surprize ?

I believe they would.

When asked, “ Do you mean to state, that every thing you “ have said relating to the Slave Trade is hearsay evidence, collected from other people ? ” You answered, “ Yes, I have said “ so before : ” — In your answer to this question, do you mean to confine yourself to what you had learned respecting the Slave Trade, to refer to what you had just said you had heard on these topics from the traders, or to what you had seen with your own eyes ?

To what I had heard from the traders.

Have you often known the rice that has been brought on board your

your ship so wet as to require drying, when it has not been brought in the little canoes?

Very seldom.

In saying that it sometimes happened among the men, that they were compelled with the cat to dance, did you mean that they were sometimes only actually whipped, or that it was only sometimes necessary for a person to be present with the cat to superintend their dancing?

It was always necessary for the person to have a cat who attended the Slaves while messing and taking their exercise; and they sometimes received a few strokes when they refused to perform that exercise, or to eat their victuals.

Have you known the surf in the West Indies so great sometimes as to prevent your landing?

I remember at Dominique an instance that we could not land with either of the ship's boats for forty-eight hours.

Was Mr. Cox, who made you the offer of a Slave ship, the same gentleman who husbanded the ship you commanded to the West Indies?

He was.

Did all the ships and all the captains which you have enumerated combine with the people of the New Town at Calabar to surprize the people of the Old Town?

No.

How many do you except from that combination?

One.

What was the name of the captain, and the name of that one ship, which did not combine with the rest in surprizing the people of Old Town?

I do not recollect either.

Have you ever known any instances of Slaves jumping overboard?

I remember one in the river Del Rey.

Do you recollect any other instance?

One in Antigua.

If

If the boatswain misinformed you about the king's daughter, might he not likewise have been mistaken in other particulars?

The mistake respecting this woman might have been from the information he had received, but the greater part of the transaction came immediately under his own sight and observation.

By whose order did the person with the cat attend the messing and dancing of the Slaves?

By the Captain's.

By whose order did the person use the cat in any particular instances?

He used it at his own discretion, without particular orders.

You have stated that Captain Smith was a very humane man, was the making the Slaves dance considered as an act of cruelty?

It was considered as a necessary act.

You have said, that you believed the armed canoes would have taken an opportunity of surprizing and carrying off the natives; have you known any instances of it?

I have not.

On what grounds do you believe it?

I do not believe that the persons in the canoes would have considered it a crime, from being in the constant habit of selling people.

Are they in the habits of taking people in that manner?

I do not know that they are.

Do you think the planters in the West Indies, or the African merchants of these days, are at all responsible for this supposed transaction at Calabar?

I do not believe that any person who was not on board the ships, and actually engaged in the business, is at all responsible.

Do you think it would be just to punish the planter, or the African merchant of these days, for that supposed transaction?

Certainly not.

Is it not a common practice in the trade to the Windward Coast to employ the boy Slaves on the ship's duty, particularly in going aloft?

I do not know that it is.

Do you suppose that the boy Slaves in the ship Benson were sent aloft for want of seamen, and not because it was the practice to employ them occasionally in that service?

I heard that it was from the loss of seamen in the course of the voyage.

From whom did you hear that?

From general conversation on shore; and some of her people when on shore informed my boat's crew that that was the case.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. ISAAC WILSON, Surgeon in His Majesty's Navy, was called in, and examined.

How many voyages have you made to the coast of Africa for Slaves?

One.

In what ship, under what captain, and to what port?

The ship Elizabeth, John Smith, master, from the port of London.

When did you sail on the said voyage, and when did you return?

I sailed on the 10th of May 1788, and returned on the 6th December 1789.

What was the tonnage of the Elizabeth?

I believe about 370 tons.

Was she well fitted for the voyage?

I believe as well as most vessels are.

Were the crew and Slaves as well treated as the nature of the trade appears to you to admit?

The crew and Slaves were as well treated as in any other ships.

What number of Slaves did you take on board?
Six hundred and two.

Were they all confined between decks at night during the voyage?

They were, a few women excepted.

Were they crowded in that situation?

Yes.

What was the general appearance of the Slaves when brought on board the vessel?

A gloomy pensiveness seemed to overcast their countenance.

Did this appearance of melancholy continue?

Yes, in a great many.

What number of Slaves did you lose in the course of your voyage?

One hundred and fifty-five.

Of the 155 who died on board your ship, was there, in your opinion, a considerable proportion, the primary cause of whose disorders and death might be reasonably deemed to be this melancholy?

Yes; I am of opinion in the proportion of two to one.

Were the symptoms of these persons' disorders uniform?

They were generally the same.

Did you ever recover any of the Slaves whose illness you attribute to that cause?

I do not recollect any.

Have you any other reason for believing that the deaths of these persons might be attributed to melancholy resulting from their situation?

Yes.

What are the other reasons?

Some who were taken ill, and who had not that melancholy on them, medicines were administered to them with a very good effect.

Did

Did you ever hear the Slaves say any thing which confirmed the opinion of their melancholy, which you had formed from other circumstances?

I have heard them say in their language, that they wished to die.

Have you any grounds, besides those of your own experience and observation, for attributing the mortality of the Slaves in any considerable degree to the despondency occasioned by their situation?

Yes; Captain Smith informed me the mortality of the Slaves was owing to their thinking so much of their situation.

Was the flux prevalent on board your ship?

It was.

Did you conceive it to have been owing in any degree to this melancholy?

I conceived it in a great measure owing to their taking their situation so much to heart, and refusing sustenance, by which means they became debilitated.

Had you any other very destructive disorders amongst the Slaves besides the flux?

None that I recollect.

Have you ever heard the Slaves on board complain of heat?

Yes.

Can you mention any ill effects that have resulted from this heat, and the confinement of their situation?

Yes, such as weakness and fainting.

Do you apprehend it has ever been the cause of the death of Slaves?

Yes, I believe it has, having seen them frequently brought upon deck, some fainting; and I have also seen some die within a few minutes after they have been brought upon deck, which proceeded from the corrupted state of the air and heat jointly.

Were any of the persons, whose deaths you assign to these causes, in apparently good health before they had been subjected to the operation of them?

I have seen them go down apparently perfectly well at night, and
2
found

found dead in the morning, and others in a similar situation as that above described.

Had you an hospital or sick birth on board your vessel?
We had an hospital.

What did the sick Slaves lie on there?
Bare planks.

Did the motion of the vessel render this very uncomfortable or injurious to them?

It occasioned frequently excoriations from the most prominent parts of the body.

Was your loss of men or of women the greatest?
Of men.

Were the men Slaves generally kept in irons?
They were; those in a sickly state excepted.

Is it your opinion, that the persons employed in this Trade can pursue it with safety to themselves, if the men Slaves are in general not kept in irons?

I think not.

Is this opinion founded on speculation merely, or is it confirmed by any particular facts?

They attempted to rise on us when at Bonny; a few of them jumped overboard, and were picked up and brought on board again.

Do the men Slaves on board ever dance?
Yes.

In what does this dancing consist?

It consists in their jumping, as far as the nature of their confinement will admit of.

What do you mean by, "as far as the nature of their confinement will admit of?"

Being in irons, and chained to the deck.

Explain the mode of their being chained to the deck?

On their being brought up, they are placed close to each other, and

and on each of their irons there is a ring, through which a chain is rolled, and fastened with ring bolts to the deck by a lock.

Are they ever compelled to dance, and by what means?

They are compelled to dance by means of the cat frequently.

Is it common for the Slaves to refuse sustenance?

It is very common.

Are any means of compulsion used on such occasions?

Yes.

What means?

On their first refusal, mild and gentle means are made use of; but if that does not succeed, the cat is generally applied.

Did the Slaves on board your vessel appear to be much crouded when below?

Yes, they did.

Were you obliged to use any precautions in order to go about amongst the Slaves?

Yes, we generally took off our shoes prior to going down amongst them, and were very cautious how we walked, for fear we should tread on some of them.

Was there any other vessel belonging to the same house as yours, which sailed to the Coast for Slaves?

Yes, there were three.

State to the Committee their names, and other specifications?

The first was the Elizabeth, Captain Wallis, of London; the second was the Favourite, Captain Bamfield, of the same port; and the third was the Elizabeth, Captain Marshall, which sailed from Liverpool, and was marked on her stern "The Elizabeth of London."

Had the Elizabeth of London, the first-mentioned vessel, delivered her Slaves before your vessel arrived in the river Plate?

She had.

How many Slaves had she purchased in Africa, and how many had she lost before her delivery?

7 I

I was

I was told she purchased about 450, and buried upwards of 200 before her arrival in the port of delivery.

By whom were you told this?

By the commissioner of the Royal Phillippine company of Spain.

Do you know how many Slaves the Favourite had purchased in Africa, and how many she had lost before her delivery in the river Plate?

I was told she purchased 466; the mortality was 73, and delivery 393.

By whom were you told this?

By the chief mate and surgeon of the ship.

Do you know how many Slaves the Elizabeth, Captain Marshall, had purchased, and how many she had lost before her delivery?

I have been told she purchased 546; mortality 158; and delivery 388.

By whom were you told this?

By Captain Marshall, and his surgeon Mr. Duffin.

Were any persons on board Captain Marshall's ship in the small-pox when she arrived in the river Plate?

Yes.

Can you state how many?

Two or three.

Did any of the Slaves die of this disorder after delivery?

Yes.

How many?

220.

Is this loss to be added to the 158 before mentioned?

That loss was not from one ship alone; the mortality of the 158 was prior to the delivery of the cargo of one ship, but the mortality of these 220 was from the different ships after they were landed on shore.

Where

Where did you obtain the information you have given respecting this mortality after the delivery ?

A few days after my arrival at the river Plate I was with a Spanish surgeon appointed to take care of the Negroes on shore. All these instances came under my own inspection.

What number of seamen had you on board your own vessel on your going out, and what number did you lose in the course of your voyage ?

My ship's company, including all, amounted to fifty-five, out of which we lost eighteen, sixteen of which were lost by sickness, and two were drowned.

Do you know of the number of the crews, and of their losses on board any other of the ships ?

Of the number of the crews of either of the other ships I do not know ; of the crew of the Elizabeth, Captain Marshall, I have been informed by the surgeon, the mortality was twenty-seven.

Was there any instance of suicide on board your vessel ?

Yes.

Specify it, or them, and describe the circumstances ?

The first instance was of a woman ; she found means to convey below, the night preceding, rope-yarn, or something of that nature, which she made fast to the head of the armourer's vice, which was then placed in the women's room. She fastened it round her neck, and on the morning she was found dead, with her head laying on her shoulder ; from whence it plainly appeared that she must have made use of very great exertions to have accomplished her design, her neck being in that situation as coming near in contact with the upper part of the vice.

From whom did you hear this ?

It is customary, when any accident of that kind happens, to send for the surgeon ; and in the situation above described I found her.

Was there any other instance, and describe the circumstances of it ?

There was. A young woman also found means to convey rope yarn below, which she made fast to a batten contiguous to that part of the platform where she usually lay. She made a noose,
and

and put her neck in it, flipt off the platform, and put a period to her existence. The morning following she was found warm, but every symptom of life gone.

Did you see her yourself after her death?

I did, and made use of the necessary means employed on those occasions for her recovery, but without effect.

You have said that compulsive means are sometimes resorted to for obliging the Slaves to take sustenance; can you mention any particular instance wherein it was necessary to have recourse to any other than the ordinary means of compulsion; and if you do, relate the instance and the circumstances?

Yes, the instances were many, but I shall relate a particular instance which happened on board, of a young man whom I conceived starved himself; he had not been very long on board before I perceived him to get thin; we found he had neglected taking his provisions, and had at this time refused taking any sustenance whatever; mild means were made use of to persuade him or divert him from his resolution: we endeavoured to make him understand that he should have any thing he wished for, but he still refused any sustenance; we had then recourse to the cat, which proved to have as little success; he always kept his teeth so fast shut that it was impossible to get any thing down; we endeavoured to introduce a speculum oris, but the points were too obtuse to enter; we next tried a bolus knife, without any effect. In this state he continued for four or five days, when he was brought up by the surgeon's mate as dead, in order to be thrown overboard; but I having given particular directions that no body whatever should be committed to the deep without my having previously seen it, I was called, and found life still existing, and that in a much stronger degree than I could have supposed from his weak and debilitated state: we repeated our former endeavours with as little effect as usual, and two days afterwards he was brought up in the same state, and in a similar situation as before; he now seemed to have an inclination to get up; we assisted him, and brought him ast to the fire-place, where, in a low and feeble voice, in his own native tongue, he asked for a little water, which was immediately brought him, and he drank: we began to entertain some hopes of dissuading him from his resolution, but he again shut his teeth as fast as ever, and he resolved to die; and two days following, being the ninth day from his first perceivable refusal, he died.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Sabbati,

Sabbati, 6° die Martii 1790.

MR. Wilson called in, and further examined.

Have you ever known instances of Slaves jumping overboard, or attempting to do so; and with what intention do you suppose them to have so attempted or done? MR. WILSON.

Yes, I have; and I believe with an intention of drowning themselves: I can relate two instances of it from our own ship: the first of which was when laying at the island of Annabona, a Slave that was on the sick list jumped overboard, and was picked up by the natives; the second instance was when at sea, the captain and officers were at dinner in the cabin, we heard the alarm of a Slave being overboard, and found it too true, and perceived him making every exertion he could to drown himself, by putting his head under water, and lifting his hands up, and thus went down as if exulting that he got away; the person picked up in the former instance died soon after.

Is the ship fitted up in a way to prevent attempts of this sort being effectual?

Yes, it is, by nettings round the quarter deck, main deck, and poop, to a considerable height.

Do you believe the despondency of the Slaves, arising from their situation, ever produces madness?

We had a case on board, of a man who came on board apparently well, but shortly after became to look pensive and melancholy; a certain degree of wildness appeared in his countenance; he began to eat his food voraciously, and sometimes as if insensible what it was; at other times he refused it entirely; at length he became noisy, and made use of the expression, 'Armourer,' that person being in general called upon to take the Slaves out of irons when necessary; he continued to disturb the ship's company and the Slaves for a considerable time, and at length he died insane.

So far as your acquaintance with the Negroes has enabled you to form an opinion, what do you think of their capacities and dispositions, and of their natural and social affections?

We had one instance also on board which induces me to believe that they are equally susceptible of affections and tenderness

as most other people. I beg leave to relate the circumstance: When in the river at Bonny, one of the people called Breeches, who are styled of the higher class, was brought on board, he seemed to take his situation a good deal to heart, and got ill; but from indulgences granted to him (which none of the rest experienced) he in some measure recovered. When he was in a convalescent state, a young woman was also brought on board, from the similitude of whose countenance and colour we supposed them to be relations, which we afterwards found to be true: she proved to be his sister. On their first meeting they stood with silence and amazement, and looked at each other apparently with the greatest affection. They rushed into each other's arms—embraced—separated themselves again—and again embraced. I perceived the tears run down the female's cheeks. The man had a return of his former complaint, and his sister attended him with the greatest care imaginable. The first thing she did of a morning, was to come to me and enquire how her brother did. He at length died. Upon the news of which the sister wept bitterly, tore her hair, and shewed other signs of distraction. We carried her safe to South America, and there delivered her.

Did you find it difficult on the Coast to purchase as many female Slaves as you wanted?

We generally found more females than males.

Which sold at the higher price?

The males, I believe.

What number of Slaves were sick when your vessel arrived in the river Plate?

Sick and on recovery about eighty.

What was your reason for quitting your late employment?

My reason for it was, I did not like to continue in a trade that did not perfectly coincide with my ideas, and that was not to my satisfaction.

In what respect was it incompatible with your ideas, and not to your satisfaction.

By being obliged to make use of means for the preservation of the cargo, contrary to my feelings and sense of humanity.

To what means do you allude?

The application of the cat, to which I had frequent recourse;

course; and even in the act of chastisement or flagellation, I have seen the Slaves look up at me with a smile on their countenance, and in their own language say, "Presently we shall be no more."

For what purposes were you at those times chastising them?
In order to get them to take their food.

Was the captain of your ship a man of extraordinary severity?

No, he was not; on the contrary, never was there a more humane man, or a man of greater feelings, or a man who paid more attention to the preservation of the Slaves for the sake of his employers, &c.—he never permitted any person to chastise the Slaves except himself and the surgeon.

Do you know of any vessel having lost a considerable number of Slaves by the small-pox at the island of St. Thomas, or elsewhere?

Yes; I have been informed by the surgeon of the Elizabeth, Captain Marshall, that while they lay at the island of St. Thomas, the Hero, Captain Withers, was also there, and that the said vessel Hero had lost 159 Slaves of the small-pox.

Were you on board any other ship in the river Bonny, the crew of which had suffered considerably from mortality?

I was on board a vessel, which I afterwards found to be Spanish property under American colours, the Saint Antonio; the captain had buried the surgeon, mate, and all the officers (the boatswain excepted), and the major part of the crew; he himself was also taken ill, and begged I would attend him, and order whatever I thought necessary, or whatever might be conducive to his speedy recovery; I did so, and found the means ineffectual—he died going over the Bar, by which means a Spanish gentleman (super-cargo on board of our ship) went down to this vessel; upon finding Spanish papers on board, he thought proper to put officers in her from our vessel, and the two others which were then there in the same employ. Prior to the death of Captain Daniel, who commanded the St. Antonio, he informed me, that he came from Carthagena, in North America, went into some port of Holland with the cargo, for which he got goods there in order to purchase Slaves on the Coast of Africa, and carry them to Carthagena, or some other Spanish settlement. This information he desired me to give the Spanish gentleman who was on board our ship, and which I accordingly did.

Did

Did not that Spanish vessel under American colours suffer more loss than any English vessel you ever knew?
I believe she did, in proportion to her size.

In the West Indies, have you ever known seamen jump over-board?

No.

Do you know to what employ the Slaves were destined, which were carried in your ship to the Plate River?

We had nothing to do with them after delivery, but were informed by the inhabitants, that part of the men Slaves were sent to work in the mines of Peru, and others were sold as servants to those who wished to purchase them.

Might not the expectation of that employment in the mines of Peru have an influence on the minds of the Slaves?

The Slaves knew not where they were to go; and prior to their going to the mines they went to Buenos Ayres, and from thence they travelled to Lima, where they were disposed of for the purpose of working in the mines.

Were the Slaves in the three ships destined for the same purpose?

Any person who wished to have bought them, might have so done prior to their going there; I therefore cannot say for what particular purpose they were destined.

Is not the demand for Slaves in South America for the purpose of working the mines?

I should suppose the men Slaves were bought for whatever purpose the purchaser thought proper, as I before observed; I cannot tell they were particularly for that purpose, of working in the mines.

Do you know to what employment the male Slaves are put in South America?

I think I have fully answered that question before in my former answers.

Were the numbers in your ship within the limitations prescribed by the late regulating act?

I believe not, we sailed before the act took place.

Was

Was the regulating act given to your ship?
Not to my knowledge.

On what part of the coast were the Slaves purchased which you carried to the river Plate?

At Bonny.

Do you know whether the Slaves which you purchased were brought from the inland country, or whether from the neighbourhood of Bonny?

Bonny is itself an island, I therefore believe they were brought from the inland country.

Do you know whether they were prisoners of war, convicts, or what their condition was?

I do not.

Do you understand the Bonny language?

No, only some few words.

Had you any interpreter on board?

We had.

Did the Slaves on board your ship speak the Bonny language?

I do not know, the interpreter explained for us; nor did I ever inquire whether the Slaves spoke the same language or not.

How old are you?

Twenty-five years of age.

Where were you educated; by what approbation did you become surgeon; and were you ever examined, and where?

I was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, at Edinburgh, and Glasgow; I have been examined by the surgeons of London at Surgeon's Hall, and received a qualification as being capable of being a surgeon of any of His Majesty's ships of any rate.

Did you receive that qualification before you engaged in the African Trade, or since you have left it off?

Before I engaged in the African Trade.

How many surgeons were there on board your ship Elizabeth?

Three, in the medical line.

In what capacity did you make your voyage to Africa?
As principal surgeon.

Had you any knowledge about the continent of Africa, or the mode by which the Slaves sold were made such.
I had no knowledge of that sort.

In what state of health were the Negroes, when received on board?

We never received any but what were apparently in a good state of health.

How many men and how many women died?

I cannot exactly say, but I believe the proportion of males was two to one, or more.

Did that loss bear a relative proportion to the numbers of each sex that were shipped on board?

I cannot exactly tell, as I do not recollect the number of each sex brought on board.

Did any of the Slaves complain at any time to you of being dissatisfied with their condition on board?

They did not complain to me; but I could perceive they were not by any means content. They have complained of heat frequently.

Explain the symptoms which induced you to believe that they were dissatisfied with their situation.

Their refusing nourishment, and endeavouring to make away with themselves, were strong reasons for my thinking they were by no means content.

Whether sea sickness has not an apparent effect on them?

Not particularly so while in the harbour, that I could perceive?

Whether some of the symptoms you have alluded to, such as refusing their food, were not in a great measure owing to sea sickness?

For the first three or four days we were at sea, we expected that the sickness would prevent them from eating, but that could not be generally said to be of long duration.

Were

Were those symptoms in consequence of the sea sickness?
I have already answered that question in my former answer.

Did not those symptoms which you have mentioned go off in proportion as the sea sickness went off?

I cannot think they did, many still continuing ill, whose primary cause of illness, I conceive, was not sea sickness.

Do you remember the ship being in any, and what, distress in going out of the harbour, or dropping down the river?

I do, I recollect something of her being very near on shore; but being particularly engaged amongst the Slaves at that period, I cannot give any description of it.

How long did she remain in that situation?

I do not particularly recollect the length of time.

Say as near as you can recollect?

I believe we were one day in that situation; that is a question I cannot answer to a certainty.

Were the Slaves during that time kept below, and not brought upon deck?

The men were, I believe; the women were at times upon deck at intervals, I believe; but these are occurrences I cannot particularly recollect.

Whether their health was not visibly affected during the time that they were kept below, by the distress of the ship?

Yes, I believe it was.

Do you know whether a fixed melancholy is the general cause of the death of Negroes on ship-board?

I have already related some cases respecting suicide on board.

Question repeated.

I believe it to be one great cause.

Explain the symptoms.

The symptoms of melancholy are lowness of spirits and despondency; refusing their proper nourishment still increases these symptoms; at length the stomach gets weak, and incapable of digesting their food: Fluxes and dysenteries ensue; and, from the weak and debilitated state of the patient, it soon carries him off.

What

What do the Negroes lay upon in their own country?
I do not know.

At what time did the ship first hoist Spanish colours?
I do not recollect.

Did she ever hoist them?
She did.

Before she got to the Coast of Africa, or after?
I believe it was after we left the Coast of Africa, and were some way to the southward of the line.

Who was the owner of her?
I understood Messieurs Firmin de Taftet and Company were the owners.

Were they Spanish merchants, or agents to Spanish merchants?
I do not know—they might be owners or agents.

Were they British subjects?
I believe they were.

Where did you leave the ship, and how did you come home?
I came home in the ship to the river Thames, and there I left her.

Is the passage from Africa to Buenos Ayres longer or shorter, or attended with greater or less risk, than to the West India Islands?

I do not know; I have never been but one voyage in the Guinea Trade, and that was to the river Plate.

Did your ship come home under English or Spanish colours?
We had English colours.

When were they hoisted again?
I do not particularly recollect; but I believe it was shortly after we left the river Plate.

Under what colours did you go into the harbour of Cadiz?
I have already said we came to the river Thames under English colours; we did not touch at Cadiz at all.

Do you know what became of the two ships in company with you ?

I believe they were bound to Cadiz.

Was the English merchant, who sold the ship Elizabeth to Mr. Taftet, induced so to do by the late regulations respecting the African Trade ; and was that the reason that induced Captain Smith to go to Buenos Ayres ?

I know nothing of the purchase or disposal of the ship.

Did Captain Smith ever give you any information respecting the sailing or destination of that ship ?

Yes, after it was settled that I should go with him ; I understood we were to sail to the Coast of Africa, take in a cargo of Slaves, and deliver them to commissioners of the Phillippine Company of Spain, at Montevideo, on the river Plate.

Had you a Spanish supercargo, surgeon, and boatswain, on board your ship, and what other Spanish officers ?

We had ; and also a mate.

You have stated that your cargo of Slaves attempted to rise on you ; was that any reason for keeping a stricter guard over them than you otherwise would have done ?

I believe it was.

Do you suppose that the Spaniards and other nations would carry on a trade for Slaves to Africa, if that trade was abolished in Great Britain ?

I cannot form any idea what other nations would do.

You have stated that the Negroes complained much of heat, was your ship furnished with proper gratings and air-ports ?

She was.

Did you ever hear the Negroes complain of cold, and desire the air-ports to be shut ?

Yes ; but that was when we got near the mouth of the river Plate, where the weather was much colder than on the Coast of Africa.

Was it the practice in your ship to station a White man at night in the male Slaves' apartment ?

Sometimes it has been the practice, but not always so.

Did you ever hear a White man object to that service?
I do not recollect to have heard any person object to it, it being
so seldom ordered.

Was you ever in practice on your own account, before you went
on board the African ship as surgeon?
I was.

When did you quit that ship?
On the 12th of December last.

When did you enter upon your present appointment in the King's
service?
I believe it was in January or February last.

In what rank or capacity?
As master surgeon.

What is the name of the ship of which you are now surgeon;
what rate is she, and where is she at present?
The Thistle, sixth rate, now lying at Portsmouth.

Is she employed in the channel service, or bound on a foreign
station?
I believe she is bound on a foreign station.

Do you expect to sail soon?
Yes.

What was the amount of your pay and emoluments on board a
Slave ship as surgeon?
I believe it was about £.147 for the whole voyage of nineteen
months, out and home.

What may be the amount of your pay and emoluments in your
present station in the King's service?
I had rather not answer that question.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

He was asked,
What do you apprehend, or had reason to expect, when you
entered

entered into the King's service, might be the amount of your pay and emoluments in your present station?

Our pay is £. 5 per month, two-pence per month from each seamen on board for medicines, a servant allowed us, and in my present employment the bounty of a sixth-rate, which in the whole may amount to about £. 100 per annum, more or less.

Have you or have you not reason to believe, that the Slaves on board the other two ships you have mentioned were destined to work in the mines in South America?

I have already given an answer to a question similar to that.

Have you ever heard melancholic or hypochondriac habit ascribed by physicians or medical writers as a cause of dysentery?

I have not.

Do you, as a professional man, conceive that the grief or melancholy which you have described to have existed among the Negroes in the ship you was surgeon of, was the cause of the fatal dysentery which carried off so many of them?

I believe that the melancholy and pensiveness of the Slaves were reasons why they would not eat; they became weak and debilitated, and incapable of digesting the food allotted for them; the consequences were belly-ache, and a dysentery generally ensued.

Is debility then considered by medical men as a cause of dysentery more than of any other disease?

Debility is frequently the cause of indigestion; which is the only answer I can give.

Is not melancholy or grief generally held by physicians to have the effect of producing a costive habit?

These are questions in my opinion rather tending to examine into the abilities of a medical person, and not to the elucidation of the subject; what I have already urged was only my opinion of matters.

Question repeated.

It has.

Was the dysentery on board your ship a contagious one?

I believe it in some measure was.

What were the means taken to cure this flux?

Cleanliness;

Cleanliness; clearing the stomach or bowels from any putrid matter that might be lodged therein; mild astringents and gentle anodynes were afterwards administered.

Are you certain that the young Negro whom you described to have starved himself to death, did not die of a tetanus?
Yes.

How then do you account for the difficulty of opening his jaw with so great a force as you applied for that purpose, at a time when the patient must have been extremely debilitated for want of food?

The force was only manual; the point of the speculum oris was too obtuse. I therefore can give no other reason why we could not open his mouth; the application of the other instrument, called the bolus-knife (it being very elastic) we could not use much force with it, lest it might cut his lips in the operation.

In ordinary cases, when a person is much reduced, and very weak from not taking nourishment, or any other cause, has or has not the lower jaw a tendency to fall down instead of being clenched fast to the upper jaw?

In some cases it has.

As you saw this Negro after he died, what was the situation of his jaw at that time?

I did not particularly examine into that circumstance.

Does not the lower jaw at death generally fall down, if not upheld by a bandage?

Yes.

Did your observation of the conduct and behaviour of the man at the time he asked for water, convince you that the shutting of his mouth had previously been, and was afterwards, a voluntary action?

Yes, I believe it was.

Question repeated.

The circumstances of his asking for water and voluntarily opening his mouth, and immediately closing his teeth again, were strong reasons why I conceived it was a voluntary act; and finding that the case, I thought it unnecessary to make any further

ther great exertions in order to compel him to eat, as he appeared to be determined in his resolution.

Is it your opinion, that that debility of the stomach which is occasioned by long abstinence from food, does frequently produce the dysentery, or increase the disorder, where any tendency to it previously existed?

It increases the melancholy, and we are obliged to give aperient medicines, which the weak state of the body is scarcely able to bear, the consequence whereof is the dysentery—and a doubtful remedy is frequently better than none.

Do you or do you not mean to say, that, in your opinion, melancholy is an immediate cause of the dysentery, or only that it acts as the original or remote cause, by inducing persons to persevere in an abstinence which weakens the stomach, and brings on the other disorder, to wit, the dysentery?

I believe it to be the original and remote cause.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 8^o die Martii 1790.

MR. ALEXANDER FALCONBRIDGE was called in, and examined.

What is your present situation?
A surgeon.

How many voyages have you been to the Coast of Africa, and in what capacity?

I have been four voyages to the Coast of Africa, but only three of them to Africa and the West Indies; in the first voyage I was taken at Cape Mount, in the Tartar.

In what years were you thus employed?
From 1780 or 1781 to the beginning of 1787.

In what ships, under what captains, and from what ports?

My first voyage was with Mr. Frazer in the Tartar, my second with the same gentleman in the Emilia, the third with Mr. Mac-
tagart

tagart in the Alexander, the fourth in the same ship Emilia with Mr. Frazer.

What part of the Coast of Africa did you visit for Slaves in each voyage respectively?

My second voyage was to the Windward and Grain Coast, and Coast of Angola; my third and fourth voyages were to the Bight of Benin.

According to the best of your judgment, what are the principal sources of supply to the African Slave Trade?

Kidnapping and crimes, I should suppose.

Can you give the Committee your reasons for believing that kidnapping is one main source whence Slaves are supplied to the Slave Trade?

On my second voyage, while laying at Cape Mount, on the Windward Coast, a man was brought on board, well known to Mr. Frazer and his officers by the name of Cape Mount Jack; when he came on board he spoke very little English, in process of time he learnt more; he was a very tractable good-natured fellow—this made me curious to learn his history: he told me he was one evening invited to drink with some of his neighbours; when he was about to depart, two of the people got up to seize him, and he would have made his escape, being a nimble fellow, if he had not been stopped by a large dog; he assured me this was a common practice in his country.

Did he tell you this story once only, or frequently?

He has told me it at different times during the whole of the Middle Passage, till he was sold at Port Maria in Jamaica.

Did he vary in his recital, or was he uniform in the particulars of it?

He always told the story in the same way, he never varied.

Was he a person in whose veracity you think you might reasonably confide, according to the best judgment you could form of him from other circumstances?

From his behaviour on ship-board I think I could; he had generally the care of many trifling things of mine; he used to wash and mend my shirts, as likewise those of the common sailors, and I never lost a single article.

Can

Can you mention any other instances of kidnapping ?

In my third voyage in the *Alexander*, at Bonny, a woman was brought on board very big with child, which induced me to enquire, by means of our interpreter, who called himself Billy Frafer, at Bonny, how she came to be sold for a Slave in that situation ; she answered, returning home from a visit, she was seized, and after passing through several hands was brought down to the water-side, and sold to a trader, who sold her to us. In the same ship and same voyage, a man was brought on board advanced in years ; from that circumstance I was curious to know how he came to be sold ; he replied, he and his son were planting yams in their field, and that they were seized by professed kidnappers, and sold ; I learnt this circumstance also through the means of the same interpreter. In my last voyage at Bonny, in the *Emilia*, I was one day on the quarter-deck, looking through the lattice-work, when a canoe came alongside belonging to a trader, who called himself Blundell Foubre : I saw no Slaves in the canoe ; two of the traders who were on board, and who seemed to be in the secret, stepped down into the canoe, and handed up a fine stout fellow, desired he might be put in irons, which was directly done, and he was paid for ; the circumstance of his being brought on board in that manner induced me to enquire how it came to pass that he was sold ; he said he came to Bonny to the trader's house ; he asked him if he had ever seen a ship ; replying in the negative, the trader said he would treat him with the sight of one ; and he was sold as I before observed.

Have you heard of any other instances ?

A Captain Gould told me, who commanded a brig called the *Alert*, that he had taken a man away from Little Cape Mount. I do not know whether this circumstance was known to his owners, but I believe he was turned out of the brig—I cannot say it was for this ; but I think it is probable it might have been.

Did you ever hear it was on this account ?

I have heard so ; but I cannot depend upon that information.

Have you ever enquired of any Slaves in the West India Islands, after the manner of their being brought into that situation ?

In my last voyage at Grenada, I was landing some Slaves in a boat at St. George's Town ; one of them, who had been sickly on the voyage, on his being put on shore entered into conversation in his own country tongue with a Black man, who was captain

tain of a sloop, his name was Liverpool. I asked him the subject of the conversation; he told me, that this man knew his father and mother in Africa, and that he told him, that being concerned in kidnapping some of his neighbours, the friends of the people had kidnapped him, or caused him to be kidnapped; he at the same time said, that it was a common practice in his country.

Can you mention any other instance?

I do not immediately recollect any other which comes within my own knowledge; I have heard of an hundred other accounts, but I cannot depend upon the authenticity of them.

Do you think you can depend upon the authenticity of the instances you have mentioned?

I think I can—Neither the Slaves or myself could have had any interest in misrepresentation.

Can you mention any instance of kidnapping on the part of the Grain Coast called Crue Setra?

In my second voyage, while lying at Crue Setra, a canoe came up with two Black traders in her, and informed the captain there was trade a little lower down; we hove up the anchor, and went down to this place. The captain, finding there was no trade, said, he would not be made a fool of, but detained one of the canoe-men till he got a Slave; in about two hours time a very fine man was brought on board, and sold, upon which the canoe-man was released. I desired a Black man on board, who acted as our pilot for that part of the Coast, to enquire how this man came to be sold; he said, he had committed no crime, but was surrounded and seized on the beach, and brought on board our ship.

Have any circumstances induced you to be of opinion that the natives of the Windward Coast have been sometimes carried off by the European vessels?

If I may be allowed to judge from the suspicion that many of the people on the Grain Coast shew when they come on board our ships, by always standing as near the gangway as they can, and on the least alarm jumping into the sea, they are so; they are the best swimmers on that part of the Coast I ever saw any where.

You have said that you think conviction for crimes another main source of supply to the Slave Trade; do you believe that crimes

crimes are ever falsely imputed for the sake of convicting, and selling the party accused?

I do. In my second voyage, while laying at the river Ambris, our boat came on board from the shore with several Slaves in it, one in particular had what they call in their own country the *craw-craw*, which is a kind of scabies or itch: I asked one of the boat's crew where they got that man from; the sailor told me, he was fishing at the river, and that one of the King's officers called Mambooka was in want of some brandy and other goods which were in the boat, but not having a Slave to purchase them with, accused this man of extortion in the sale of his fish; and after some kind of trial on the beach, condemned him to be sold.

Had you ever information on this head from the Reverend Mr. Philip Quakoo, chaplain to the fort at Cape Coast?

I had; in my last voyage, going to Bonny, we stopt at Cape Coast Castle to deliver some goods; I was desired to come on shore by Mr. Frazer: while Mr. Frazer was doing business with the governor, the doctor invited me into his house in the castle, and after talking on different subjects, I asked him how the Slaves were made, and he assured me the greatest number were by kidnapping.

Had you any other information from Mr. Quakoo?
I do not recollect at present that I had.

Did you ever hear of the great men dressing up and employing women to entice the young men to their embraces, for the purpose of convicting them of adultery, that they might be sold for Slaves?

I have.

Were children brought to your vessel to be sold?
Yes, almost every day, more or less.

Was it commonly with or without their parents or other persons, in the consequence of whose crimes they might be supposed to be involved?

I never recollect their parents coming with them, or any of their relations that were known to be such.

Do you believe that many of the Slaves purchased by Europeans are prisoners of war?

I believe not, as we understand the word war: by an African war I should understand a piratical expedition for the purpose of making Slaves; and these expeditions they term war.

Whence did you form your opinion of the meaning of the term war, according to the sense in which it is used in Africa?

I have mentioned in the preceding part of my evidence, a trader of Bonny, called Blundell Foubre, and at whose house I called frequently—he said, the White men went to war like fools, when they knew their enemies were ready to receive them; but their method was to go in the night, and set fire to one part of the town, and as the people fled from the flames they were caught by their enemies.

Had many of the Slaves, when they were brought on board, fresh wounds on them?

I do not recollect ever seeing a Slave with a fresh wound when brought on board—I have seen the skin of the wrist and arms excoriated from the friction of the country ropes with which they were tied.

Have you heard, from good authority, that Slaves were bred for sale in Africa?

I never heard of such a practice; and from the affection the mothers shew to their children, I should suppose it a jest.

It is not meant to ask whether parents sell their own children, but whether you have heard in Africa that there are owners of Slaves who sell the young ones that are produced from them?

I never heard of any such custom.

Do you believe that violent means are ever used by the European ships to force the trade for Slaves?

I do.

Can you mention any instance of this practice?

When I was on board the *Alexander*, at Bonny, a captain of a Bristol Slave vessel came on board from New Calabar; he said, when his traders were slack, he fired a gun into the town, or over it (I cannot take upon me to say which), to accelerate their motions, or, in his own phrase, to freshen their way.

Have you ever observed, in the houses of any of the chiefs or great men, guns in a considerable number, as if kept for the purpose of shew or ornament?

I believe there are very few kept for shew; I have seen a great number in their houses with different kinds of goods, which I always understood were for trade.

Did

Did the guns seem to be kept as in store like the other goods, or to be arranged and disposed as if for the ornament of their houses?

I mean to say they lay in a heap with India and European goods altogether; I speak of Bonny in particular, being more on shore there than at any other place.

What have you heard concerning the quality of the ordinary trade guns?

Many of the Black people have told me, that they kill more out of the butt than the muzzle.

What do you apprehend is meant by this phrase?

That the guns often burst.

Describe the mode of trade at Bonny in its various particulars?

When a ship arrives in Bonny River, the captain generally goes on shore to make known his arrival to the king and principal men; a day or two after the king comes on board in his canoe, with a band of music, to break trade, as it is called; he is generally presented with some goods called *Dashes*; after that, permission is given for trade. In general Slaves are bought every day, from five to ten, more or less; but the greatest numbers are brought from fairs. A number of large canoes, some with a three or four pounder lashed on their bows, and full of goods, go to what they call the Up Country, where they stop eight or ten days, more or less, and return with great numbers of Slaves; I think I once heard to the amount of 1,200: the ship that has been longest in the river has the first choice, and generally sails in a few days after; as near as I could understand this is the practice at Bonny. I forgot to mention, that after the king has been entertained on board, his parliament gentlemen expect to be treated with a small quantity of bread and salt beef.

Did you observe whether the people in these canoes were armed or not?

They have generally cutlasses—I cannot say whether they have muskets, but there is always a quantity of muskets in the canoes, but for what purpose they are there I cannot tell.

Do you examine the Slaves previous to purchasing them?

They are always examined by some officers on board; it is generally understood to be the surgeon's business.

Do they appear dejected when brought on board?
All that I have seen in my voyages did appear so.

Did this dejection continue, or did it soon wear off?
With some it continued the whole voyage, and with others till death put a period to their misery.

Have you known instances of Slaves refusing sustenance?
I have known several instances.

With what design do you apprehend it to have been thus refused?
With a design to starve themselves, I am persuaded.

Are compulsive means used to induce the Slaves to take their food?
In every ship that I have been, it has been the case.

Have you ever known them refuse to take their medicines when sick?
I have known many instances of it.

With what intention do you imagine?
With the same intention that they refused their food—that they would wish to die. I had a woman on board the *Alexander*, who was dejected from the moment she came on board; she was taken ill of a dysentery, and would neither take food or medicines: I often tried to make her swallow wine, but never could. I desired the interpreter to ask her what she wanted, or what I should get for her; she replied, she wanted nothing but to die—and she did die.

Have any other of the Slaves expressed the same sentiment?
Many of them have done so.

What was the size of your vessel, and what was the number of your Slaves in your respective voyages?

I cannot speak positively as to the tonnage. I believe there was a very great mistake in my evidence before the Privy Council; I believe the tonnage is there stated twice as much as it really was; but I believe the vessels which I have been in might be between 200 and 250 tons burthen, as near as I can guess: in my second voyage to the Windward Coast in Angola we purchased, as near as I can recollect, 300 Negroes, and lost between thirty and forty; in the
Alexander

Alexander at Bonny, we purchased 380, and lost 105; in my last voyage, we purchased about 420, and lost 51 or 52.

What was the mode used in stowing the Slaves in their night apartments?

When I have been employed in that business, I used always to make the most of my room, and wedge them in as well as I could.

Were they then closely packed, or had they room sufficient to lie in comfort?

They had not so much room as a man has in his coffin, neither in length or breadth, and it was impossible for them to turn or shift with any degree of ease. I have had occasion very often to go from one side of their rooms to the other; before I attempted it I have always taken off my shoes, and notwithstanding I have trod with as much care as I possibly could to prevent pinching them, it has unavoidably happened that I did so; I have often had my feet bit and scratched by them, the marks of which I have now.

Did the Slaves complain of heat or want of air?

They have done so in all my voyages, when the ship was full.

Have you ever observed that the confinement in this situation has been injurious to the health of the Slaves?

So much so, that I have known them go down apparently in good health at night, and found dead in the morning. In my last voyage I remember a very stout man going down in the evening, to all appearance in good health, and he was found dead in the morning; I had the curiosity to open him, Mr. Frazer permitting that, provided it was done with decency: after all the Slaves were off the deck, I opened the thorax and abdomen, and found the respective contents in a healthy state; I therefore conclude he must have been suffocated, or died for want of fresh air.

Were you ever yourself below when the Slaves were there; and describe the effects you perceived from it?

It is the surgeon's business to go below every morning the first thing; and I was never amongst them above ten minutes, but my shirt was as wet as if it had been dipt in water. In the Alexander, in coming out of the river Bonny, the ship got on ground on the Bar, she hung on her rudder, and detained us there six or seven days in consequence; during that time there was a great swell, and a good deal of heavy rain; the air-ports were obliged to be shut, and part of the gratings on the weather side of her covered;

almost all the men Slaves were taken ill with the flux: I went down repeatedly amongst them; the last time that I went down it was so extremely hot that I took off my shirt; upwards of twenty of them had fainted, or were fainting: I got several of them hauled up upon deck, and two or three of them died, and most of the rest before I arrived in the West Indies. I think I had been down about fifteen minutes, and it made me so very ill, that I could not get up without assistance. I was taken ill of a dysentery myself, and was unable to do my duty the whole passage afterwards.

Have you an apartment on board ship appropriated to the use of the sick Slaves?

I believe there is such a place in every vessel.

What accommodations does it contain for the comfort of the Slaves when sick?

There is no accommodation at all, they have nothing but the bare planks to lie upon.

Have you known the Slaves to suffer from the want of better accommodation?

They suffer exceedingly, especially those who are much emaciated, so much so, that I have seen the prominent part of their bones about the shoulder blade and knees frequently bare—if I have put any kind of plaister or bandage on them, they generally remove them, and apply them to other purposes.

What are the most prevalent disorders on board a Negro ship?

I believe fevers and dysenteries.

Are the consequences ever extremely noxious and nauseous of great numbers being ill at once of this latter disorder?

It was the case in the Alexander, as I have said before, when I was taken ill—I cannot conceive any situation so dreadful and disgusting; the deck was covered with blood and mucus, and approached nearer to the resemblance of a slaughter-house than any thing I can compare it to; the stench and foul air were likewise intolerable.

Do you think that by proper care many of these inconveniences might be provided against and prevented?

As the trade now stands I think they cannot.

Do those who are sick under these circumstances often recover?

I never myself could recover one who had a bad dysentery, nor do I believe the whole college of physicians, if they were there, could be of the least service, for I humbly conceive a disease cannot be cured while the cause remains.

What do you apprehend to be the main cause?

I think the principal causes are a diseased mind, sudden transitions from heat to cold, breathing a putrid atmosphere, wallowing in their own excrement, and being shackled together.

On what grounds do you ascribe the sickness of the Slaves in any degree to the circumstance of their being shackled?

From their dying in above twice the number of the women, who are not shackled.

Do you believe it is necessary to the safety of the vessel to shackle the men?

I believe no man would attempt to carry them without.

Have you any other reason for believing a diseased mind to be the cause, besides those you have before assigned?

I have known a few instances of some Slaves recovering, who, I conceived, did not reflect much on their situation.

Have you known instances of quarrels between Slaves who have been shackled together?

It is frequently the case, I believe, in all Slave ships.

Have you known any other inconveniences resulting from their being thus shackled?

The inconvenience is great. In each apartment are placed three or four tubs, more or less; the Slaves that are at the greatest distance from these tubs find it very difficult to get over the other Slaves to them; and sometimes when one wants to go, his companion will not agree to go with him; and while they are disputing, if one of them happens to be a little relaxed, he exonerates over his neighbours, which is the cause of great disturbance.

Have you ever known an instance of a Slave dying whilst still shackled to another?

In the Alexander I have known two or three instances of a dead and living Slave being found in the morning shackled together.

Have

Have you known or heard of any instance of insurrections of the Slaves when on board ship?

I have. In my last voyage with Mr. Frazer we stopt, as I have said before, at Cape Coast Castle: we purchased eighteen male Negroes; they were part of a cargo which had rose on the White men, killed all except three or four, run the ship on shore, where, I believe, most of them were taken and sold again. I likewise heard of an insurrection on board a Liverpool ship called the Vulture, and another on board the Wasp, belonging to Bristol.

Did you hear of this last from information on which you could rely?

I believe I can rely on it; I heard it at Bristol some time ago.

Are the Slave vessels fitted up with a view to prevent the Slaves from jumping overboard?

They are at Bonny particularly.

Have you reason to believe these precautions are necessary?

I am sure they are at Bonny.

Have you known any instances of Slaves jumping overboard?

I have on board the Alexander; we had eight or ten Slaves brought on board one night, and while the armourer was putting the irons on one of them, another run through the barricado-door, forced his way through the netting on the starboard side of the ship, and was either drowned or devoured by the sharks. In the same voyage near twenty Slaves jumped overboard out of a ship called the Enterprize, Captain Wilson; as did a number out of a large Frenchman, whose name I do not remember. I remember also a circumstance of a sick man on board the Alexander, whom I saw overnight, and missed in the morning: he must therefore have found means to get overboard, as I never saw him afterwards; the place for the sick in that ship being under the aft-deck.

Have you known any instances of Slaves destroying themselves in any other way?

In my last voyage at Bonny, we had a fine young woman brought on board, who was continually crying, and was emaciated very much in the course of three or four days; she refused her food: it was thought proper, for the recovery of her health, to send her on shore to the town of Bonny; I was informed that she soon
got

got chearful again ; but hearing by accident she was to be sent on board the ship, she hung herself.

What reason have you to believe she hung herself?

I saw her brought alongside in a canoe, dead, but looked quite jolly ; I said to the man, called Billy Frazer, she did not die of disease. —He said, No, she hung herself.

Did you ever know instances of insanity among the Slaves on board ship.

In my first voyage to Bonny, in the *Alexander*, I went on board the *Emilia*, then lying in the river, and which was about to sail ; I saw a woman chained on deck, and I asked the chief mate what was the matter with her ; he said she was mad.

Do you recollect any other instance ?

I recollect, on my second voyage in the *Emilia*, we had a woman on board, whom we were forced to chain at certain times ; at other times she appeared perfectly well ; and, in one of those intervals, she was sold at Port Maria, in Jamaica.

To what cause do you ascribe the insanity in these instances ?

To their being torn from their nearest connections, and carried away from their country.

How are the male Slaves secured when on deck ?

While lying on the coast, as they come up in the morning a person examines their irons, and a large chain is reeved through a ring on the shackles of each, and through the ring-bolts on deck, and locked.

Do the male Slaves ever dance under these circumstances ?

After every meal they are made to jump in their irons ; but I cannot call it dancing.

What is the term which is usually given to it ?

It is by the Slave dealers called dancing.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Martis, 9° die Martii 1790.

MR. Falconbridge called in, and further examined.

Mr. FALCONBRIDGE. Is compulsion ever used, to make the Slaves take the exercise of dancing?

I have often been desired myself, in all the ships which I have been in, to flog such as would not jump or dance voluntarily.

Was it necessary for any one to be present with the cat to superintend the dancing?

I generally used to have a cat in my hand amongst the women; the chief mate attended the men, and I believe he had a cat also in his hand.

In case of any sudden accident, as of the ship striking, or blowing up, would it generally be possible to disengage the Slaves from the fetters, so as to enable them to swim on shore, if it was near the land?

I think first every man looks to his own safety. In my second voyage with Mr. Frazer there was a ship, under Imperial colours, blown up off the river Galenas, on the Windward Coast of Africa, her name I do not remember, but she was commanded by a Captain Bell. I was informed by the people of Galenas and Cape Mount, that most of the men Slaves were drowned: one woman, in particular, we had on board, who had made her escape, I suppose by swimming; her face was very much burnt, but it was well when she came on board our ship.

Was more than one woman saved?

I believe there were; but I do not recollect any more on board our ship.

Was it an English ship?

I was informed so. The captain was an Englishman, or a Scotchman.

What is the food usually given to the Slaves in the course of the voyage?

On the Windward and Gold Coast I believe horse-beans and rice is the principal food. At Bonny they have generally one meal a day of yams, and sometimes they have a little bread and beef given them.

What quantity of water is each Slave allowed daily?

In the ships I have been in, in the first part of the Middle Passage we gave each Slave three pannicans, each holding about eight ounces, or half a pint; but when we approached the Islands they had as much as they chose to drink.

Did you ever know the Slaves complain for want of water?

I have frequently known them call for it in the night, owing, I suppose, to the heat of their rooms.

Have you ever known the slaves sing when on board the ship?

I have.

Did you ever hear what was the subject of their songs?

I have desired the interpreter at Bonny to ask what they were singing about; and he has always told me, they were lamenting the loss of their country and friends.

Had you in any of your voyages any refuse Slaves?

We had some in all our voyages, more or less.

In which of your voyages had you the most?

In the Alexander.

Can you state generally the prices at which these refuse Slaves sold in the West Indies?

We had sixteen sold in the Alexander by auction, one or two of them so low as five dollars a-piece.

Did you hear what became of them after they were sold?

I was informed they all died before we sailed.

From whom had you this information?

From some of the purchasers themselves.

Did you ever sell any Slaves by what is called scramble?

In two of my voyages they were sold so; viz. in the Emilia at Port Maria, and in the Alexander they were sold in a yard; but both by scramble:

Describe the circumstances of this mode of sale?

In the Emilia at Port Maria the ship was darkened with sails, and covered round; the men Slaves were placed on the main deck,

deck, and the women on the quarter deck; the purchasers on shore were informed a gun would be fired when they were ready to open the sale; a great number of people came on board with tallies or cards in their hands, with their own name upon them, and rushed through the barricado door with the ferocity of brutes; some had three or four handkerchiefs tied together, to encircle as many as they thought fit for their purpose. At the yard in Grenada the women were so terrified, that several of them got out of the yard, and ran about St. George's town, as if they were mad. In my second voyage, while lying at Kingston in Jamaica, I saw a sale by scramble on board the snow Tryall, Captain Macdonald; forty or fifty of the Slaves leaped into the sea, all of which, I believe, were taken up again: our boat took up some of them.

Are they divided into distinct lots in this mode of sale?
They were not in our ship, but were placed promiscuously.

How is it ascertained what Slaves every particular person purchases?

I have said before, that they come on board with cards or tallies in their hands; they put them about the necks of such Slaves as they make choice of.

From what you saw of the scramble, do you conceive it possible, in this mode of sale, to provide against the separation of parents from children, or that of other friends or relations?

I believe it is very little attended to; but I must do Mr. Fraser the justice to say, that he always recommended to the planters never to part relations or friends.

What precautions were used to prevent their being purchased by different persons in the scramble?

There was no precaution used; but the Slaves themselves used to cry and beg that such a man or woman (their friend or relation) might be bought and sent with them, wherever they were going.

Did you ever know any instance of a person not being allowed to purchase a Slave, unless he would also purchase the Slave's parent, or other near relation?

I do not recollect an instance. I have heard of a person who would not purchase a man's wife, and the next day I was informed the man hanged himself.

Did

Did you always meet with a ready market for your Slaves in your several voyages?

We did not, particularly in the last voyage; we stopt some time at Barbadoes, went from thence to Tobago, there was no demand for Slaves there; went to Grenada, and sold them on the merchants' own terms; we were forced to take bills at very long dates, the bill for my own privilege was at twelve months.

Explain what you mean by your own privilege?

I mean the Slaves that the officers are allowed by the merchants.

Were you ever on shore on the different Islands in the West Indies?

I have been on shore at all the Islands where I have been, except at Tobago.

So far as your observation went, what judgment did you form of the general treatment of the Slaves?

I used to think it very cruel. I had once the curiosity to go into a gaol at Black River, in Jamaica; I saw there a man who had been so severely flogged, that he was forced to have a sack of straw between his back and the board he laid on; the lacerations that had been made with the whip were shocking to look at. At Grenada I have seen great numbers of Negroes come to market on Sunday mornings, and I hardly ever saw the back of one but had scars on it; they have often complained to me, particularly the wharfingers, that they were very hard worked and poorly fed.

Did you understand whether this person whom you say you saw in gaol had been whipt in consequence of a legal sentence, or by the order of his master?

I did not enquire.

What is your opinion of the general treatment of seamen in the African Slave Trade?

My opinion is, that they are treated with the greatest barbarity.

What is their usual lodging in the Middle Passage?

They have no lodging at all, unless in a frigate-built ship, where they may creep under the fore-castle or aft-deck, there is a tarpawling over the booms; but for my own part, I always preferred being in the rain to getting under it, on account of the noxious effluvia which is continually rising through the gratings.

Were the seamen in your voyages paid part of their wages in the Islands in West India currency?

As soon as the Slaves were sold, they received half that was due to them in currency.

You have spoken of the general treatment of seamen in the Slave Trade; how were the sailors treated on board the two ships in which you sailed?

In Mr. Frazer's ship they were treated exceedingly well; he always allowed them a dram in the morning, and grog in the evening; when any of them were sick, he always sent them victuals from his own table, and enquired every day after their health; and it was always in my power to give them wine, or whatever I thought proper; if they wanted, it was my fault, not Captain Frazer's: I have often said in private, and I say here in public, that I believe him to be one of the best men in the trade. I have experienced a very different mode of treatment in another ship; I have seen the sailors knocked down with the first thing which came to hand, for trifling and imaginary faults; I have seen them tied up and flogged with the cat frequently: I remember also an instance of an old man who had been gunner of one of his Majesty's ships, but who was our boatswain, having one night some words with the mate, the boatswain was severely beat, and had one or two of his teeth knocked out—he said he would jump overboard; he was tied to the rail of the quarter deck, and a pump bolt put in his mouth by way of gagging him—he was then untied, put under the aft-deck, and a centinel put over him all night; in the morning he was released; I always considered him as a quiet inoffensive man. In the same voyage a Black boy was beat every day; and one day after he was beat he jumped through one of the gun-ports of the cabin into the river. A canoe was lying along side, which dropt astern and picked him up. I gave him one of my own shirts to put on, and asked him, if he did not expect to be devoured by the sharks; he said he did, and that it would be much better for him to be killed at once than to be daily treated with so much cruelty. In the same voyage a poor man was severely beaten, for what cause I never heard. Some time after he was beaten I went on the main deck, and heard a seaman grumbling, whose name was Sullivan. I asked him what he was muttering about, because I said to him, "You were never used ill in the ship." He replied, "If I am not, I cannot bear to see my shipmates so cruelly used." That night this man who had been so severely beaten, and ten others, ran away in one of the long-boats that

was left by Mr. Frazer ; and, as I have since been informed, intended to go to Old Calabar ; but getting up the wrong river, they were seized by the natives and stripped, and marched through the country to Old Calabar. Two or three, I am informed, died in the march. Those that remained went on board a ship called the Lyon, Captain Burrows. I had this information from one of the number, whose name was Sermon, and whom I found in the Bristol infirmary with a bad toe after I came home. I can only say further, that the treatment was of the same complexion during the whole of the voyage. Since that voyage I have made another with Mr. Frazer, and his behaviour was as I have before described.

Was the crew of the Alexander, in general, treated in the manner you have described, or was it only particular sailors, in whose cases severity might be requisite?

Every man in that ship was beat, except myself, the chief mate, and Sullivan, whom I have before mentioned.

Have you at different times spoken of the barbarous treatment of the sailors on board this ship to any person or persons?

I have. On my arrival from that voyage I described their treatment to Mr. Frazer, and to many other persons in Bristol, and also to Mr. Norris of Liverpool.

Can you give any information respecting the ill-treatment of the steward of the Vulture?

In my last voyage to Bonny, the Vulture was lying in the River. I was informed by the King and the Black persons on shore that the steward had been cruelly treated, that he was chained in a boat alongside the ship, and found dead in the morning. Since this time I have been informed by two sailors, named Ormond and Murray, at Liverpool, that the fact was as described to me by the Black persons at Bonny.

Did the two sailors say how they came to the knowledge of this transaction?

They both belonged to the Vulture at the time.

Has any circumstance fallen within your knowledge, which has enabled you to judge whether seamen are better or worse treated on board French than English Guinea Slave vessels?

I cannot say how they are treated in the French merchant service.

What

What was the number of your crew in your respective voyages, and how many seamen did you lose?

In my second voyage we had forty-two or forty-three persons altogether, and buried three. In the Alexander we had fifty persons, and buried nine. In the last voyage we had forty-four or forty-five, and buried three. I beg leave to observe there is an inaccuracy in my evidence in the Privy Council Report, relative to the loss of seamen in my different voyages: the account which I have now given to the Committee is the accurate statement.

Have you met with any vessels on the Coast which have suffered considerably in their crews?

In my last voyage we stopt a short time at Cape Mesurado; a sailor came on board, and informed us that most of their crew were dead; I do not recollect the name of the ship, but was told she belonged to Mr. Barber.

Have you ever practised in the Bristol infirmary?

I was a pupil there upwards of twelve months.

Were many seamen brought to the infirmary during your stay there?

A great many.

Was there a greater proportion from the African than from any other trade?

The greatest number that we had diseased were Guinea seamen; we had many other seamen brought to the hospital, but they were generally for accidents.

Did the seamen from the African Trade, who were brought to the infirmary, generally recover their health?

They have gone out much better than they came in; but I think their health was so far destroyed, as it would never be perfectly restored.

What are the productions in which you have observed the Coast of Africa chiefly to abound?

I have seen cotton, wax, ivory, gold, a variety of different sorts of woods whose names I cannot describe, different kinds of spices, wild cinnamon, all the tropical fruits, the best rice in the world, tobacco, and many other articles which I do not now recollect.

Is there any thing peculiar in the soil in which this rice grows?

I do not know that there is; they cultivate it promiscuously all over the country.

Were you ever in Carolina?

I never was.

Did you ever see the rice grow in Africa on high ground?

I have with my glass seen some plantations on very high ground, particularly at Cape Mount.

Have you ever seen the natives at work in the fields in Africa?

In my second voyage I was once or twice on shore at a place called Manna, between Cape Mount and the River Galenas; I was in a plantation there belonging to a Black man of the name of Tucker. I have seen his people at work on that plantation.

Did they work under the superintendance of a driver, or with apparent willingness?

I never saw or heard of a driver there; they seemed to work with a great deal of willingness and seeming satisfaction.

Did you purchase any rice on the Coast of Africa?

In my second voyage we purchased a good quantity at Junk, about forty or fifty tons.

Was any lost in the surf in its passage from the shore to the ship?
Not that I ever heard of.

Was this at a time of the year when the surf was highest or lowest?
I believe it was not at a time when the surf was very high.

Was it in or out of the rainy season?
In the rainy season.

Were you ever at Cape Coast?
I was, with Mr. Frazer.

Did you ever land any bulky articles there?

I have landed, in a canoe belonging to the castle, three puncheons of goods and an hoghead of tobacco.

Did you lose any bulky articles in attempting to land them?
We did not.

Can you make a comparison between the furs on the Coast of Africa and those at the different West India Islands?

I think I have seen the fur as great at Saint Christopher's as I ever did on the Coast of Africa.

Did you ever see any cloth in Africa of the natives own manufacture?

I have bought several pieces of cloth that were made by the natives.

From what was the cloth manufactured?

From cotton.

Where did they get this cotton?

It grows in the country.

Are these cloths ever dyed?

I have got some of them which are dyed with a very beautiful and permanent blue.

Are they dyed by natives?

Yes.

Do the Africans ever work in metals?

I have seen many trinkets made by the Africans on the Coast.

Are they manufactured in a very rude and inartificial manner?

No; I have often been surprized to see some of their work in iron, particularly spears and cutlasses.

So far as you have been enabled to form a judgment, is the capacity of the Africans equal to that of the unpolished inhabitants of other countries?

I am convinced their capacities are equal to those of Europeans.

What do you think of their temper and disposition?

I have always considered the natives of the Windward and Gold Coast to be much better tempered than those of Bonny; I think the dispositions of those on the Windward and Gold Coast are very good. I was once landed very sick on the Island of Saint Thomas, and I am persuaded I should have died if it had not been

been for the care of a Black man there: when I was better, I offered him some money, which he refused, saying, he had done no more than his duty.

Do you believe the Africans are in general attached to their native country?

They certainly are.

Do you believe they are as much attached to their near relations as the natives of other countries?

Yes. In my last voyage, at Cape Coast Castle, Mr. Frazer desired me to choose eighteen Slaves out of the yard. I objected to one that was meagre, and put him aside—I observed a tear to steal down his cheek, which he endeavoured to conceal. I desired the armourer to enquire of him what he cried for; he said, he was going to be parted from his brother: this induced me to take him. I do not know whether Mr. Frazer knew the circumstance; but, if he had, I am sure he would not have been displeased.

Do you think the indolence of the natives such, that they could not be induced to cultivate the ground, if they had sufficient encouragement?

I am persuaded they would work, if proper encouragement was given them.

Have they any notion of making contracts to be performed in a given time?

They have. When we bought the rice I have before mentioned, it was contracted for, and I believe part of it was paid for; we found the rice ready at the time it was contracted for, which was at about six weeks distance.

Do many of the natives appear to have a turn for conducting trade?

They have all over the Coast where I have been.

Have you any reason to believe that if the Slave Trade were abolished, any of the natives of Africa, who are now employed in carrying it on, might be induced to betake themselves to the cultivation of the soil?

I have. A man, whom I have mentioned before by the name of Billy Frazer, and with whom I had frequent conversations at Bonny, upon my asking him what was their situation in war when they had no trade, said, they were forced to plant yams.

Do

Do you believe the females in Africa to be as prolific as those of other countries?

I have always thought they are more so; out of four or five deliveries on shipboard two of the women had twins.

Did you ever see any persons in Africa of the condition of Slaves?

I never saw any that I knew to be such from their treatment.

Did you see any persons whom you understood to be of this description?

I have been told by the persons themselves that they were Slaves.

What was the cause of your quitting your employment as surgeon of a Guinea-man?

In my first and second voyage I reflected but little on the justice or injustice of the Trade; in my last voyage I reflected more, and the more I did so, the more I was convinced it is an unnatural, iniquitous, and villanous trade, and I could not reconcile it to my conscience.

Could you have continued in the employment if you had wished so to do?

I could; and I believe at the time I left it, I might have gone again with Mr. Fraser if I had chose it; I was afterwards repeatedly solicited to go to the Gold Coast by Captain Thompson.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 10^o die Martii 1790.

MR. Falconbridge again called in, and further examined.

What do you mean by professed kidnappers?

People who make it their constant practice of so doing.

Of doing what?

Kidnapping.

Upon what authority do you assert that there are professed kidnappers?

In a former part of my evidence I have said a man in years was brought on board the *Alexander*, and from his being in years I was curious to know how he was made a Slave—I desired the interpreter to ask him; he said, that he and his son were planting yams in a field, and were seized by people who made a practice of kidnapping, and they were sold.

Is that your only ground for asserting there are professed kidnappers?

It is not.

Do you know of any circumstance of kidnapping from your own knowledge?

The man that was brought along-side the *Emilia* in my last voyage I saw seized and sold.

By whom was he seized?

By some of the traders on board the ship who belonged to Bonny; he told the interpreter, who told me, that he was invited to come and look at a ship, never having seen one; and he was sold, as I have above related. I was induced to be more curious about this man than I otherwise should have been from his appearing to be amazed and confounded when he was brought upon deck.

Is it the occupation of the men to plant yams at Bonny?

I cannot say who plants them—I have seen canoe loads of yams at Bonny. I was never out of the town of Bonny above 100 yards on the land side.

Do the women in general do the field work in Africa?

At Mr. Tucker's plantation, which I mentioned before, they were all men that were at work, clearing the ground for rice.

Question repeated.

I never did see the women at work in Africa out of doors.

Except that instance of Mr. Tucker's plantation, did you ever see the men at work?

That was the only plantation in Africa that I ever was on; therefore it is impossible for me to say.

If the old man which you spoke of had been sent to the ship for stealing yams, do you think he would have confessed it?

I should suppose he could have had no reason to deny it, for his treatment on board ship would have been perfectly the same, whether he was a thief or an honest man.

Are professed kidnappers allowed in the different states of Africa?

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the African laws to answer that question.

Have you seen many dogs in Africa?

I have seen several large ones on the Windward Coast; Mr. Tucker in particular had one or two of the mastiff kind; and the Africans on the Windward Coast will at all times give a good price for such dogs.

Was Mr. Tucker an African?

He was a Black man, born at Sherbro', and spoke exceeding good English.

Have you seen dogs in any other part of Africa?

I have seen many small ones at Bonny.

Were they large enough to hold a man?

Not those at Bonny.

Have you seen any on the Windward Coast that were large enough to hold a man?

I have.

Where, and how often?

At Tucker's and at Cape Mount; I may have seen them at other places, but cannot speak so positively as to those at Cape Mount, and at Tucker's.

Do you believe that it is the practice in Africa to seize men with dogs?

In my former evidence I have mentioned a man having been brought on board the Emilia whom we called Cape Mount Jack; this man assured me he was caught and held by a dog till the people came up and secured him.

Question

Question repeated.

From the last-mentioned circumstance I do believe it; if one case happened I think others might.

Do you mean then to inform this Committee that it is the usual practice in Africa to catch Slaves with dogs?

I cannot give this Committee any such information as that it is an usual practice; I never said so.

Do you believe it is an usual practice?

I believe it to be very common on the Windward Coast.

Do you know, or have you ever heard of any other instance than the one you have mentioned?

I do not know, but I have heard of many from Cape Mount Jack himself.

Does all your information come from Cape Mount Jack on this head.

It does, relative to dogs.

Have you ever been on shore on the Windward Coast of Africa?

I before said I was on Tucker's plantation; and I have been at Cape Mount.

How often besides have you been on shore?

I never kept any account.

Have you been often on shore?

I have been often on shore at Tucker's and Cape Mount, but oftener at Tucker's.

Have you been on shore on any other parts of the Windward Coast?

I do not recollect that I have, on the Windward Coast.

Have you been on shore at Angola?

Many times.

Was you ever at a house or a plantation, or at any village, in Angola?

I do not remember ever seeing a house there; the town was some miles from the water side.

Upon what grounds did you inform the Privy Council that the religion at Angola appeared to be Roman Catholic?

From seeing numbers of the people who came down to the river Ambris, with beads and crucifixes about their necks.

Was it from those appearances that you gave the account to the Privy Council of their being Roman Catholics?

It was not from those appearances only; I was one day talking with one of the king's officers, called Mangova, who told me there were priests in the country.

Have you seen much indigo and cotton on the Windward Coast?

I have seen and bought large cotton cloths at the river Galenas, and at Bonny. I have seen cotton there also unmanufactured. I never saw any indigo there.

Have you seen the cotton plants grow?

I never was far enough up in the country to see it.

Have you ever seen the indigo plants grow?

I have not.

Did you state to the Privy Council that there was plenty of indigo and cotton on the Windward Coast?

I very likely may have made such a statement from the number of cotton cloths I have bought, which were manufactured by the natives.

Was that cloth manufactured on the Windward Coast?

It was, and it is no more like the St. Jago cloths than chalk is like cheese.

Do you know of any instance of women being dressed up to entice young men, in order to convict them of adultery, for the purpose of selling them for Slaves?

Never living in Africa I cannot say I have known it, but I have heard of such a practice, as I have before stated.

Did you ever know of any villages being set on fire, in order to drive the inhabitants out, with a view of catching them, and selling them for Slaves?

I did not; but I have heard, as I have before said, from a trader of Bonny, whose name I then mentioned, that it was very common.

Question

Question repeated.

I did not.

Do you know any instance of European ships forcing a trade?

I remember, while lying at Bonny in the Alexander, a Captain Vickers coming on board from New Calabar. He told me, and other people in the ship, that when his traders were slack, and not disposed to go up the country, he fired a gun into or over the town.

Have you seen any instance of European ships forcing a trade?

I have not.

Can the ships begin to trade at Bonny without the permission of the king?

I always understood not.

If the king did not consent to breaking of trade, would firing a gun into or over a town force a trade?

I think it would.

How then does the breaking of trade depend upon the king of Bonny, as you have stated it?

I believe it is more the custom to keep him in temper, by giving him dashes, than any thing else.

Do you mean to state to the Committee, that the trade can be carried on with or without the approbation of the king of Bonny?

I suppose it might be carried on without his approbation, if it was thought proper by the English and French.

Have the English and French more power than the king of Bonny?

It is at all times in their power, in Bonny river, to batter his town about his ears at pleasure.

With what are the Slaves purchased at Bonny?

With iron bars, brandy, India and Manchester cotton cloths, guns, gun-powder, brass pans, beads, and various other articles, which I do not recollect.

Is gold dust one of the articles?

I never saw any gold dust at Bonny, or heard of it.

Did you state to the Privy Council that gold dust was an article of commerce at Bonny?

I did not. If it is so stated in the Report of the Privy Council, it is their mistake and not mine. It is an article of exchange on the Gold Coast, but not at Bonny. I never heard of gold being bartered at Bonny.

Do you know, or have you ever heard of any instance of the French or English making trade without the permission of the king of Bonny?

I never heard of any such instance.

If the Negro, which you mentioned to have been found dead, had been suffocated, do you think you would have been able to have ascertained it from the appearance of the lungs?

I cannot pretend to say whether I could have ascertained it from the appearance of the lungs; but I know the lungs were found, as were all the contents of the thorax and abdomen.

Do you think it possible that this man died of an apoplexy?

It is certainly possible, but I think it was not the case in this instance, as he did not appear to be a person who was subject to apoplectic fits.

May not a man die of an apoplexy without previously having had an apoplectic fit?

He certainly may, but I believe it is uncommon.

Is the care and cleanliness of the Negroes within the department of the surgeon?

I believe in most ships it is not, the mates in general attend to that business; the surgeon has always enough to do in his profession, and that of the worst sort.

Do the mates always attend to the cleanliness of the Negroes?

In Mr. Frazer's ship the mates always washed, or caused to be washed, their rooms, and dried them with fire pans; in many other ships washing is not permitted, but they scrape the filth off the deck: this latter I consider a very bad practice.

Is the attending to the cleanliness of the Negroes any part of the surgeon's business?

I used to attend to it myself, and I have often taken a sponge and warm water, and washed them from head to foot.

Is

Is the surgeon or the mate the responsible person for the cleanliness of the Negro?

The mate, I believe is particularly amongst the men, and the surgeon and his mate amongst the women.

Is that the usual division of the care, with respect to the cleanliness of the Negroes?

It was so in the ships I have been in.

Was it so in the Alexander?

In the Alexander I had a flux the whole Middle Passage, and was unable to do my duty, therefore I cannot say how the Slaves were managed.

Can you speak to the cleanliness of the apartments of the men and women during that voyage?

From the number that had the flux in that voyage, their apartments were very disagreeable; for the discharge in that disease being involuntary, it was impossible to keep them comfortable.

Were they kept as clean as the nature of their disorder would admit?

I believe that to be the case in every ship, unless, as it often happens, that the greatest part of the White people are ill.

Had the woman, whom you mentioned to have hanged herself, been afflicted with the venereal disease?

I never understood so.

If she had been so afflicted, should you have known it?

I certainly should. My opinion is, she had not that disease.

From whence do the greatest number of Negroes come, who are bought by the English ships?

I cannot pretend to say.

Do the greatest part come from a distance?

I believe some of them do, but it is mere conjecture.

Do you apprehend that a greater number are brought from the interior part of the country, or are obtained by kidnapping, or on account of crimes?

I have said I cannot say from whence they come; but all that

I have talked to, by means of interpreters, have generally said they were stolen.

Did any of them confess their having been sold for crimes?

I do not recollect that they did; I cannot charge my memory with it if it was so.

Did all those that you asked, tell you that they were kidnapped?

I have said before, they did.

If criminals were not to be purchased by the ships, what do you apprehend would be their fate?

I imagine they would be set to work in their own country.

By whom would they be set to work?

By the people whom they have wronged.

Is the practice in Africa to do that?

I cannot say what the practice is in Africa, never having lived there; but when my opinion is asked, I give it freely.

Do you know for what crimes those Negroes, whom you saw in prison at Jamaica, and punished, were so imprisoned?

I never asked, but was told in general they were run-aways, which I believe to be true.

Who told you so?

The Black gaol-keeper.

Were they committed to prison by the laws of the Island?

I am perfectly ignorant of those laws.

You mentioned a ship in which many sailors were ill-treated; was the captain of that ship dismissed from his employment?

I cannot say whether he was dismissed, but he did not go again in the ship.

Has the captain been in any other African ship since?

Not that I ever heard of.

Did you ever see rice grow on the Windward Coast?

I said I was in a rice plantation at Manna on the Windward Coast,

Coast, and I have seen many patches of it about Cape Mount with my glass.

Have you ever seen rice carried down to the water-side?

I have seen great quantities brought on board our ship at Junk, but how it was carried down to the water-side I cannot say.

You said you thought that the natives would work if they had proper encouragement, from whom did you mean that that encouragement should come?

From the Europeans.

Have the Europeans any power over the states of Africa?

They have always power to get what they please done, when they hold out their commodities; the Black men at Bonny always wooded and watered our ships upon being paid for it.

Do you think that by means of the trade of this country the manners and customs of the Africans might be altered?

I think so; so much that I am going to try the experiment.

When did you quit the African trade?

I believe in the beginning of the year 1787.

Did your conscience induce you to do so?

It did in the most unequivocal manner.

Did you apply for employment in an African ship at Liverpool in the year 1788?

I did not; I defy any man to prove it.

Did Mr. Clarkson apply for you?

I think Mr. Clarkson holds the Trade in too great abhorrence to have made any such application; if he did, it was without my knowledge.

What has been your employment since you left the African Trade?

In studying and practising my own profession.

Do you understand the language at St. Thomas?

I do not understand the Portuguese language; all the traders and principal people at St. Thomas speak English enough to be understood.

Did you converse with the man who took so much notice of you when you was ill at St. Thomas?
I did, in corrupt English.

What was the largest quantity of unmanufactured cotton you ever saw in Africa?
Perhaps four or five pounds.

What was the largest quantity of rice you ever saw there?
Forty or fifty tons.

Could you have purchased more if you had wished it?
I believe if our business had been to have bought rice, we could have loaded the ship there and at Cape Mesurado.

Why do you think so?
From the natives of those two places saying they had plenty.

Was you ever on board a French African ship?
Yes, at Bonny.

Are they better accommodated for the reception of Slaves than the English vessels?

I know nothing about their accommodations, but the officers told me they had a good quantity of wine given them.

Are the English African ships allowed wine?

They have generally several dozens of wine, but not a sufficient quantity to give it every day to the Slaves, as the French informed me they do.

Do the French take better care of the Slaves on board their ships than the English do?

Having never been on board a French Slave ship, but for a very short time, all the information I can give on that subject is from hearsay.

When you delivered your evidence before the Committee of Privy Council, were you personally examined there, or did you present your information in writing ready drawn up?

I appeared there in propria persona.

Were you examined vivâ voce?
I was.

At

At whose instance, or by whose official summons, did you appear before the Privy Council for that purpose?

I had several summonses, all of which were signed " W. Fawken-
" kener, by their Lordships command."

How many summonses did you receive before you attended the Privy Council?

I attended when I received the first, but after waiting three hours I was told I could not be examined that evening, and that their Lordships would let me know when it was convenient.

Do you know by what means their Lordships came to the knowledge of your being able to give them any information on this subject?

I cannot say how they came by that knowledge; but I suppose, by some of the committee in London for abolishing the Slave Trade. I was at that time dissecting in Broad-street, Soho.

Did you offer yourself voluntarily to any of that committee, or did any of them request you to give evidence before the Privy Council?

I offered myself voluntarily at Bristol to the Rev. Mr. Clarkson, and told him I would give him every assistance and information in my power.

Who is Mr. Clarkson, and what is his station in life?

He is a clergyman of the church of England.

Has Mr. Clarkson, to your knowledge, any preferment in the church of England?

I cannot say.

As far as your knowledge extends, has or has not Mr. Clarkson employed himself in going from place to place to gain information respecting the circumstances of the Slave Trade?

He has; at some of which places I have been with him.

State the several places to which you have accompanied him for that purpose, and when?

I went with him from Bristol to Liverpool in 1787 or 1788.

Who defrayed your expences during that journey, and during your stay at Liverpool?

I

I believe

I believe my travelling expences were paid by the committee in London; but I am out of pocket, having expended more than I received.

Who paid your expences during your stay at Liverpool?
The same committee.

How long did you stay at Liverpool in that expedition with Mr. Clarkson?

I believe eight or nine weeks.

Did you return to Bristol from Liverpool?
I did.

How long might you have been absent from Bristol in the whole?

I cannot precisely say; I believe nine or ten weeks.

When you went from Bristol to Liverpool with Mr. Clarkson, were you then settled as a practitioner in surgery at Bristol?

When Mr. Clarkson was first introduced to me, I was practising with a Mr. Goldwier, an eminent surgeon in Bristol, by way of improvement, as a pupil.

And where have you generally resided since you went with Mr. Clarkson to Liverpool?

With my father in Bristol, to whom I am considerably in debt.

What were the terms on which you first engaged as surgeon in the Guinea Trade?

I do not recollect.

Had you the same emoluments when you quitted the Trade as when you entered into it?

I believe they were pretty nearly equal. Captain Thompson of Bristol, in 1787, offered me any thing in reason that I would ask, to go with him.

Do you understand the language of the natives in the several parts of Africa you have been in?

Not so much as to be able to converse with them in it.

From whom did you acquire the knowledge you possess of the general laws and customs of that part of the world?

The

The knowledge I have been able to obtain has been from persons who were employed on board the ship, either as interpreters, watermen, or pilots.

Were there no other persons, natives of that country, of higher degree than those you have mentioned, with whom you might have conversed, and acquired as accurate information respecting the laws and customs of the country?

At Bonny I have talked with the king, and Blundell Foubre, who was one of the principal traders, down to the canoe-boys. On the Windward Coast I have talked with some of the first men there, particularly Mr. Tucker and Robin Gray, king of Cape Mount; but our conversation has been on other subjects than how Slaves were made, those gentlemen I believe giving themselves very little trouble on that head.

Did you receive any information as to the general history of the Windward Coast from either of those persons last mentioned?

I know little of the general history of the Windward Coast, I never professed so to do; I believe they are little acquainted with any thing out of their own towns and villages.

Does then your knowledge of the productions of Africa, and the progress in arts and manufactures by the natives, extend beyond the account you have already given of those particulars?

I have mentioned no productions or manufactures but what I have seen, and my knowledge extends no further.

Have you often been on shore on the Windward Coast of Africa?

In my second voyage we were several months there, and I have often been on shore, and could have gone much oftener if I had applied to Mr. Frazer for that purpose.

Were you on shore at different places and parts of the Coast?

I have said before, I have been only on shore at Cape Mount, and Manna, on the Windward Coast.

What authority have the king and parliament men at Bonny?

I cannot exactly state what authority they have, but I believe the king never does any thing of consequence without consulting them.

Have they any power of protecting those who reside there, or strangers who come there to trade?

I cannot say how far their power extends.

What is the particular station and duty of the officer called the Mambooka, at Angola?

I do not know enough of the Angola tongue to say what his office is, I only know him by name.

Did you never hear, or do you not believe, that he is the first officer next to the king?

I never understood he was the first officer. I believe a person called the Mangova is superior to him; but to this I cannot speak positively.

But is not the Mambooka an officer of high respect and authority, although not the first?

I do not know.

Whence did you get your information, of his having falsely charged a fisherman with extortion, in order to have him condemned and sold for that offence?

I heard it from the boat's crew, who were on shore when it happened.

Did they tell it you of their own knowledge?

They did.

Do you think the boat's crew understood the language of the place sufficiently to obtain that information?

I do not think they did; but being on shore, they must have seen and understood something of the business.

Do you know any thing of the form of trials of criminals in that country?

I do not.

You said that in your second voyage you purchased forty or fifty tons of rice at Junk; do you speak with precision as to the quantity purchased at that time?

I said before I did not, but thought it to be about that quantity.

Can you speak with certainty that the quantity purchased at that time did actually amount to one half of the quantity you say it did?

I think it did amount to above that. I believe nobody, except Mr. Frazer, has got any journal to produce of the ship's transactions in that voyage.

Should you know Captain Frazer's journal, if it was produced to you?

I believe I should.

And a book being shewn to the Witness;

He was asked,

Do you believe that to be Captain Frazer's journal or trade book?

I believe it is.

[Then the said book was delivered in.]

In what space of time was the quantity of rice, which you said was then bought, shipped on board your ship?

I cannot speak positively to the time or quantity.

Did it take you a month to load that quantity?

I only know we left some goods at Junk, and came back and received the rice agreed for.

Did it take you one, two, or three months to load this rice?

Having no book to refer to, I cannot mention any time with any degree of accuracy.

Was there any interruption by the surf in the shipping of it?

If there was, it did not come within my knowledge.

Did you lay on board the ship generally during the taking in that rice?

I was always on board the ship.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Jovis,

Jovis, 11^o die Martii 1790.

MR. Falconbridge called in, and further examined.

MR. FALCONBRIDGE. Do you recollect the time when the ship anchored off Junk, and began to take in this rice?

I do not, having no book to refer to.

To the best of your recollection, was it in either July, August, or September 1783?

I do not know in what year the transaction passed, whether in 1782 or 1783.

At what period was the rice contracted for to be delivered?

I do not know.

You have said that the rice was contracted for to be delivered in about six weeks, and that it was ready at the time agreed upon; was it delivered accordingly at the time agreed upon?

I think it was: if I am wrong it is not intentionally so.

Did you ever see any of this rice delivered?

I did.

In what packages or vessels was it delivered?

It was generally brought along-side the ship in a canoe, in a sort of basket of their own making.

Are the baskets generally called crews, or by what other name?

I used to understand them by the name of baskets.

Did you ever hear them called crews?

I might, but I do not recollect at present that I did. I have seen small quantities of rice brought on board in boxes or old liquor cases.

What might these baskets hold in point of weight?

Having never, as I remember, weighed one, I cannot say.

What rule do you go by then in saying that the quantity delivered amounted to between forty or fifty tons?

When

When Mr. Frazer was making the agreement, particularly with a man who called himself Jose Will, I heard the word tons several times mentioned, and I imagined to the number I have before stated: whether they meant as we do, twenty hundred weight to the ton, I cannot say. I have never pretended to be very accurate on this subject.

Did you understand it was twenty hundred weight to the ton, or do you mean to state it so now?

I did understand it was twenty hundred weight to the ton.

Then you cannot recollect by what measure the rice was delivered to Captain Frazer?

I do not recollect whether it was weighed or measured.

Which does the expression of forty or fifty tons, as applied to rice, imply, weight or measure?

It certainly applies to weight, but I have known persons guess at tonnage by the bulk of things.

Did the bulk of the baskets or the liquor cases you have mentioned, give you sufficient grounds to ascertain the quantity of rice in weight delivered?

I have repeatedly said that I could not be accurate in this rice business, and that it was matter of opinion and conjecture.

Then the following entries from Captain Frazer's journal or trade book, delivered in yesterday, were read; and are as followeth; viz.

Junk. " Sept' 19, 1783. Jose Will, King Will, and
 " Jos West, jointly, to 150 lb. tobacco, 20
 " kegs powd. 6 kettles, 2 bafts, 4 nicanees,
 " 20 yds plains, 3 outside jackets, 10 glls. bdy.
 " 20 couteaus—By to pay in 40 days 240 bask-
 " ets of rice to contain a certain measure, for
 " which left a girl Slave as security."

" Sept' 21st, 1783. Tom Wilson, to 75 lb. to-
 " bacco, 10 kegs powder, 3 kettles, 1 baft,
 " 2 nicanees, 10 yds plains, 1 outside jacket,
 " 5 glls. bdy. 1 couteau—By to pay 120
 " baskets of rice, for which he left one of his
 " people in pawn."

7 Z

" Jose

" Jose Campbell, to 20 lb. tobacco, 1 nicanee,
 " 6 yards plains, 1 outside jacket, 3 glls. bdy.
 " 1 kettle, 3 kegs powder, 16 couteaus—By
 " to pay 45 baskets of rice, for which left one
 " little boy in pawn."

" 22. Robin Campbell, to 65 lb. tobacco, 1 out-
 " side jacket, 15 galls. brandy, 3 kettles, 1 baft,
 " 1 tapfeel, 1 nicanee, 1 doz. couteaus, 4 locks,
 " 10 yds. plains, 10 kegs powder, 3 lanthorns,
 " 3 bunches B. C. 4 doz. candles—By to pay
 " 140 crews rice, for which left one man in
 " pawn."

" Robin Gray. To 75 lb. tobacco, 1 outside
 " jacket, 3 kettles, 1 baft, 1 tapfeel, 1 nicanee,
 " 5 galls bdy. 16 couteaus, 10 yds plains, 10
 " kegs powder—By to pay 120 crews rice."

Crue Setra. " 30. 700 rice to 40 lb. tobacco."

" Oct. 1. 10 cwt. rice, some plantains and cassada—To
 " 50 lb. tobacco, 2 jugs brandy."

" 2. 4 screvilas, 13 lb. and 3 cwt. rice—To 30 lb.
 " tobacco."

Setra Crue. " 5. 3 cwt. rice, 10 screvilas, 27 lb. and some plan-
 " tains—To 30 lb. tobacco."

Crue Setra. " 7. 1 keg powder, 20 lb. tobacco, 1 iron bar—for a
 " tortoise, some plantains and rice."

" 10 cwt. rice, some cassada—To 60 lb. tobac-
 " co, 5 gallons brandy."

" 8. 10 cwt. rice to 40 lb. tobacco; some plantains
 " and firewood to 10 lb. D°."

Nefou. " 10. 9 cwt. rice to 55 lb. tobacco."

Crue Setra. " 12. 5 screvilas, 14 lb. 2 cwt. rice, some plantains
 and cassada. To 22 lb. tobacco."

" 13. 3 screvilas, 8 lb. 1 bullock, 2 cwt. rice—To
 " 1 iron bar, 20 lb. tobacco, 6 baft, 3 yards
 " plains."

" 15. 4 cwt. rice—To 30 lb. tobacco."

Badou.

Badou. " 16. 7 cwt. rice—To 75 lb. tobacco."

Junk. " Nov. 5 to 10. Received all the rice and Slaves, for which
" advanced goods, and discharged the
" pawns."

Was any of this rice, as you recollect, damaged in its passage to the ship from the shore?

I do not recollect that it was.

Do you or do you not recollect laying two days, or any other time, off Manna, to dry the rice?

I do not recollect what time we lay off Manna, or for what purpose. I believe the rain often wetted the rice in the canoes, for the rain on that coast is very violent at times.

Do you recollect the rice being wet from the surf in coming on board the ship?

I do not know that it was.

Do you remember the loss of any of Captain Frazer's goods by the surf or swell of the sea, as they were landing them for Henry Tucker, or any other person near Manna, in the year 1783?

I do not remember it if it happened.

Do you recollect Captain Frazer being detained on shore at or near Manna, by the height of the surf, and prevented from sailing for a day or two?

I do not remember that he was ever detained on that account.

Do you recollect how many Slaves you carried in the Emilia from the Coast of Africa, in the voyage of 1783 and 1784?

I have said before, I believe about 300.

How many of that number did you lose in the Middle Passage?

I think till our arrival at Port Maria in Jamaica we lost between thirty and forty.

How many Slaves did you actually sell of that cargo at Jamaica, to the best of your recollection?

I cannot speak positively to that question.

Do you know who were the Guinea factors who sold that cargo at Jamaica?

I believe Allans and Campbell, I have had a bill drawn by them.

An Account of Sales, signed "Allans and Campbell,"
being shewn to the Witness,

He was asked,

Do you know the hand-writing of those persons?

I do; and the signatures to the account I believe to be their hand-writing.

Then the said Account was delivered in, and read;
and is inserted in pages 637, 638, 639, 640.

Did you ever, at any one time, see in any part of Africa a quantity of rice, cotton, or indigo sufficient to load a vessel of 200 tons burthen?

I never did on the Coast; what quantity there may be inland, I do not know.

How far have you been in the inland part of the country in Africa?

But a very little way, scarce a mile.

Did you frequently, or at any time, sleep on shore there?

I very seldom slept on shore.

Did you ever sleep on shore?

I slept once or twice on shore at Bonny; I do not remember that I have at any other place.

Do you know of Captain Frazer ever having refused to purchase any likely good female Slave?

I do not.

From the knowledge you have of the laws and customs of the African country, do you believe that kidnapping is tolerated there, and that it can be practised with impunity when discovered?

I have said before, that I had but little knowledge of the African laws, therefore cannot say whether kidnapping is tolerated or not; but the instances I have mentioned have been related by the Negroes themselves.

Did you understand from them that kidnapping was an avowed practice in the country?

I certainly did.

Avowed

Avowed by the government of the country, or how do you explain the word 'avowed?'

They told me it was a very common practice.

Did you understand from them that the laws allowed of it?

I never conversed with them about their laws; my curiosity in general led me no further than to enquire how they came there, or by what means.

Do you believe that Captain Frazer, or any other master of a ship in that trade, of the same disposition which you have ascribed to him, would purchase a Slave, knowing him to have been kidnapped?

I believe Captain Frazer, or any other captain that goes for Slaves, seldom trouble themselves how they were caught or made Slaves.

Question repeated.

I believe they all would.

Did you ever know Captain Frazer knowingly to have been guilty of such a practice?

I have mentioned a circumstance, in my last voyage to Bonny, of a man coming along-side the ship, under pretence of seeing her, and was sold. Whether Captain Frazer knew it or not, I cannot tell; the man was paid for on board the ship.

When the ship Alexander run aground on the bar, in coming out of the river Bonny, did she lay in an upright situation, or did she heave?

After giving several thumps we kept the sail set, and she worked herself into deep water, or afloat, when we came to an anchor.

You have said you have never been able to cure a man who has had a bad dysentery; do you think that every surgeon of a Slave ship has had such ill success?

I believe every man of candour will acknowledge it. I have often palliated the symptoms by large doses of opium, but never remember effecting a perfect cure. I mean to apply this observation to ship-board.

Did you ever know of an instance in Captain Frazer's ship of a Slave dying while shackled to another?

I think I did not—but I have in the Alexander.

In the case of a sudden death, and when there is no external appearance of injury, in what part of the body is the cause of such death most likely to be found on dissection?

I think it may be found in various parts; perhaps from the rupture of some large vessel.

As a professional man, you are asked, whether the cause of sudden death is or is not oftener to be found in the head than in any other part of the body?

It may be the case, but in all the heads I have opened, and seen opened, the brain was generally found, or had no appearance of disease.

As you opened the thorax and abdomen of the Slave who died suddenly on board the Emilia, why did you not also open the head, to see the state of the brain?

Every man that knows any thing of anatomy, likewise knows that opening the head in a dextrous manner, so as to expose the brain, is often no easy thing, and I had neither time nor conveniences in that instance to do it; I was forced to do it at candle-light, upon the deck, after all the Slaves were below.

You have said, that you think the treatment of the Slaves in the West India islands, from the two instances you have adduced, was very cruel; state the different islands belonging to Great Britain which you have been in?

Grenada and Jamaica.

Have you never been at St. Christopher's?
I have touched there.

How often, and for how a long time, have you been on shore at St. Christopher's?

When we touched there in the Emilia, in 1782 or 1783, Mr. Frazer went on shore there, and we stood off and on till he came on board. I was not on shore myself.

Was you ever on shore there?
No.

Was you ever on shore at Antigua?
No.

At Montserrat?
No.

At

At Nevis?
 No.

At Dominique?
 No.

At Saint Vincent's?
 No.

How do you form your judgment of the heighth of the surf at Saint Christopher's?

I have said before, we were standing off and on at Basseterre; I saw a great surf as I thought, and the boats seemed to have some difficulty in getting through it.

Did you ever see the surf on the Windward Coast of Africa, as high as that in the road of Basseterre, at Saint Christopher's?

I think I have.

What month in the year was it that you stood off the coast at Basseterre?

I do not recollect the exact time?

Did you ever see a Slave flogged by his master, or by any person by his direction, in any of the British Islands you have been in?

I never saw a Slave flogged; but I saw one at Black River at Jamaica, who had been severely flogged.

You have said you did not enquire the cause of that Slave having been so much flogged; do or do you not believe, from the circumstance of his being in the gaol there, that he must have been punished by the authority of some civil magistrate for some offence?

I cannot say by whose authority he was punished, as I did not enquire.

Did not your humanity prompt you to enquire, because that severe punishment made such an impression on your mind?

Whatever my humanity might have prompted me to have done, I conceive it would have been giving no relief to the poor fellow.

Question repeated.
 It did not.

Have

Have you ever seen a soldier flogged at the halberts?
I never did; but I have seen a sailor flogged.

Did you never hear of a soldier dying in consequence of the punishment he had received at the halberts?
I do not remember having heard any such thing.

You have said you scarcely ever saw the back of a Slave, but it had scars on it; as far as your information and observation have gone, do you believe that Slaves are in general flogged on the back?

I believe they are; I have been informed so.

In what Island?
In Grenada.

You have said, that you think by the means of the trade of this country, that the manners and customs of the Africans might be altered, and that you were going to try the experiment; explain the nature of the experiment you are going to try?

The Question being objected to;

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

The Question was repeated.

I am certainly going (and it is my opinion it may be done) to induce the Africans to cultivate their country, and raise such articles as will sell in this country, and pay them with our manufactures.

Are you a principal in this undertaking?

I do not precisely know my situation yet, for I do not believe the plan is yet entirely settled.

Is any of your own private fortune to be embarked in this undertaking?

I have no fortune.

Are you to receive a salary, or any other remuneration for the services expected to be performed by you in this undertaking, and from whom?

I expect to be paid by my employers.

Are

Are your employers the committee for the abolition of the Slave-Trade in London, or any of them?

Not the committee at large, I believe two or three of the subscribers are members of that committee.

Which of the voyages did you allude to when you said the ships were so crowded that the Slaves had not more room to lie on than a man in his coffin?

It was so in all.

Did you tell the Privy Council that the ship was not much crowded in the second voyage, when you had the largest number of Slaves on board?

In my second voyage the ship was not so much crowded as in the others, but I conceived them very thick then.

Question repeated.

I believe I did.

After your evidence was taken by the Privy Council, was it read over to you?

I cannot speak positively whether it was or not.

When therefore you told the Privy Council that the ship was not much crowded in that voyage, what were your grounds for so saying?

I had no other grounds than that we had not the same number of Slaves as we had the last voyage.

Do the Europeans ever go up the country to the places from whence the Slaves are brought?

I never heard that they did.

Do they acquire their knowledge of the manner in which Slaves are made so, any other ways than by the information of the Negroes themselves, whether traders or others, and by the conclusions which they draw on the comparison of those different informations?

I believe all their information is derived from the Black traders and the purchased Negroes.

If then the practice of firing villages for the purpose of making Slaves were ever so frequent, would it be in the power of Euro-

peans to state it as a fact of their own knowledge and observation?

It would not be in their power to describe one of those scenes, as I believe very few White men, if any, have seen them.

Have you every reason to believe, from the concurrent testimony of others, that such a practice does exist?

I do really believe that that is one of their modes of making war, as they call it.

Does not the king of Bonny know his town to lie at the mercy of the French and English?

I should suppose he is sensible it does.

If a gun were fired for the purpose of forcing trade, do you imagine that that design would be understood by the king?

I do imagine if the Europeans were to threaten such a thing, it would induce him to send some of his canoes to what they call the Up Country.

Have you ever experienced the heat to be so great, and the air so foul, in the Negroes apartments between decks, as to induce you to think that suffocation might not improbably be occasioned by a night's confinement in such an atmosphere?

In the Alexander, as I have related before, being down but a short time, the heat and stench were so intolerable, that I am persuaded a night's confinement in that situation would have destroyed me.

Did you keep any memorandum respecting the quantity of rice bought in the voyage of 1783?

I did not.

Can you say whether there was any difficulty in procuring the quantity you did take?

There was no difficulty apparently.

When you stated that between thirty and forty Slaves died in that voyage on the Middle Passage, did or did you not mean to include those who died on shore before the sale?

We had none on shore in that voyage before they were sold; if I have stated the number wrong, it is merely from not having any papers or journal relating to that voyage.

You have been asked whether you were ever on shore at St. Christopher's,

topher's, Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, Dominique, and St. Vincent's, to which you replied no; have you ever said you were there?

I believe I have not said that I was on shore at those Islands.

You have mentioned, in the course of your evidence, that the seamen in general on board the *Alexander* were ill used; do you know any other instances of remarkable barbarity or ill treatment in that ship, besides those which you have stated to the Committee?

I have said that all the people in that ship, except three, were beaten or ill treated. I remember the black cook one day broke a plate; he had a fish-gig darted at him, which would certainly have destroyed him, if he had not stooped or dropped down. One day the carpenter's mate had let his pitch-pot catch fire; he and the cook were both tied up, stripped, and flogged, but the cook with the greatest severity; after that the cook had salt water and Cayenne pepper rubbed on his back. A man came on board at Bonny, belonging to a little ship (I believe the captain's name was Dodson, of Liverpool) which had been overfet at New Calabar; this man, when he came on board, was in a convalescent state; he was severely beaten one night, for what cause I know not; he came and applied to me for something to rub his back with; I was told by the captain not to give him any thing, and he was desired to go forward; he went and lay under the fore-castle: I visited him very often, when he complained of his bruises; he had a return of his flux, and died in about three weeks from the time he was beaten; the last words he ever spoke to me were (after shedding tears) "I cannot punish him (meaning the captain) but God will." These are the most remarkable instances which I know; but every body was beaten in their turn, as I have so often said before.

Did Mr. Frazer set down all the rice which he purchased on the Coast?

All that he bought at Junk I believe he did set down; but I was employed to purchase rice at the different places we were at in that voyage on the Grain Coast, of which, I believe, no account was taken.

You have said, in a former answer, that you could not be accurate in this rice business, and that it was matter of opinion and conjecture; did you mean to refer this possible inaccuracy to all that passed relative to the rice, or only to the exact quantity which had been purchased?

Certainly, to all of it.

Do you know Mr. Athorn, in Mr. M'Taggert's compting-house at Bristol?

I know a person of that name, who used to be in his compting-house.

Did you or did you not desire Mr. Athorn to intercede with Mr. M'Taggert to give you the command of an African Slave ship?

I never did, or ever thought of such a thing; for if I had been desirous of getting promotion in the African service, Mr. Frazer could have done it much better than Mr. Athorn. I dined one day with Captain Frazer and his officers; he then said, "Every one of you who are here I will make captains."—He has been as good as his word; and I am the only one out of that number that has not commanded a vessel in the Slave Trade.

Do you or do you not know that the boiling over of the pitch-pot is attended with the greatest danger to the ship, and all on board?

I know it is attended with danger; but it was the fault of the carpenter's mate, and I do not think the cook had any right to be punished for it.

Are your expences of coming up to London to give evidence before this Committee defrayed by yourself, or by any other person, and by whom?

I came up to London on a very different business, with an intention of going to Africa. I was desired by the committee for the abolition of the Slave Trade to attend here; and whether they choose to give me any thing or not, is at their own option.

Do you expect any thing from them?

I do expect, as I have attended their business, to have my expences paid.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Veneris,

Veneris, 12^o die Martii 1790.

Captain Ambrose Lace attending according to order, was called in, and examined.

Was you ever employed in the African Trade?
Yes.

Captain LACE.

Was you at Old Calabar in the year 1767, as captain of any, and of what ship?

I was there as captain in the ship Edgar.

What number of English ships were then lying at Calabar?
Nine.

Were they all ships concerned in the African Trade?
Every one.

Do you remember, that in order to make an end of a dispute which had for some time subsisted between the inhabitants of the Old and New Town, any agreement was made for both parties to meet on ship-board?

Yes.

Can you describe the nature of that dispute?

There had been for many years a dispute between the people of Old Town and New Town.

State the nature and circumstances of that dispute.

When I first went there in 1748, there were no inhabitants in the place called Old Town, they all lived at the place called New Town; some time after, disputes arose between a party who now call themselves Old Town people, and those who are now called New Town people.

When the parties were invited to meet on ship-board, was that invitation made with an insidious view, to get them within the power of the English, to make Slaves of them?

No.

Did any of the parties meet on board in consequence of such agreement; and what passed on that occasion?

8 C

The

The principal people from Old Town came on board my ship, where the duke (the principal man of Old Town) was to have met them; they came on board about half past seven in the morning; at about eight I was going to breakfast with a person who called himself king of Old Town; there were four of the king's large canoes alongside of my ship, where the other canoes were I cannot tell: I was just pouring out some coffee, when I heard a firing; the king called out and said, Imo, a brother of his, was firing. I went upon deck along with the king, and my people told me my gunner was killed: immediately the king was for going overboard; I then told him to stay where he was; he told me he would not, he would go in his canoe, which he did; his son who was with him in my ship he left behind, but called to him in his own language to stay with me, which he did; the firing, by what I can recollect, might be for ten or fifteen minutes, but I cannot be certain as to the exact time. The canoes were most of them then got astern of my ship within about 300 or 400 yards; I had not time to make observations of the two parties, I wanted to defend myself after I was fired into; I was no further molested, the canoes were all gone.

At the time the firing commenced, were any of your guns loaded, or were any of the small-arms in the possession of your crew?

The small-arms are always loaden, but they were locked up, and the chest was broke open.

Was the key of the chest afterwards found, and where?
In the gunner's pocket.

Did you or your people take any share in the affray that then happened?

No more than any gentleman in this room.

Were any guns fired from your ship, great or small, upon that occasion?

No; not so much as a pistol.

Were any guns fired from any other ships upon that occasion?
Not to my knowledge.

Did the king kill any man on board your ship?
No.

Was the king on board any other ship during that bustle?

Not

Not to my knowledge; if he was, it must have been before he came on board my ship.

Were there any Slaves actually made on that occasion?
Not to my knowledge.

At what time, and how long after, did you get the complement of Slaves for your ship?

I went there the beginning of July, I cannot exactly state when this happened, and sailed the first week in December; I was there within a few days of five months, over or under.

Did the English enter into this business with any fraudulent or improper view?

Not that ever I heard of.

Did the English, as you know or believe, reap any benefit whatever from this transaction?

No; it was against the trade.

Previous to this transaction, had there been any consultation amongst the English captains, relative to the difference between the Old and New Towns, or relative to any other matter connected with this transaction?

If there was, it was before I came into the river, and unknown to me.

Do you know what a basket of rice on the Windward Coast of Africa generally weighs?

I never stopt to the Windward but twice; by what I recollect, some of the baskets will hold from two to three gallons.

Do you recollect what a crew of rice weighs?

I do not in weight.

Do you in measure?

They differ in different parts of the Coast, but they are in general from two to three gallons; the largest I ever saw was three gallons.

What was the largest sized basket you ever saw on the Coast?

To the best of my recollection, it hardly filled one of these three gallon crews.

Did

Did you ever meet with the Reverend Mr. Clarkson, at Liverpool?

I breakfasted with him.

Had you any conversation with him on African subjects?

He asked me some questions concerning the produce of Africa.

Do you know Mr. Rathbone of Liverpool?

He breakfasted with us at the same time.

Was this transaction at Old Calabar mentioned at that time?

It was.

Can you recollect what passed about it?

I may not recollect every word. It was first mentioned by Mr. Chaffers, whom we breakfasted with; Mr. Chaffers asked me if I could tell what number of Black persons might be killed that day; I told him I could not; I also told him my ship was fired into, my gunner killed, and I believe I added, that I did not know whether they did not mean to sacrifice me; this is the principal part of the conversation which I recollect to have passed.

Do you recollect saying any thing with respect to any advice which you gave to any of the other captains relative to this subject?

No.

Do you recollect whether you did or did not give any advice whatsoever to any of the captains at the time?

I did not.

Did you know by whom your gunner was killed?

It was impossible for me to know; it must have been from some of the canoes at a distance, but from which I cannot tell; but I am of opinion the firing must have come from the New Town people.

Why do you think the firing came from the New Town people?

The Old Town people were alongside my ship, and the New Town people were at a distance from them.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

SALES

SALES of 306 Slaves, per the Ship Emilia, Captain James Frazer, on Account of the Owners, Evan Bailie, Esquire, and Co. Merchants, Bristol.

		Privilege Men.	Privilege Men Boys.	Men.	Men Boys.	Boys.	Women.	Women Girls.	Girls.		
1784. February 5.	Job Bennet -	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	66 & 62, Duty 40/ 66, 64, and Duty	130 — —
	Joseph Clemiston -	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-		132 — —
	John Barton -	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-		126 — —
	Doct. M'Ewen -	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-		65 — —
	James Cuninghame -	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-		61 — —
	George G. Brown -	1	2	-	-	-	2	2	-		445 — —
	Thomas Cockburn -	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-		124 — —
	John Murray -	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	Girl 58	244 — —
	Robert Currie -	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-		126 — —
	James Campbell -	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-		199 — —
	William Jeffries -	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		201 — —
	Robert Hepburn -	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	1	Girl 58	319 — —
	Charles Grant -	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	-		329 — —
	John M'Crae -	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-		128 — —
	Daniel M'Intosh -	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-		61 — —
	John Sanderfon -	-	-	-	4	2	4	-	-		626 — —
	John Joyce -	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	-		258 — —
	Edward Campbell -	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-		130 — —
	James Davidson -	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-		130 — —
	John Jacks -	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-		132 — —
	John M'Pherfon -	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-		264 — —
	Andrew Linton -	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-		130 — —
	James Anderson -	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-		187 — —
	Alexander Allan -	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-		258 — —
	James Duthie -	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-		130 — —
	John Hinds -	-	1	10	1	-	2	-	2	Girls 58	1,022 — —
	Thomas Jackson -	1	-	5	1	2	1	-	-	Boys 58	636 — —
	Richard Davis -	1	-	6	-	-	-	-	-		457 — —
	William J. Parsons -	1	-	3	-	-	2	-	1	Girl 58	447 — —
	Captain Orrack -	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-		59 — —
	John Grant -	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-		124 — —
	Angus Campbell -	-	-	3	1	-	3	-	1	Girl 58	506 — —
	Erskin Stobo -	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-		59 — —
	Dr. Fletcher -	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-		187 — —
		21	9	40	10	12	29	5	6	£.	8,432 — —

		Privilege Men.	Privilege Men Boys.	Men.	Men Boys.	Boys.	Women.	Women Girls.	Grh.		
1784.	Brought over	21	9	40	10	12	29	5	6	-	8,432
February 6.	James Forsyth & }	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	64, 62, and Duty	128
	Peter Milne - }	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Boy 56	187
	John Walner -	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	250
	James Glen -	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	187
	Peter Milne and }	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	60 and 58	120
	George Irons - }	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	63
	James Henderson -	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	Girls 56	689
	George Ogle -	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	262
	Richard Bennet -	-	-	5	1	1	2	-	2	-	67
	John Lowe -	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	67
	James Barton -	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	63
	John D. Nibbs -	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	63
	Andrew Byrne -	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	63
	Andrew Ramsey -	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	197
	Joseph Wiggins -	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	55 each	112
10.	Robert Mason -	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	61	248
	Nath. Stewart -	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	44 and Duty	5,895
21.	Alex' Lindo -	131	of all denominations.	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	Total 306	131	25	9	56	19	19	32	6	9	17,030
Captain James Frazer's privilege, 2 per C' - - -											340 12 -
John Gould, his privilege 2 Slaves, on an Average with the Cargo, deducting Sale and Import Duty - -											108 6 1½
Alexander Falconbridge 1 ditto - - -											54 3 -¾
Benjamin Howard - 1 ditto - - -											54 3 -¾
Robert Mills - - - 1 ditto - - -											54 3 -¾
Adventure allowed by the Owners to the Officers, 5 Negroes on the above Average - - -											270 15 3¼
											832 2 7½
Sale Duty on 309 Slaves - - - at 20/											309 - -
Import Duty on 311 ditto - - - 10/											155 10 -
Doctor's Head Money on 296 - - - 1/											14 16 -
Captain Frazer's Coast Commission - - - 4/104											621 1 5½
Our Commissions, at 5 per C' - - -											807 7 10
											1,907 15 3½
N ^t Proceeds to the Credit of Evan Baillie, Esquire, and Co. - - -											£. 14,240 2 1

Evan

13,540 2 1

Kingston, 28th February 1784.
(Errors excepted.)

ALLANS and CAMPBELL.

PRICES DAY OF SALE.

Privilege	Men	-	-	-	-	66 and Duty.
Ditto	Men Boys	-	-	-	-	64 Ditto.
	Men	-	-	-	-	— Ditto.
	Men Boys	-	-	-	-	62
	Women	-	-	-	-	62
	Women Girls	-	-	-	-	60
	Girls	-	-	-	-	54 a. 58
	Boys	-	-	-	-	56 a. 60

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MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 1st APRIL 1790.

Witnesses Examined,

Captain HALL,
Mr. WILSON,
Mr. FALCONBRIDGE,
Captain LACE.

Nº 9.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Martis, 4^o die Maii 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to take
the Examination of Witnesses on the Slave Trade.

Lunæ, 26^o die Aprilis 1790.

CAPTAIN THOMAS WILSON, of the Royal Navy,
called in, and examined.

Were you ever in Africa?

Yes.

In what part, for what continuance, at what time, and on what service?

From Cape Blanco to the River Gambia; I was there between five and six months, in part of the years 1783 and 1784; I then commanded His Majesty's ship *Racehorse*: I was sent out with store-ships and transports to embark the troops and stores from the Island of Goree. I remained with the ship myself, to deliver up the Island and garrison to any officer his Most Christian Majesty should send out to repossess it.

Where

Where did you chiefly reside during your stay on the coast?
My chief residence was at the Island of Goree.

During your stay in Africa, had you any opportunity of learning how Slaves were generally procured for the Slave Trade?

I had; principally by their intestine wars, by their king's breaking up towns and villages, by crimes or imputed crimes and by kidnapping.

On what grounds did you form this opinion, and whence did you derive your information on these heads?

Great part of it was from hearsay; chiefly from the inhabitants of Goree; many of whom were respectable and intelligent people, spoke the French, English, Mandingo, and other Negro languages.

Did they speak of the Slave Trade's being supplied from these sources as a matter of notoriety?

Yes, as a matter of notoriety.

In the accounts they gave you, did they differ from each other, or from themselves at different times?

No; I always found them consistent in their account; I have conversed with them frequently and separately on the subject.

Was your intercourse with them so frequent and familiar, that if any had given you false relations they would have been contradicted by the others?

They were frequently at my table, and had they given false relations I should easily have discovered it, as it was our general topic.

What is the Committee to understand by the breaking up of villages?

The king or prince surrounding the village with his troops before day-light, and seizing as many of the inhabitants as would suit his purpose; and I understood this practice was more general when they were not at war with any neighbouring nation.

Have you reason to believe that free persons are ever sold in the case of real or imputed crimes for the profit of those by whom they are condemned?

I do

I do firmly believe it; it was a matter universally acknowledged.

Did any circumstance fall within your own personal knowledge in confirmation of this opinion?

There did; within a week after my landing on the Island of Goree, the king of Damel sent down a free man for sale by two of his guards—it had been the custom to bring every thing for sale first to the government house. I sent word to the king, that as there were no British traders on the Island, I should not suffer the French to purchase any, requesting him not to trouble himself to send any more Slaves till he heard of my departure.

How did you know that the king was to have the price for which this man was to be sold?

I was told so by the guards, to whom I put several questions.

Did you ask the guards, whether the man was guilty of the crime for which he was to be sold?

I did; one of them replied with great shrewdness, he did not conceive that was ever enquired into or of any consequence.

What do you apprehend would be the fate of the man whom you thus refused to purchase?

I heard with great pleasure afterwards from my interpreter, that it was his opinion he would regain his freedom, when the king found no ready market to gratify his avarice or his resentment; and I am persuaded that was the fact, as I heard no more from the king during several months I continued to command the Island, and for six weeks afterwards, when the Marquis Delajale had repossessed it; for I particularly enquired.

Was this the market to which the king had been used to send his Slaves?

I understood it was his usual market.

How then can you account for there being only one instance of this sort during your stay; this which you have mentioned having occurred within a week after your arrival?

Very easily; as my message to the king had put a total stop to the market.

Was it soon after the time of Captain Hill's being at Goree that you were there?

I understood his was the last king's ship.

Then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in, he was asked;

During your stay at Goree, did you ever see people go out in the evening in war dresses to obtain Slaves from the neighbouring villages?

I never saw any thing of the kind.

If this practice had prevailed at a period preceding that at which you were on the Coast, might it not have been expected to prevail also during your stay?

I think not, as I had cut off the motive to convict or kidnap, by putting a stop to the trade.

Do you believe kidnapping to be generally prevalent on this part of the Coast?

I have no doubt of it—it was acknowledged by all denominations of people I conversed with on the subject; it is the first principle of the natives; they never go unarmed when a Slave vessel is on the Coast; when I have met them thus accoutred, I have, by my interpreter, enquired the reason, and they have pointed towards Portudal, where a French vessel lay, then taking in Slaves, and in their own language informed me, their fears arose from that quarter—in addition to this, one circumstance came under my own immediate knowledge, which I will relate as briefly as possible:—My predecessor, Captain Lacy, having sent a courier to the River Gambia by land with dispatches, as he was returning he was kidnapped, and carried down to this vessel by the natives, and there sold as a Slave, and had both legs put in irons, although he was a Freeman—a Moor—a Mussulman—a native of Senegal—spoke the French language fluently, and had dispatches in his pocket to a British governor, and on his Britannic Majesty's service. He contrived in this confinement to write a letter, which fell into my hands, describing his miserable situation—I immediately sent another courier with a letter to the master of the vessel, whose name was Rouchan, demanding him as a person employed in his Britannic Majesty's service—this

courier knew both the master of the vessel and the former courier.—The master of the vessel refused to deliver him up, or let my messenger see him, contenting himself with sending me a verbal answer, that it was true he had bought a Slave somewhat answering the description I had given; but he knew not, and did not believe him to be a free man, nor of his having dispatches; that it would not be doing justice to his owners to give him up, and that if any body was to blame in the transaction, those might answer it who sold him.—A few days afterwards he thought proper to write me a letter much in the same style.—This treatment so provoked me, that I determined to sail, and to seize him by force, and it was my firm intention to have given the mate the charge of the vessel, and sent Rouchan a prisoner to Senegal for daring to infringe the laws of nations, and insult the British government even in the person of a messenger; but he soon saved me the trouble of putting the scheme in execution that I had formed; for having been before at the Island where I commanded, he had left stores and articles for trade, which he now recollected he should want; and wishing to remove his vessel to another part of the Coast, he sent his mate and six men in his long boat to fetch them—These, on their arrival, I immediately confined in prison; shortly after sending an officer to acquaint him with the reason of their harsh treatment, and my determination to keep them until the courier was delivered up in safety with his dispatches.—Although the mate owned he had foretold what might justly have been expected, he requested I would release him from so rigid a confinement, at least allow him a courier to send to the ship, with pen and ink.—I answered only the latter part of the request, telling him he would do right to state to his commander the exact situation in which he found himself, and inform him that I had seized on the stores.—The boat was permitted to depart the same day, and the mate released upon his parole, as his rigid confinement was designed only to act (by the crew's description) on his commander—Four days after this the mate received an answer; Rouchan still persisting to keep the man; and informing the mate, that as I should be soon tired of maintaining him, and could not justify detaining him at all, he advised him to bear his confinement as cheerfully as he could.—The mate brought me the letter, with execrations against the unfeeling tyrant, under whom he had the misfortune to serve, frankly acknowledged it was the courier they had on board.—He had conversed with him, seen his dispatches, and had informed his commander of the circumstance, who refused to see him himself, and on that pretence argued that he did not know the fact.—Near a fortnight from this date, finding my perseverance

verance at least equal to his own obstinacy, he at length sent me the man, but in such a condition as would have forced compassion from a Savage. In an open canoe, or rather coble, not much more than two feet wide, paddled by two black men whom he had hired for the purpose, lay this poor emaciated wretch, who had been near thirty-six hours on the water without food, and both legs in irons, in which state he had been hoisted over the vessel's side, Rouchan declaring, as he was his property and Slave, he should wear the marks of it until he reached Goree; these he had worn near a month, insomuch that the iron, by the swelling of his legs, had eaten into the flesh. and after he was liberated from them, he was obliged to be supported up to the government house between the shoulders of two men. I will only add, it was near a month before he could return to Senegal, which he did in the most grateful manner I ever saw. I stated to the governor of Senegal the exact manner in which I had acted by this African, and how I would have acted, had I caught his European countryman, recommending the bearer, Barboufin, to his protection, and for redress of his wrongs, if Rouchan should touch at Senegal; and I had shortly after a letter from Monsieur de Montele, the governor, approving my whole conduct, and promising every redress in his power.

Did you ever hear of Slaves being bred for sale in Africa?
I never did.

Did you ever hear of its being the custom in Africa to eat human flesh?

I never did; and I am morally certain no such practice existed on that part of the coast where I was; nor did I ever hear of it in any other.

What was the nature of the government of that part of the coast of Africa which borders on Goree?

I saw none of the kings, but was informed it was absolute; but, more or less so, according to the internal strength of the different princes.

Are there any traces of a regular government?

Alcaides and petty magistrates are distributed in every village, to collect the dues for their kings, and they seem very regular and exact in collecting and demanding them.

Are

Are any dues or payments required from persons who trade or touch on the Coast ?

I doubt not there are ; I can only answer for His Majesty's ship I commanded ; we paid regularly for every boat-load of water or wood.

What is your opinion of the capacity of the natives of that country ? have they any manufactures, &c. ?

I have every reason to believe their capacities are by no means inferior to our own ; their manufactures are various, chiefly for their own consumption ; cotton cloths, which they make under every disadvantage, and want of carding utensils, spinning wheels or looms, are beautifully fine, and would not disgrace a British warehouse—they are also curious in their ornamental works of their own native gold, such as ear-rings, bracelets at the arms and ancles—also in their iron works for weapons of defence or agriculture ; and their experience makes them give a preference to their own works, which they can depend on, rather than trust to a knife or hatchet made for show—on this account unmanufactured iron in bars is the dearest bar on that part of the Coast ; they are likewise very careful in the selection and in the rejection of ours.

What do you mean by a knife or hatchet made for show ?

I mean made of bad materials.

Do you mean that they are made with the professed intention of being articles of show, or only that they are made of such bad materials as to be unfit for service ?

I do not mean certainly that they are made only for show ; but many of them are unfit for the purposes designed, which they can find out as soon as we can.

Will you explain your meaning in saying that an unmanufactured iron bar is the dearest bar on the Coast ?

I mean a specific quantity of iron in bar, about the value of a dollar, a bar or dollar being synonymous terms.

Question repeated.

I mean that, they would rather make those weapons which they can construct, either for defence or agriculture ; they always prefer them.

Is not the value of things on that part of the coast reckoned by bars ?

It is.

Have they any manufactures of cane or leather ?

Several.

Whence was the Island of Goree, and the British ships there, supplied with fresh provisions during your stay ?

Entirely from the Continent ; we were well supplied with every thing they could raise, produce, or with safety catch, whether of beef, pork, fish, fowls, partridges, venison, palm wine, &c.

Did you perceive in the inhabitants of Africa any remarkable indisposition to labour or to commerce ?

None ; they supplied their own wants and ours ; more would have been superfluous, and would perish.

What judgment did you form of the temper and disposition of the Africans ?

I have reason to speak of them with great regard ; they ever treated me in the most hospitable manner ; I have been many miles up their country with them unprotected, and they seemed to vie with each other who should shew me most attention, bring the choicest fruits or the coolest and freshest palm-wine ; and when I finally left them, numbers of them shed tears. I should not have mentioned this circumstance, but that I have lately read and heard much of their unfeeling disposition ; from my own knowledge and experience I do assert they are open to and susceptible of the finest feelings of human nature—to all the noble impulses of gratitude and affection.

Is it your judgment, from what you have seen and observed, that the continuance of the Slave Trade in Africa operates to prevent the exploring of that country, and to obstruct the progress of civilization and commerce ?

It is impossible the natives should explore it with any degree of safety in the miserable situation in which they at present are ; in continual fears of open enemies, pretended friends, or vindictive neighbours, they will not for a temporary gratification or convenience risque the being carried into perpetual slavery. It would be much easier explored by an European than by an African, who would be liable to be kidnapped and carried into slavery ; but no flavers will buy a White man.

Has the state of the Slave ships ever fallen within your observation ?

Several of them anchored in Goree Bay during the time of my residence there, both in their going to and returning from the River Gambia.

What judgment did you form of them ?

I did not board any of them.

Did you know any thing of the state of those ships, whether it was cleanly, comfortable, or otherwise ?

I should imagine they were neither very clean, nor very comfortable ; two of them had anchored immediately to windward of the Racehorse—I was then landed in the garrison—my officers, and even crew, complained of the noxious smell continually on the ship, insomuch that they dreaded some infection—I went on board, and found the complaint so just, that I ordered them to anchor to leeward of the Racehorse, which they did—I also gave orders that in future any ships of this description standing into the Bay should be directed to anchor in the like manner, and if there was occasion for the boats of either ship to come along-side, the crews should not be permitted on any pretence to quit their boats—and this I judged, for the safety of my people, a necessary precaution.

Do you recollect of what nation these ships were ?

I cannot speak positively—but I am inclined to think they were French.

Were you ever actually on board a Slave ship ?

As my duty led me, when I was a midshipman, I have boarded them.

What judgment did you then form of them, as to the particulars before referred to ?

The stench to me, and I believe to every European unaccustomed to them, is intolerably offensive.

From your experience, are the African ships a useful source of supply of seamen to His Majesty's navy ?

My experience does not furnish me with any reason to think so—I believe the contrary.

Have you ever refused to take seamen from on board Guinea ships, when short of your complement of men ?

I certainly

I certainly have—seven men who were wrecked in a Guineaman, near Fort James in the river Gambia, applied to me on my arrival at Goree, and offered themselves for the Racehorse—as British subjects, it was my duty to provide for them, which I did, by providing them accommodations on shore, allowing them rations, and sending them to their native country in the transports; I have likewise refused several (while on that coast, and when I was short of complement) who had or would have deserted their employ; but, besides their cadaverous looks, they were the most filthy vagabonds I ever saw, and I could not think of insulting my crew by giving them such companions—cleanliness being the first preservative of health to seamen; and pursuing inflexibly this plan, I did not lose one man during my stay on that coast, nor indeed the whole time I commanded the ship, upwards of four years, except one man who died of an apoplexy at Plymouth (with a complement of one hundred men, and never five short of it)—and this I think I could not have said, had I recruited my ship from the polluted and pestilential air of a Guineaman.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Martis 27^o die Aprilis 1790.

Captain THOMAS WILSON called in, and further examined.

Did any instance of kidnapping fall within your knowledge, during your stay at Goree, besides what you have already mentioned?

In a judicial case there did, which tended to fix that crime upon a former governor; it had, I found, been the custom for the commanding officers, both by sea and land, where there were no magistrates, to take depositions on oath; a court of this kind, before the British left the Island in 1783, was loudly called for, and at which, with Captain Lacy, then commandant, I assisted; several matters irrelevant to this business were produced; among the rest a respectable maraboo, or priest, from the continent attended, whose brother (another maraboo) had been kidnapped,

kidnapped, and he swore to the following effect: That the governor alluded to, having taken some dislike to his brother, sent a party over to the continent to lay in wait for him, and, although he had some suspicion of them, deceived by their specious behaviour, he was persuaded to drink, and in this very act, held sacred by the tenets of their religion, they clasped their arms round him, and conveyed him to a Slave ship then in Goree Bay; that this maraboo immediately waited on the governor, offering two or more Slaves for his brother's redemption, which was rejected with scorn, as he declared no consideration should redeem him, and that his brother went into slavery: the energy and agitation with which he took the oath, in the form prescribed by his religion, convinced me it was a fact; and this was a matter of public notoriety to the officers, garrison, and inhabitants of Goree.

You have spoken of many respectable and intelligent inhabitants of Goree, from whom you derived information respecting the modes of obtaining Slaves; were any of these persons engaged in any way of life, which rendered them peculiarly competent to give intelligence on this subject?

I conceive all of them were; one of them, with whom I particularly conversed, was a surgeon by profession, had been in London, and in Paris; he, with another, had been appointed by a former governor to act as a magistrate on the Island; but I conceive their competency to answer these questions arose chiefly from their being themselves Slave traders; they collected them for the West India ships, and often took trips to the river Gambia for that purpose.

Did ever any circumstances fall within your notice which led you to believe the natives of Africa were afraid of being carried off by the Slave Ships?

Great part of their behaviour led me to think so. On the arrival of any King's ship in Goree Bay, or any other part of the coast I was on, the natives immediately came on board, and would frequently stay all night if permitted; but I never saw a canoe go on board the Slave ships; and I conclude they had some reason for their confidence in one and suspicion of the other.

Did they, whilst on board a King's ship, go up and down the ship in an unembarrassed manner, or on the contrary stand as near the gangway as they could, ready to escape immediately into their own canoes if they might wish to do so?

D

They

They appeared to be divested of all apprehensions whatsoever, and traversed the ship with as much ease and confidence as if they had been on shore.

Have any of the natives of Africa Slaves of their own?
Many.

How are these generally treated?
It is not an easy matter to distinguish them from their masters or mistresses; they live all together.

Do seamen in the Slave Trade appear as much attached to their ships as in other trades?

I should imagine not, by the frequent applications I received to take them into His Majesty's service.

Have you ever been in the West Indies?
I have; in most of the West India Islands.

At what periods?
I was there in 1762, and in 1781 and 1782.

What did you remark in general concerning the appearance of the Negro Slaves?

The new-imported ones appeared very different from those I saw in Africa—they appeared dejected.

Will you explain what you mean by the term new-imported?
I mean those who had not been long enough upon the Islands to be in some measure reconciled to their fate; who probably had lost their own language, and had got very few words in any other.

Did you observe in general any distinction between the Town and Country Negroes?

In general the Town Negroes looked the best, most lively, and cheerful; were better cloathed, and many of them (the domestic Slaves) fat, sleek, and saucy.

Was the appearance of the Country Negroes in general materially different?

They appeared in general more dejected, were worse cloathed, and bore the stronger marks of Slavery.

Were the generality of Negro Slaves marked with the lash?

I have certainly seen a great proportion of them indelibly marked.

Did you frequently see Slaves whom, from any appearances, you judged to be runaways?

I have seen them with clogs on their ankles, and with irons, which they call pothooks, round their necks, and I have understood these were of that description.

Do you believe that Negro Slaves, after they have become unfit for labour, are ever turned off to subsist by charity?

I have seen them in that situation—it is termed, “giving them free,” and implies permission to beg or starve—placed by the road side, unable to move, the most abject outcasts of society; I have seen them, conversed with them, relieved them, and made enquiries on the spot; and have every reason in the world to believe it to be a fact.

From what you saw and heard in the West Indies, did you conclude there was any distinction between the condition of the Slaves on the estates of resident, and of absentee proprietors?

It was generally understood, where planters resided themselves, their Slaves were better taken care of than under the direction of overseers.

Had you any opportunity, whilst in the West Indies, of learning the general opinion as to its being more profitable to keep up the stock of Slaves by breeding, than to purchase imported Africans?

I have heard from several respectable merchants in Kingston, Jamaica, that they prefer importing Slaves, rather than the trouble of breeding them.

Did you learn any thing concerning the general opinion of the resident planters on this head?

No—I cannot speak any farther than I have done.

Did the Negro Slaves in general appear to you to be in a more happy and comfortable state than the lower orders of people in Great Britain?

On the contrary, I never saw the least signs of happiness among the imported Negroes, unless at their funerals, when they sing and commit every kind of extravagant joy, from a firm persuasion

suasion that thus escaped from slavery, their deceased friend is returning to his native country; in Africa their funerals are attended with the most mournful cries and exclamations.

Were you ever on the Continent of America?
Great part of my life.

What judgment have you formed concerning the treatment of Slaves in America, compared with what it is in the West India Islands?

I have always thought them better treated and cloathed—they appeared more domestic and happy—marriages are more frequent among them—there are fewer imported in proportion.

Did you observe any of the Negroes who were branded with marks which did not appear to have been made in their own country?

I have seen some branded with letters on their cheeks and on their breasts, which I conceived were not made in their own country; but these are not common.

Have you formed, as an impartial man, from the whole of your experience in Africa and the West Indies, any general opinion concerning the Slave Trade?

I have indeed long since formed an opinion (which each succeeding day's experience has justified and confirmed) that it is a trade evidently founded on injustice and treachery, manifestly carried on by oppression and cruelty, and not unfrequently terminated in murder.

Do you know for what crime the man was condemned that the guards of the king of Damel brought to Goree?

I learnt from the guards, that he was accused of setting part of a corn field on fire belonging to the king.

Did you say, that you was informed by the interpreter, that the man would probably be released?

It was the interpreter's opinion he would be so.

Did not you tell the Committee of Privy Council, that you never had heard any thing more of the man?

I did; and I have told this Committee the same.

Is the kingdom of Damel a well-governed kingdom?

I cannot speak positively to that subject: only from the regular collection of the dues for their King, by the petty magistrates.

If the dues are not paid, in what manner is the collection enforced?

As we paid for every thing we received from the continent, I cannot speak of my own knowledge; but I have heard, they had seized the boats and men who have refused paying it.

Do you know any thing with relation to the kingdom of Damel?

Not farther than I have spoken to already.

Upon what grounds did you say that kidnapping was the first principle of the natives?

Upon the information of the natives themselves, the principle of self-preservation.

What rank did you bear in the navy in the year 1762?

I was a midshipman.

Did you reside for any length of time on shore in the West India Islands in 1762?

I never resided on shore in the West India Islands.

Have you ever resided any time upon a sugar plantation, and observed the conduct and management of Slaves on those estates?

I never resided upon any sugar plantation—The observations I made were wherever I have occasionally visited.

Did you ever lodge, and for how many nights, upon a sugar plantation?

I never lodged on any sugar plantation.

What was your rank in the navy in the years 1781 and 1782?

I was then First Lieutenant of his Majesty's ship London, Admiral Graves.

Did you often go on shore in the West Indies during those years?

Frequently.

E

Had

Had you then sufficient opportunities to form a judgment of the situation of the Slaves?

I saw them frequently.

Were you on different plantations during that period?

I was on several.

At which Island was you in the years 1781 and 1782?

At the Islands of Antigua and Jamaica.

How long did you stop at Antigua, and how long at Jamaica?

But a few days at Antigua, and five or six months at Jamaica.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 28^o die Aprilis 1790.

CHARLES BERNS WADSTROM, Esquire, called in.

Mr. Wadstrom expressed his wish rather to answer in French, on account of his imperfect knowledge of the English language; but that he was ready notwithstanding to give the information he was possessed of in English to the best of his power.

Whereupon the Committee agreed to receive his information in English, and he was examined as follows:

Of what country are you a native?

Of Sweden.

Of what profession are you?

I am in the service of the king of Sweden, chief director of the assay office of gold and silver.

Do you still retain that situation?

Yes.

Were you ever in Africa?

Yes.

In

In what year?

In the years 1787 and 1788.

What was the occasion of your going there?

The king of Sweden being a great lover of natural history, of antiquities, and other curious subjects relating to discoveries, had engaged Dr. Spaarman, who having been in Africa, was already well acquainted with it, and made me an offer to accompany Dr. Spaarman and another Swedish learned gentleman, to set out for Africa, in order to explore the country for the afore-mentioned purposes.

Was any particular department allotted to you in that expedition?

That part which concerned mineralogy, antiquities, and in general what regards the state of man in that country.

Did you proceed from Sweden to Africa directly?

We went first to France, with recommendations to the French Court, to receive further recommendations to the Coast.—The letters containing such recommendations I should wish, with the permission of the Committee, to produce.

And the Witnesses being desired to produce the said letters, the same were delivered in, and copies thereof are as follow: viz.

“ Colonies.

“ A Versailles, le 29 Juillet, 1787.

“ Monsieur,

“ on a écrit aux administrateurs
“ de la Compagnie en faveur
“ des Srs Sparmann Arrhenius,
“ et Wadstrom.”

“ J’ai reçu la nouvelle lettre que
“ vous m’avez fait l’honneur de m’écrire
“ le 16 de ce mois à l’occasion de M^{rs}
“ Sparmann, Arrhenius, et Wadstrom, qui
“ se proposent de voyager en Afrique. Ce
“ n’est en effet qu’avec des marchandises
“ que l’on parvient à traiter avec les ha-
“ bitans de ce continent; mais comme ils
“ pourroient éprouver des difficultés à cet
“ égard sur la partie des côtes entre le Cap
“ Blanc et le Cap Verd, dont la traite
“ est réservée à la Compagnie du Sénégal,
“ j’ai écrit, conformément à vos desirs, à
“ cette

“ cette compagnie pour les faire lever ; je ne doute
 “ pas qu’elle ne se prête, autant qu’il dépendra d’elle,
 “ à procurer aux S^s Sparmann, Arrhenius, et Wad-
 “ strom, toutes les facilités nécessaires pour le succès
 “ de leur voiage.”

“ J’ai l’honneur d’être avec un très sincère attachement,
 “ Monsieur,

“ Votre très humble et

“ très obéissant serviteur,

“ Le M^{al} de Castries.”

“ M. le B^{on} de Stael d’Holstein.”

“ Paris, le 12 Août 1787.

“ Monsieur l’Ambassadeur,

“ La Compagnie s’étoit empressée d’offrir ses services
 “ les plus étendus à M. M. de Sparmann, Arrhenius,
 “ et Wadstrom. Les ordres qu’elle a reçus depuis,
 “ à ce sujet, de M. le M^{al} de Castries, et la recom-
 “ mendation que vous lui avez fait l’honneur de lui
 “ adresser, sont autant la récompense de son zèle que
 “ des motifs de devoir et d’encouragement. Elle a
 “ eû plusieurs conférences avec ces savants sur les
 “ moyens de rendre leur voyage de l’intérieur de
 “ l’Afrique aussi sûr et le moins pénible qu’il sera
 “ possible. Ils trouveront dans les comptoirs et au-
 “ près des agents de la compagnie les renseignements,
 “ les secours, les ressources que la colonie peut com-
 “ porter ; et en attendant ils feront traités avec
 “ beaucoup de distinction dans le navire qui va les
 “ transporter au Senegal.

“ La compagnie se félicite infiniment d’avoir une pa-
 “ reille occasion de témoigner à votre excellence
 “ combien elle desire de lui être agréable.

“ Je suis avec respect,

“ Monsieur l’ambassadeur,

“ Votre très humble et très

“ obéissant serviteur.

“ Par procuration de la comp^e du

“ Senegal,

“ Fraisse Ad^r D^{ur}.”

“ M. le Baron de Stael-Holstein.”

“ J’ai l’honneur de vous envoyer, Monsieur, la réponse
 “ de M^r de Fraisse, par laquelle vous verrez qu’il n’y
 “ aura plus de difficultés pour votre passage et que
 “ celles qui ont été élevées provenoient d’un mal-
 “ entendu. Je n’ai que le temps de vous renou-
 “ veller ainsi qu’à vos compatriotes l’assurance des
 “ vœux que je fais pour le succès de votre voyage.
 “ Voudrez vous bien, Monsieur, leur en faire part,
 “ et agréer celle des sentimens que je vous ai
 “ voués.

“ Le B^{on} Stael de Holstein.

“ Paris le 24 Août.”

“ M. C. B. Wadstrom.”

What part of the continent of Africa have you visited?
 From Senegal down the coast almost to Gambia.

To what European power did Senegal, Goree, &c. then be-
 long?

That part of the coast belonged then to the French.

How long were you ever ashore on the Continent at one
 time?

I was, at different times, several days, and once or twice about
 a week or eight days.

Were you up any of the rivers?

Yes, I was up the river Joal.

Did you understand the language of the natives?

But very little; however, it was very easy for me to converse
 with the natives, who generally speak French, English, and even
 Dutch, which languages I speak; I mean that the most eminent
 Negroes on the shore speak those languages.

Did you make it your business to converse with them, and to
 obtain from them all the information they were capable of giving
 you?

Yes; by means of one of those three languages I always found
 people who could interpret what I wished to know.

Is it from memory only that you are about to state to the Com-
 mittee what you saw and heard in Africa, or have you any jour-
 nal written at the time, and on the spot?

F

I have,

I have, in all my travels, constantly kept a daily journal in such a manner as the time would permit (which journal I could produce if the Committee should wish to see it, although it is in a very rough state), in which I have introduced rough draughts of objects that have come under my observation ; this journal, I have now in my pocket.

Had you any opportunity of knowing how Slaves are obtained on that part of the Continent which lies between Senegal and Gambia ?

I think perfectly well ; partly from my own experience, and partly from good information.

What judgment then did you form of the ways in which Slaves are obtained ?

Three ways particularly came to my knowledge, by which Slaves were obtained on that part of the Coast where I was. The first is, what they call General Pillage, which is executed by order from the king, when Slaving vessels are on the Coast ; the second, by Robbery by individuals ; and thirdly, by Stratagem or Deceit, which is executed both by the kings and individuals.

In what manner is the great pillage usually executed ?

It is executed by order of the king, by means of his military, who go out on horseback, armed with guns, pistols, sabres, and bows and arrows, and sometimes with long lances ; they set out generally in the evening, and seize upon such Negroes as are unprepared.

Did you ever see them actually sent out on such expeditions ?

During my stay at Joal, for about a week, there was scarcely any day that such excursions were not executed by order of the king.

What was the occasion of your visit to Joal ?

The French Governor at Goree used to send every year presents to the Black Kings, to keep up the commerce ; and I with my fellow-traveller were permitted to follow one of these embassies that was sent to the king of Barbeffin at Joal.

Did you put down in your Journal an account of the expeditions

tions which you have mentioned to have been set on foot for the purpose of getting Slaves ?

It would have been too tedious to have set down every one, they being of such a similar nature ; but I have set down a sufficient number to have a compleat knowledge of these proceedings.

Were these parties sent out by order of the king ?

Yes ; always.

Do you know how the king was prevailed on to send them ?

When such presents are sent, it is become a custom that the king always, to shew his gratitude, gives Slaves to those who conduct these embassies.

Did the king appear willing and disposed thus to harass his subjects ?

No ; he was excited by the French officer and the Mulattoes that accompanied the embassy, by means of a constant intoxication, to send out the above mentioned parties for pillage.

Was it agreed amongst these merchants that this mode should be taken of prevailing on the king to consent to their purposes ?

Yes ; it was generally every morning upon consultation so agreed.

Were you ever present when the king expressed any unwillingness thus to harass his people ?

Always when he was sober ; and I had an opportunity of hearing his sentiments at a time when he was sober, which were very sensible—for by recurring to my journal before-mentioned, I recollect a conversation between the king and the embassy to the following effect : The king said, he thought it hard that he should be obliged to continually distress his subjects ; he complained that the inhabitants of Goree were continually coming to Joal under pretence of trade ; that they took occasion to present him with various articles ; articles trifling and insignificant in themselves, and which he neither liked nor wished for ; and that they then came upon him with long accounts, with the debts said to be due, and with pretensions without end ; and he was sorry to say concerning the Governor of Goree, that the Governor living among these people was always on the spot to hear their tales ; that he listened too readily to their complaints ;

plaints; that he thought little of the sufferings of the Negroes; and that he must certainly have been imposed upon to suffer his name to be used upon such occasions.

Was this conversation of the king's interpreted on the spot?

Yes; I took down, word by word, the interpretation of the Mulattoes, and that at different days, when he held the same language; and I reckon those speeches among the most curious anecdotes of my journal, with regard to the sensibility of the natives.

Did the king after this order the pillage to be executed?

Yes.

What is the name of the country to which Joal belongs?

The name of the country is Sin, and the name of the king, in their language, is Bur, which is the reason that the king is called Burfin, or Barbeffin, which is a corruption of the term.

Do you believe that the king of Sin pillages in other parts of his dominions?

Undoubtedly—because the Mulatto merchants from Goree go up to the kings of the country, when they are in want of Slaves, and excite the kings to such pillages, which has been told me by the Mulattoes themselves (who do not make any secret of it) as well as by the French officers.

What is the name of the country between Sin and the River Gambia?

Sallum—and the king is called Burfallum.

Do you know if the king of Sallum also practises the pillage?

Although I have not been with him, I know that he practises the same manner of getting Slaves—of this I was convinced by being present at Goree when a sloop arrived from Sallum, containing twenty-seven Slaves, of whom all, except four, were women and children taken by pillage, which was told me by the captain himself.

Did the captain inform you that it was a common way of procuring Slaves in that country?

Not only this captain, but also the Mulattoes and merchants
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of Goree in general assured me, that it was an usual way by the kings all over that part of the coast.

What is the name of the country between Sin and the river Senegal, and to whom does it belong?

That is properly divided into two kingdoms, but since the French, two years ago, dethroned the king of Tin, this kingdom, together with Cayor, belong now to the king of Damel.

Does the king of Damel also exercise the pillage on his subjects, when there is a demand for Slaves?

The merchants and Mulattoes of Goree assured me that was the case; and although I had not such occasion, as at Joal, to see how the Slaves were brought in, and how the parties for pillage were going out, I was plainly convinced of the same practice prevailing in his dominions.

You have mentioned robbery by individuals as one way of obtaining Slaves; what do you mean by those terms?

I mean by those terms, when individuals seize upon one another, and bring their prey to the Goree merchants to be sold; of which I have known several instances, during my stay at Goree.

Can you specify any instances of this sort?

I saw in the Captiveries, or places where the Slaves are kept, a woman taken in that way from Rufisque, on the Continent, from her children and husband, which was explained to me by a Mulatto that conducted me; I saw very often Negroes brought in from the Continent, who were taken in that way; I had a particular opportunity to make me acquainted with this mode of taking Slaves, by a young Slave himself, who belonged to one of the French officers, and who was himself taken in that way, in the interior part above Cape Rouge; I could state several instances, but it perhaps would be too tedious.

Did this boy describe to you the mode of his being taken?

He told me that he was taken by robbery from his parents, and that such robberies happen very often in his country.

Do you particularly remember that this woman of Rufisque before-mentioned was separated from her children?

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Yes—

Yes—I took the instance down in my journal from the Mulatto, who told me it himself, and shewed me the woman.

Would not the children also have been articles of merchandize if brought down?

Certainly; and so they are when they are not too far off in the country; in which case they cannot support the fatigues of walking down to the shore.

In short, without particularizing more instances, is the Committee to understand that this was a common practice?

During my stay at that part of the Coast it was a general way of procuring single Slaves.—I mean to make a distinction between pillages, by which they can take several at once, being armed accordingly, and robberies, which are a surprise upon individuals.

Did you hear of any people in particular on the Coast who were spoken of as being noted stealers of men?

Yes—I was myself very near being in danger from such an one, whose name was Ganna, at Dacard; having agreed to travel with him to Senegal, when the great Maraboo of the village hinted to me to take care of that man, as he was known to be a thief of the above denomination, and employed by the Mulattoes and Slave merchants at Goree to procure them Slaves in the afore-mentioned manner; the Maraboo told me that he could easily take me to the king of Damel, who was then in misunderstanding with the French, by which means I should have been exposed to have gone into captivity; that I might be redeemed at a great ransom to be sent back to Goree; this was afterwards, at my return to Goree, confirmed by several of the inhabitants, who congratulated me upon my escape.

You have mentioned stratagem and deceit as a way by which Slaves are obtained; can you relate any instances to explain and confirm this assertion?

I saw one Negro brought into Goree from Dacard, bought by a French merchant during his stay at Dacard that very same day; this Negro was visiting that village from a neighbouring one, and coming under the eye of this French merchant, who took a fancy to him, and hinted to some of the inhabitants his desire of getting him, he became a captive by the consent of the whole village, who had agreed with the merchant about the price of the merchandize; consequently he was delivered to the merchant by

surprise, leaving his wife behind, who kindly desired to follow her husband ; but the merchant, not having merchandize enough, obtained only the husband, who was exceedingly distressed, and I saw him in his irons at Goree the day of his arrival.—Another instance of the same kind was as follows: The king of Sallum sent for a woman from without his kingdom to come and sell him some millet ; but upon her arrival seized on her and her millet, and sold her to a French officer at Goree, who was then there, and with whom afterwards I saw this woman every day during my stay at Goree.

Did the young man of Rufisque, whom you have just now stated to have been separated from his wife, appear to be disconsolate from that circumstance ?

I endeavoured from curiosity to talk with him, and to encourage him ; but he was lying on the ground in a very distressed manner, in chains, fastened as is usual with the fresh Slaves that are brought in.

You have hitherto spoken of the manner of making Slaves in the country between Gambia and Senegal ; do you know if any Slaves are furnished from the neighbourhood of the last-mentioned river, or brought down it ?

All the Slaves sold at Senegal are brought down the river, except those that are taken in the neighbourhood of Senegal, by the robbery of the Moors.

Were you ever yourself on the river Senegal ?

Yes.

In what particular part ?

At the Island of St. Louis, and also on the Continent.

Do you know in what way the Slaves are obtained that come from the neighbourhood of that river ?

They are all taken by the Moors, by seizing on them, sometimes in large parties, which they call Petty Wars, encouraged by the Senegal company, and other merchants depending on the company.

What is the nature of this encouragement ?

It is generally by articles of merchandize given to the Moorish kings ; partly to engage the Moors to deliver to them as many Negroes

Negroes as possible, and partly to prevent the gum arabic from being carried down to the English at Portandick.

Whence did you obtain information on this head, and on the mode in which these Slaves are obtained?

I obtained the information of these particulars from the inhabitants and officers of Senegal; and with regard to the mode, I also obtained it from the Moors themselves, and that even in the presence of the director of the company.

Is this bounty paid regularly every year, or is it only occasional?

It is regularly every year, as well to the Moors as to the other nations on the Coast, as mentioned above, for keeping up the commerce; but the year when I was at Senegal, the Moors received a particular bounty, in order to procure the Company a sufficient number of Slaves, they being engaged according to their charter to deliver every year 400 Slaves to the Colony of Cayenne; and the Company having been disappointed of their annual provision of Slaves from Galam, by means of King Dalmanny's having stopped the trade in his dominions.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 29^o die Aprilis 1790.

CHARLES BERNS WADSTROM called in, and further examined.

Can you relate any particulars respecting this stoppage of the trade by King Dalmanny; from what motives he stopped it, &c.?

The King Dalmanny being brought up as a Grand Maraboo himself, and elected King over that nation, which was the first instance in that nation of the same person being Grand Maraboo and King, and, in consequence, having had a better education, would not suffer any strong liquors to be used; and being attentive to the cultivation of the country, had entirely prohibited the Slave trade throughout his whole Kingdom, so as not even to suffer the passage of Slaves through his dominions, which include both
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fides of the river Senegal ; he consequently stopped the whole commerce with Galam for that year, by which commerce the Company reckoned upon receiving 800 Slaves (which they had already bought up at Galam), and for which purpose there were lying at the mouth of the river Senegal several vessels to transport them.

Did the Senegal Company, on this interruption of the trade, endeavour to prevail on King Dalmanny to depart from his resolution ?

Certainly ; the Company sent a deputation, with a number of valuable presents to King Dalmanny, which he immediately returned, wishing not to have any more such offers made to him ; and I had myself an opportunity to be present with the Director of the Company when these presents were brought back ; and they were shewn to me by the Director himself, who seemed very sorry that such a heavy expence should arise from the detention of the vessels in the river for so long a time without a cargo.

What steps then did the Senegal Company take to procure their complement of Slaves, when they could not get them from the usual sources of supply ?

They had recourse to their usual way on similar occasions ; to excite and bribe the Moors by gratuities, and to supply them with necessary arms, gunpowder, and ammunition, to seize on king Dalmanny's subjects, and to bring them in to the Company as Slaves.

Did the Moors, being thus bribed and supplied with arms, begin their incursions ?

On the 12th of January, when I came to Senegal, the Moors had already begun their incursions, and had delivered 50 Negroes to the Company, who were taken in the dominions of King Dalmanny, and whom King Dalmanny sent down to the Directors of the Company to ransom.—When the messengers from King Dalmanny arrived, the 50 Slaves were already dispatched to Cayenne ; by which means the Director was of opinion that the accommodation which might have taken place by the ransom of these Slaves was prevented.

Were any more afterwards brought in by the Moors ?
There were some brought in every day.

In what condition were they brought in? can you describe the circumstances of their situation?

The greater part were very much wounded by sabres and balls.

Into what place were they put on their arrival at the factory?

In the Slave Hole of the Company.

Did you ever visit them there?

The Director himself conducted me thither with Doctor Spaarman, with whom he consulted for medical assistance to be administered to them.

What then appeared to you to be their situation?

Their situation was very pitiful—I found a great part of them, and particularly one, who was lying in his blood, which flowed from a wound from a ball in his shoulder.

Did you ever hear of the persons who have employed themselves in seizing others for Slaves being themselves taken and sold in their turn?

I can mention the following instance:—A Negro was seized by a Moor, brought in and sold to the Company, and was shipped on board immediately—but some few days after, the Moor who seized him was himself taken by a Negro, and brought into Senegal, and sold—he was put on board the same vessel with the first Negro, which caused a great disorder for some days.—The Company used seldom to buy Moors as Slaves for many reasons; but being under a necessity to fulfil their agreement according to their charter with government, they did not lose any opportunity of providing as many Slaves as possible, of whatsoever quality.

From whom did you hear this, and have you any note of it in your journal?

I heard it from the Director himself, and I put it immediately down in my journal.

Do you believe that the Europeans are ever guilty of stealing, or treacherously carrying off the natives of Africa?

While I was at Goree, I was informed by Captain Wignie, from Rochelle, who was just arrived from trading in the river Gambia, that there were three English vessels cut off by the Negroes, a little before his departure from Gambia, in the month of August

August or September (I think September). This circumstance he mentioned in the following manner:—One of the Captains having completed his assortment of Slaves, was ready to set sail, and received on board several of the Free Negroes to take leave, and who were treated with liquors—but a favourable wind made him take the resolution to sail off with the whole—the wind, however, shifted, and drove him back to the same part of the shore; where, not only he was seized and killed, with all his crew, but also two other English vessels at the same time, by the animosity that this transaction caused in the inhabitants.—I have, during my stay in London, by accident fallen in with the insurer of two of these vessels, who stated to me the fact as being true.—One vessel was called the Good Intent, I think, of Liverpool, Captain Gardner; the other, I think, was the Fanny, commanded by Captain Mather, and was from London.—I have reported this fully to the Privy Council. As I was informed, both of these Captains were killed, together with great part of the crew—the remainder came to Albreda, the French settlement in the river Gambia, and were there taken care of.

Did you hear that other instances of a similar sort had happened at former times?

I have heard that such instances happened often on the Coast, particularly by the Dutch and the English—but cannot state any particular instance.

From whom had you this information?

That is the general opinion; which the French officers told me.

Is it your opinion that the Europeans are guilty of any fraudulent practices in the course of trade?

I have been very often an ocular witness to the payment of the merchants to the Negroes, and have found how the traders avail themselves of the ignorance of the Negroes in calculation; how they produce false measures; as for instance, bottles that contain but half of the contents of the samples, and mixing water with their brandy after the bargain has been made; there are so many methods in almost every article, by which they can deceive the Negroes without their perceiving it, that it would be tedious to enumerate them.

What opinion have you formed of the capacity of the Negroes?

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I consider their understanding as not yet being fully improved, but is as capable of being in all respects brought to the highest perfection, as those of any White civilized nation.

What opinion did you form of their temper and dispositions?

They were very honest and hospitable; and I had not the least fear in passing often days and nights quite alone with them; and they shewed me all civility and kindness, without my ever being deceived by them.

Are the natural and social affections as strong in them, as in the inhabitants of other countries?

According to all my observations on this sort of people, I am quite convinced that, in regard to the affections, they have them in a much stronger and higher degree than any of the Europeans that I have had the opportunity to examine; and as for social life, I am clearly convinced by my own experience, and by good information from many persons, that, at least in that part where I have been, there is not the least doubt, but they are capable of being soon brought into such a state of society as we enjoy in Europe, when proper opportunity is afforded them.

Have they any manufactures amongst them?

I have been surpris'd to see with what industry they manufacture their cottons, their indigo, and other dying articles, as well as several sorts of manufacture in wood; they make soap; they tan leather, and work it exceedingly well, and even with good taste; they make vessels of clay, such as pots, pipes, &c.; they work bar iron (which is an article of commerce from Europe) into several articles, as for instance, lances, instruments for tillage, poniards, &c.; they work in gold very ingeniously, and so well, that I never have seen better made articles of that kind in Europe; a great number of articles for ornaments of gold, silver, brass, leather, &c.

Do the natives dye their own cloths?

Yes; they dye in blue, yellow, brown, and brownish orange colour.

From what drug is this blue produced?

From indigo; which grows abundantly all over the country, and even so plentiful, that it often spoils their ground for millet and rice plantations; this indigo is prepared by pounding it in large wood mortars; they put a little hot water over it, and

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make a paste of a certain consistency, which is afterwards dried in the sun; this indigo is, according to the account of officers and merchants, who have been in America and the West Indies, in all respects equal to the best Carolina indigo; I have brought samples with me of the productions of the country, and also of these productions manufactured, which I have here in London to produce, in case it should be required.

Whence are the yellow and brown dyes you have mentioned produced?

They are produced from vegetables and seeds, which were taken particular notice of by Doctor Spaarman, as being within his department; but I have in my collection a kind of beans used for colouring, and which is also a great object of commerce with the Moors, who carry them, even over land, to Morocco, upon their camels.

Is their cloth neatly manufactured?

Their cloth and their leather they manufacture with uncommon neatness; and I have samples with me to shew in case it should be desired.

Can you particularize any of their leather manufactures?

They manufacture saddles, pistol cases, sheaths for sabres, bags, sandals, and various sorts of decorations; such as gris-gris (an amulet or superstitious ornament), and various other kinds.

How do they forge their iron?

They forge their iron with great dexterity upon anvils of wood (which is remarkably hard and heavy), when they have no opportunity to get stone for that purpose.

What articles do they work in gold?

All sorts of ornaments, such as ear-rings of great variety in point of fashion, rings, bracelets, and other decorations.

Are there much of the brown and orange dyes, of which you have before spoken, used in that part of Africa you have visited?

The whole army of the king of Damel are dressed in clothes of these colours.

By whom are the canoes made which are used in these countries?

The canoes are generally made by the Negroes near the shore;
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but the trees for these canoes are cut and transported from a great distance from the shore : even so far, that it requires several weeks to transport them down ; the trees are brought down by the inland Negroes.

In what manner are the trees brought down, and why do they go for them so far ?

They are brought down by a great number of Negroes at once, who draw them with ropes upon pieces of wood that they put under them, and the trees are not hollowed out before they come to the coast, to prevent them from breaking in pieces ; it is generally a whole village that undertake such a business, and bring such a large tree to a neighbouring village, and so on till it comes to the shore ; they receive in return, part in European merchandize, and part in fish and salt, which latter article is prepared from the salt water by the Negroes near the shore ; they go so far for them, because wood of a close texture for this purpose is very seldom found near the shore.

Of what materials are the ropes you have mentioned made ?

They are particularly of a kind of aloe, which grows abundantly on the Coast, and which properly prepared are extraordinarily strong, and of which I also have samples with me.

How do they carry back, into the interior country, the European goods, fish, and salt, which they receive in exchange for these trees ?

Partly on camels, and partly upon their heads ; they carry astonishing weights upon their heads.

From the whole of your observation and experience, have the Negroes a spirit of commerce in them, and have they industry in proportion to the extent of the market which is open to them for the sale of their commodities ?

Certainly they have an extraordinary genius for commerce ; and their industry is in all regards proportionate to their demands.

Do you believe that if they had an extensive market opened to them for the sale of their native produce, and if they could no otherwise get our manufactures than by the disposal of this produce, their indolence would be such as to prevent their supplying the market ?

Not

Not otherwise than by introducing some degree of civilization ; which would be very easy in case the Slave Trade was not the only means of commerce.

Do you mean then to say, that if the Slave Trade was abolished, they would extend their cultivation and manufactures ?

Yes ; particularly if some good European people had enterprising spirit enough to settle among them in another way than is the case at present.—Hitherto no other sort of settlement has been made but by people whose only desire has been to make a fortune in a short time, and then to leave the coast.

How does the continuance of the Slave Trade obstruct the progress of industry and civilization in Africa ?

Because, according to what I have found, that Trade takes up solely the minds of the natives, who are continually excited by the merchants to engage in that business ; and on the other hand have no encouragement or inducement to improve their country, and cultivate the productions.

Are there any Slaves kept by the natives on that part of the continent of Africa you have visited ?

At Goree and Senegal there are ; but on the Continent there are scarcely any.

How are those, which there are, generally treated ?

They are treated very well among themselves, and they never part with their own Slaves, if they have any, because it would be dangerous for themselves if they parted with them, on account of the fear of insurrection among the other Slaves.—This rule is observed generally very strictly, even with the French officers at Goree and Senegal.

How is the island of Goree supplied with vegetables, and other provisions ?

From the Continent, by Free Negroes, who come in eight or ten canoes almost every morning loaded with such provisions.

Is rice cultivated in any quantity in this country for sale ?

Rice is not cultivated at Senegal and down the shore to Sallum in any quantity, but south of Sallum down to Gambia, and particularly at the River Caramansa, there is a great abundance of rice, which I often have had opportunity to be informed of, by seeing many boats or small vessels loaded entirely with rice, not
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only to supply the inhabitants of Goree and Senegal, but also for supplying vessels there—I have got samples of that rice.

What is the quality of that rice?

The French officers at Goree reckon the rice from Caramansa to be of the best quality.

What is its colour?

It is brownish; of the colour of corn nearly in the exterior part or husk, but the rice separated from the husk is very white—I have samples to produce if required.

Were many curious drugs discovered by Dr. Spaarman, to whom you said the botanical part of this commission was entrusted?

Among about 2000 or nearer 3000 specimens of plants which he brought with him to the cabinet of natural history, of the royal academy at Stockholm; I heard him often declare that he could find, if not the whole, at least a great part of the whole Materia Medica, and drugs for various manufacturing uses in this part of the world.

Does the Slave Trade render it dangerous for the Natives to travel about from one part of the country to another, except in parties, or well armed?

Certainly; and I consider it is the chief hindrance to the improvement of the cultivation; in so far as the Negroes never venture to go out into the fields unless very well armed.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 30^o die Aprilis 1790.

CHARLES BERNS WADSTROM, Esquire, called in, and further examined.

Do the natives of Africa print their cotton cloths?

Yes; with several sorts of wooden stamps or prints, in which they cut out figures according to their taste—I have got patterns of these cloths so printed.

In

In what manner were the troops of the king of Sin armed, which went out on the pillaging expeditions?

They were not so regularly armed and cloathed as the troops of the king of Damel—but they had generally a large gun, bow and arrows, lances, and sometimes pistols.

When did you first arrive in Africa, and at what part?

I believe it was in the middle of October 1787, but I could tell that from my journal.—We arrived first at Senegal; but could not come on shore because of the current, which carried us down to Goree.

When did you take your final departure from Africa?

The 19th of January 1788.

Did Dr. Spaarman, and your other companion, leave it at the same time?

Yes.

How far did you go into the interior parts of Africa, and what places in particular did you visit there?

The farthest I went, as I believe, did not exceed six English miles from the shore, or about two or three French leagues—I was at Joal—that was the place where I was farthest in the country.—During my stay at Joal, I went with my companion traveller in the neighbourhood, and to several villages on the shore—I was at Dacard—at Bain—at Rufisque—at Cape Rouge, and some other places between those places and Joal—where we were on shore, I visited the interior part as far as we could for one or two days, according as our time permitted—at Dacard and Bain I was quite alone for several days at once, and went above five or six miles up in the country with the Negroes residing on the shore—at Senegal we were for about a week, and went sometimes on the continent.

Where did you reside at the other times, when you were not on the continent?

At Goree and Senegal.

How many days in the whole do you think you passed on shore upon the continent?

I think I can reckon about three weeks altogether.

Is the evidence you have given the Committee the result of your observations and information on the spot, or have you obtained any part of it by the information of others since you left Africa?

It is all the result of my observations and information on the spot, except as to the names of the vessels and their commanders which were cut off in Africa, which particulars I obtained since I came to this country; every thing else relating to that transaction I heard, as before mentioned by me, in Africa.

Is kidnapping or stealing of men allowed by the laws, or punished as a crime, when discovered, in the parts you have been speaking of?

It is not allowed by the laws; but I have not heard any single instance that such a thing has been punished, as it is generally executed in a manner that can scarcely come to the knowledge of the kings.

From your information and belief as to the government of that country, do you think, if the commission of such a fact should come to the knowledge of the kings, it would not be punished by them?

Yes, I believe it would, particularly if some European traders were present when an examination of such a supposed offence was going on. I was present at Joal when a captive was brought in for some crime; but the king, although excited by the Mulattoes from Goree to condemn him, in hopes that they might have the purchase of him when convicted, acquitted the prisoner.

Are any of the Negroes upon the continent of Africa, within the limits you have mentioned as having visited, born Slaves?

There are, particularly at Sallum, but fewer higher up the Coast—the farther up you come to the Coast, the fewer—and on the continent, opposite Goree, there are but very few.

Are not the wealth and consequence of the great men in that country generally estimated in proportion to the number of their Slaves?

No—at Sallum the king and the greater people are generally esteemed for their wealth, in proportion to the silver and European merchandize that they have—but higher up the Coast they are esteemed rich, according to the quantity of millet that they can produce, and of cattle that they have—and also of camels and horses.

How

How do the kings, and great men at Sallum, procure their silver and European merchandize ?

The silver, which consists particularly in Dutch and Spanish dollars, is in this country the principal trading commerce, without which they cannot do any trade with the king of Sallum ; by consequence the Mulattoes and Merchants at Goree are obliged always to provide great quantities of them for the trade, as well as other merchandizes.

Do not the kings and great men receive that silver and merchandize in return for Slaves sold by them ?

Yes.

As Slaves then are what the kings and great men give in exchange for silver and European merchandize, must it not be the interest of such men to protect their Slaves from the depredations of others ?

The king of Sallum generally executes what they call kidnapping here upon his neighbours ; but higher up the Coast, this kidnapping is executed by order of the kings, even upon their own subjects.

What number of Slaves are annually supplied to the Slave ships from Joal ?

I was informed by the Mulattoes of Goree, that the yearly quantity was near 1200, but I have reason to believe it was not so much.

What number are supplied annually from Senegal ?

I was informed that the yearly quantity of Slaves, when the Trade is open with Galam, amounts to above 1000 ; but I have reason to believe, that it has exceeded this number in the time of the preceding kings of Dalmanny.

In what parts of the country are the manufactures in gold, and other articles you have mentioned, principally carried on ?

At Senegal, and the whole Continent down to Goree, the Negroes are remarkably skilful in working gold and iron ; but in regard to the perfection of spinning and weaving cotton cloths, the inhabitants of Sallum are known for an extraordinary ability, which I think depends, for the greatest part, on the goodness of the cotton, which becomes better and better lower down on the Coast, and of which I have samples brought with me from the principal

principal parts where I have been on the Coast, even manufactured into thread and cloths.

Are not those articles, and particularly those manufactured in gold, principally the work of the Moors, and not of the Negroes?

No—I have taken sketches or drawings of different manufacturing implements, which I have taken from the Negroes, and have only had opportunity to see one Moor, who was established at Senegal, work in gold.—I have however reason to believe, that among them the art of working in gold is derived from the Moors; but that the Negroes are become so skilful in working gold in what is called fillagree, that they are equal to any European goldsmith in that branch.

You have said “ that the Negroes work ornaments in gold so well that you never have seen better made articles, of that kind, in Europe;” Is the Committee to understand that that is your serious opinion of them?

Yes; in regard to fillagrees, and even other articles; I have seen buckles that could not have been better made by any European goldsmith, except the chapes and tongues, and anchors; and there are scarcely any officers at Goree and Senegal, that do not bring to Europe some samples of such manufacture.

Did you make any discoveries in Africa in mineralogy, and in the antiquities of the country?

I have brought with me a collection of minerals from that part of the coast where I have been, which chiefly consists of specimens of volcanic productions; and I think that nobody has given yet such a faithful description of the mineral productions of that part of the coast as I flatter myself I can give; at least I have not yet heard from any author that there have been such considerable volcanic productions described as I found almost wherever I have been on the coast.

Did you go far into the country, on the continent, in search of minerals?

Yes, as far as I have before mentioned.

When you quitted Africa, did you go from thence directly to Sweden?

No; I returned to Havre.

When did you arrive in Sweden ?

I have not been in Sweden since.

Have you made any report to the king of Sweden of the result of your researches, respecting the subjects which were particularly allotted to your attention by him when you first went to Africa ?

Not yet as fully as I wish and hope to do.

Is the substance of your report to the king of Sweden as full and particular as the evidence you have given to the Committee, respecting these matters ?

No—but I can take upon me to answer, that my monarch will be extremely well pleased that I could have been evidence in a cause that so much regards humanity at large, before a nation so respectable and humane as the English nation.

Did Dr. Spaarman and the other gentleman you mentioned return directly to Sweden as soon as they could ?

Dr. Spaarman went first to Paris from Havre, and then here to England, where he remained for some time with me, and afterwards returned to Sweden ; but the other gentleman, as captain in the Swedish artillery, returned immediately from Havre to Sweden.

When did you make the report you speak of to the king of Sweden ?

Such reports, without mentioning the particulars, have been made several times to such persons as have had constant opportunities of reporting them to the king.

When did you make the first report ?

I cannot remember exactly the time.

When did you come to this country, after your return from Africa ?

In March 1788.

Is it your intention to return to Sweden soon ?

My intention is, and has been for these two years past, rather to pass my time in such a peaceable country as England is at present, than to return to my own country, particularly as I have been favoured with permission from my monarch to be absent.

Is it your intention to visit Africa again ?

If I could be of any use in such an undertaking I should not have the least objection.

Have you ever signified such a wish and disposition to any persons in this country ?

It is well known, as I have taken the liberty of mentioning this before the Privy Council when I first had the honor to appear before them.

Have you any plan in agitation for that purpose at present ?

I have ; and I suppose when that is investigated without prejudice, it will be found to be framed upon principles interesting to humanity at large, and this nation in particular.

Are you going in consequence of any mission from your sovereign ?

No.

How are the expences of this plan to be defrayed, and by whom ?

As I have no regard to any particular interest, but humanity at large is my point in view, I leave such to Providence.

Are the expences of your voyage, and the plan you mentioned, to be defrayed by yourself, or by whom ?

I refer to the answer immediately foregoing.

What part of Africa are you going to, and how soon do you mean to set out ?

I have not any particular place nor time in view ; but as I have said before, if I can be of any use to the cause of humanity at large, I have no objection to any place, nor to any time, when such a thing can be executed.

Do the Maraboos deal in Slaves ?

On some parts of the Coast they do, but generally not.

How do the Maraboos live, and how are they maintained ?

They live as the other Negroes ; they support themselves.

Do they ever command in the army ?

No, not that I know of.

Is it the custom of the French to excite wars to obtain Slaves ?
Not only to excite petty wars or pillages, which are considered to be the same, but also private stealing of men.

Is it the custom of the English ?

I cannot answer that ; the coast where I have been being entirely occupied by the French ; but I have heard that the Dutch and English frequently use that method.

Are not the fabres and other instruments which you have spoken of in your evidence manufactured by the Moors ?

Not at all ; all the fabres as far as I know, are an article of European trade all over the coast ; and, except working in gold, the Moors are not at all known for any other industry, except seizing on Negroes, and collecting gum arabic.

Do the subjects of the kings, in the parts of Africa that you have visited, pay taxes ?

I found, during my stay at Joal, that the king had a certain interest in the trade, but no particular taxes ; king Damel I was told had some taxes from his subjects, but so irregular, that there was no regular system of taxation in force.

Where taxes are much in arrear, do the kings send parties out to enforce the payment ?

I did not hear any one instance of that.

When payments for taxes are made to the kings, are they generally made in Slaves, or if not, how are they made ?

I have found where I have been that the general taxes which kings Damel and Barbossin receive from their subjects, consist in millet and cattle, which they sell to the French settlements at Goree in great quantities.

Do you understand that a great part of the trade in Slaves is carried on by the princes of the country ?

At Sallum it is almost entirely ; at Sin, the king has the principal commerce ; but being a good-natured man, he suffers his subjects to carry on the trade ; but king Damel has no such prerogative in the trade.

Do any of these princes receive a duty per head, either from their subjects or from the European merchants or captains, upon the Slaves sold ?

I do not know.

Did

Did you ever hear of poison being taken out by the French Guinea ships, or the purpose for which it was taken?

I heard it from two captains of French vessels, and one French merchant at Goree; and it was mentioned to me in a manner that I neither wondered at it, nor had the least doubt of it; because they shewed me the necessity of it. When in their passage they are taken by calm, short provisions, or contagious sickness; such an instance was mentioned to me by Captain Le Loup, when the commander of a vessel from Brest was obliged on their passage of two or three months to poison the Negroes; and that out of a cargo of 500 Negroes, there only remained 20 when they arrived at the Cape.

When, in answer to this question, "How are the expences of this plan to be defrayed, and by whom?" you said, "As I have no regard to any particular interest, but humanity at large is my point in view, I leave such to Providence;" Did you mean any thing more than that the plan is as yet incomplete; and that you trust that, under the guidance of Providence, it will be brought to an issue favourable to the interests of humanity?

And the question being objected to,

The Witness was desired to explain his meaning in the answer referred to?

I do not know how these expences may be paid; but trust that Providence will open means by which they may be paid, and the plan put into execution, when once the time comes.

Had not the English been used to trade on that part of the Coast which you have visited, previous to its being occupied by the French?

Yes; and that is the reason why the Negroes speak such good English.

Did you ever hear that the several methods of obtaining Slaves, which you have stated in your evidence, were practices newly introduced?

No, it had been an ancient custom ever since that part had been settled, as far as I know.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

And

And it being proposed to examine

Major GENERAL ROOKE, a Member present :

And the said Member having consented thereto ;

He was asked,

Was you ever in Africa ?

Yes.

When, in what part, and for what time ?

In the year 1779, at the Island of Goree, from the 6th of May to the 16th of August.

From what you saw and heard in Africa, do you believe that the king of Damel ever exercises the Pillage on his own villages ?

I never saw it ; I have understood, that when he wanted to sell Slaves he made war for that purpose.

Whether this war was not sometimes of the nature of a marauding expedition ?

I really do not know ; I always understood from the Maraboos, that it was a war ; that was their expression to me.

Did you ever see any of the wounded people brought in from the villages, that had been broken up by the king of Damel's troops ?

No.

Did it come to your knowledge that kidnapping was practised in that part of the country ?

Yes.

Was it spoken of as a common practice ?

Yes.

Will you relate the circumstances of a proposition, supposed to have been made to you, for surprizing and fraudulently carrying off a number of the natives of Africa ?

From the friendly intercourse there was between the king of Damel and me, a number of his inhabitants, attended by some

M

Maraboos,

Maraboos, came over to the garrison of Goree, under my command; it was then proposed to me to send them on board the ships as Slaves.

What followed upon this proposition being made?
I refused.

Was any argument used to justify this iniquitous proposal?

They said it had been done by a former governor; but on asking the Chief Maraboo of Rufisque, he did not recollect the circumstance that any English governor had complied with the request.

Is it from your experience you believe that the captains of Slave vessels ever carry off Slaves fraudulently, without paying for them?

I never recollect but one circumstance of the kind.—A Maraboo informed me that four or five of the king of Damel's subjects were on board a merchant ship then under the guns of the fort; but on application from me they were brought on shore, and sent to the king of Damel by his Maraboo—it was then, in excuse, said by the merchantman, that they came on board the ship drunk with some of his people, and that he meant to send them ashore.

Do you recollect whether any of the Maraboos in that neighbourhood had military commands?

No.

Was it a matter of notoriety that the Moors frequently make incursions for the purpose of obtaining Slaves?

I really do not know.

Can you recollect any particular instances of kidnapped people?

I recollect that two or three Negroes were brought to the island, by whom I could never find out; but I sent them immediately to the Main Land at their own request.

From what you saw, did you conceive that this kidnapping was reckoned by the natives of the continent extremely disgraceful?

I cannot say as to the continent; but it was reckoned extremely so among the natives of Goree.

Can

Can you recollect about what number of the natives of the continent there might be, concerning whom the proposal before mentioned was made?

I suppose 100 or 150, or thereabouts, of men, women, and children; they were of all kinds.

Was you or the officers of the garrison in general, often upon the continent?

Frequently.

Had you and those officers much communication with the natives of the continent?

I had a good deal of conversation at times with the different Maraboos; and so I believe had the officers of the garrison.

Can you state what are the chief natural productions of that part of the coast?

Guinea corn and cotton.

What was the name of the merchant that received those Negroes on board?

I really cannot tell, there were three or four ships.

Who are the Maraboos?

They are chiefs of villages, put there by order of their king.

Are they priests, or of what order are they?

I do not know—all I know respecting my intercourse with them was, that my application for leave to cut wood, to make fascines, and to erect batteries, to protect His Majesty's island of Goree, was to be made to the Maraboo, who was to obtain me leave from the king of Damel—and likewise my application to furnish the garrison with water, fowls, Guinea corn, and all things of that sort, was through them, and likewise the presents that I sent to the king of Damel were through the Maraboos.

Do the Maraboos buy and sell Slaves?

A Maraboo came from the king of Damel, desiring to know what number of Slaves the English merchant ships could purchase, and said, that they might have twenty in three days, upon the merchants paying the price the French were accustomed to give—which was £. 20 per man.

Do they buy and sell Slaves on their own account?

N

I do

I do not know.

Do you know how the Maraboos are maintained ?
I do not.

How far did you ever go up into the country of Damel ?
Never further than Rufisque and Dacard—never more than
three or four miles from the shore.

Did you ever see any quantity of cotton exported from thence ?
No.

Did you see any considerable quantity of it growing ?
No great quantity.

Did you ever see any large quantity of indigo growing ?
I do not recollect that I ever did.

By whom was the proposition made to you for carrying off the
Negroes you spoke of ?

There were three merchants together that spoke to me ; I was
on a battery, attending the troops, when I refused them ; I do not
recollect their names ; they never made a second proposition to
me.

Were the natives of Goree ?
No.

Of what country were they ?
English merchants.

Did they reside in Goree at the time ?
The ships were under the garrison at anchor.

Were they merchants in those ships ?
I understood they were captains commanding those merchant
vessels.

Can you recollect the names of the vessels ?
I do not.

Had you complied with such a proposition, do not you think it
would have involved you in a war with the king of Damel ?

The proposition struck me to be so shocking, that I never considered the consequences that might happen to the king of Damel.

Do you recollect enough of the trade to say, whether it was brisk or no while you was at Goree?

There was very little trade carried on while I had the honour to command there.

Can you recollect any particular causes that struck you at the time, why there was not much trade carried on?

It struck me, the war, and the French being in possession of Senegal.

Do you recollect any other reason?

None.

Did the cotton which you observed in that country grow spontaneously?

Yes.

Do you recollect whether there were not some battles fought on the continent during your stay at Goree for Slaves; and whether you was not told that it was a common practice to make war for that purpose?

I was told of it; I never saw them; but I have heard that that was the mode.

R E S O L V E D,

That this Examination of Captain Wilson, Mr. Wadstrom, and Major General Rooke, be reported to the House.

N^o 1.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 4th MAY 1790.

Witnesses Examined,

Captain THOMAS WILSON,
CHARLES BERNES WADSTROM,
Major GENERAL ROOKE.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE.

Martis, 11^o die Maii 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to take the
Examination of Witnesses on the Slave Trade.

Sabbati, 1^o die Maii 1790.

ROBERT NORRIS, Esquire, called in and examined.

Is the evidence stated to have been delivered by you before the
Privy Council (in their Report to the House of Commons) a cor-
rect account of the information you then gave.

To the best of my recollection, I think it is.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in ;

He was asked,

Is the printed account of the evidence delivered by you at the
bar of the House of Commons, on the Bill for regulating the
transportation of Slaves from Africa to the West Indies, a correct
statement of the information you then gave ?

O

I cannot

I cannot speak with precision to that point; but I suppose it is.

Do you admit yourself to be the author of a publication intituled, "A Short Account of the African Slave Trade," published under your name, in the year 1788?

The question being objected to.

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

And a motion being made, and the question being put, That the Witness be called in, and asked the said question,

It passed in the negative.

And the Witness being called in;

He was asked,

Had you any communication with the Reverend Mr. Clarkson, at Liverpool, towards the close of the year 1787?
I had.

Was this communication frequent?

He dined at my house, I believe twice; and we met two or three times besides.

Will you state the substance of any information you then gave Mr. Clarkson, respecting the African Slave Trade?

Mr. Clarkson communicated to me a wish to have the Slave Trade abolished; and upon explaining some part of his plan, I found it was to encourage, by bounties, ships going to trade there for the natural productions of the country; and upon considering how such bounties should be had, a sum raised upon granting licences to vessels trading there for Slaves appeared the most expedient. He also mentioned somewhat about a settlement to be established on that coast; and, I think, I proposed Caramansa river as an eligible situation. In addition to the bounties, Mr. Clarkson proposed that the Slave vessels should be prohibited from bringing home West India productions, as a restriction upon them. I do not recollect any thing more that passed; I think that is the substance of the conversation.

What

What reception did you give to these propositions?

I believe I said, that the Slave vessels being solely confined to that object, would give a greater latitude to ships employed solely in trading for the natural productions of the country.

Did then these propositions appear to you to be consistent with the continuance of the Slave Trade, or virtually to amount to an abolition of it?

I think I could not suppose that the plan he had in contemplation could abolish the Slave Trade; but that the vessels trading for the natural productions would receive some protection, and be encouraged by the means already mentioned.

Was you acquainted with the object of Mr. Clarkson's visit to Liverpool?

He seemed to have two objects in view; one of which was to confirm his good opinion of the Trade for the natural productions, and the other to discover as many abuses as he could in the conduct of the Slave Trade.

Did you or did you not know, that Mr. Clarkson's object was the abolition of the Slave Trade?

I discovered an anxious solicitude in him to effect it; but at the same time I could not conceive that he could accomplish it; and it was not an immediate, but a gradual abolition which I understood he was aiming at; for I recollect that he proposed to me to get a particular friend of his appointed to the command of an African Slave ship, to be procured for him through my recommendation.

Who was that particular friend?

It was Mr. Falconbridge, who has been already examined here.

Did you or did you not know that the abolition of the Slave Trade was the object Mr. Clarkson had then avowedly in view?

I understood it was the object he had in view, to be effected by a gradual operation.

Did you, or did you not, think that the propositions made in the conversation just alluded to, would effect gradually, if not immediately, the abolition of the Slave Trade?

I really do not recollect what I then thought they would effect; but I presume that I thought they tended to a gradual abolition.

Under

Under this impression, what reception did they meet with from you?

I gave Mr. Clarkson, my opinion of them at the time, and he is, I dare say, much more able than I am, at this distance of time, to say what I stated my impressions to be; but as well as I recollect, it was, that they tended to a gradual abolition, and I gave him every information that I possessed frankly upon this subject.

Did you concur in framing the propositions just alluded to, knowing Mr. Clarkson's object to be as before stated, and conceiving they would answer his purpose?

Mr. Clarkson will, I dare say, do me the justice to say, that I heard him with temper; and though I could not think an immediate abolition practicable or politic, yet that I withheld no advice on the subject from him.

Did you, or did you not, express your concurrence with Mr. Clarkson in his object, as stated, of gradual abolition?

Yes; and still entertain the same opinion, that the African Slave Trade will gradually come to that abolition which he wished for.

Did you approve of these propositions as the means of accelerating this event?

I believe I suggested one of them myself, and the other I thought was conducive to the end he proposed.

Is the Committee then to understand, that you did approve of means being used to effect the gradual abolition of the Slave Trade?

I could approve of no abolition of the Slave Trade that was not compatible with the situation of the West India Islands; and when the necessities of the Planters there no longer require the aid of labourers from Africa, I have always been of opinion that the trade will cease of itself.

Do you then mean, that it was your opinion that the African Slave Trade was to be continued and justified on the ground of political expediency, with a view to the interests of our West India Islands; and not on the grounds of justice and humanity?

I am not casuist enough to decide upon the merits or demerits of the African Slave Trade, on any other ground than that of political and commercial necessity.

Did

Did you consider the African Slave Trade in its relation to justice and humanity?

Previous to the period referred to, I had formed my own private opinion; which was, that the subjects of that trade are in general more happily situated, by being brought to the plantations, than they were in their own country; and when conducted with propriety, I think it is consistent with my notions of humanity.

Was it then your opinion, that the necessities of the West India Islands were to prescribe as to the continuance of the African Slave Trade?

I conceived so; for I consider Slavery as a condition of mankind in every age, and almost in every country; and whilst the necessities of the West India Islands require a supply of African Slaves (being convinced that their condition there is in general as happy as it was in their own country), and whilst those necessities exist, I do not discover that the cause of humanity is violated in the continuance of that trade.

Was it your opinion, that the necessities of our West India Islands ought to prescribe as to the degree of the Slave Trade's being carried on, as well as with respect to its continuance?

No; for whilst the colonies of other states require a similar supply (which they would endeavour to procure for themselves) I consider as a commercial man, that we should relinquish an important share of our commerce if we were to regulate the degree of the trade by the necessities of the British Colonies alone.

In your intercourse with Mr. Clarkson beforementioned, did any thing pass respecting the preventing of our ships from supplying with Slaves the settlements of foreign powers?

I declare I do not recollect; but if there did, I am persuaded Mr. Clarkson can inform the Committee; but as far as my memory serves me, I believe we had no conversation on this point.

Did you know whether Mr. Clarkson made at the time any minute of what passed in that conversation?

I really do not recollect.

Did you at that time believe the wants of our West India Islands with respect to Slaves to be very great, and that they would long require to be supplied with them?

P

What

What I thought then, I presume is the same as my opinion now ; that the Islands want a supply of 10 or 12,000 Slaves annually ; and with respect to the time, it was as impossible for me then to define it, as it is at present.

Was it your opinion then that the Slave Trade was to be carried on for the purpose only of keeping up the stock of Slaves then in the Islands ?

I cannot recollect what was my opinion in a conversation that I have almost entirely forgotten ; but it is my opinion, that in addition to the supply required for keeping up the stock, an additional strength of labourers is requisite to extend the cultivation of the Islands.

Were you acquainted with the circumstance of Mr. Clarkson's having been at Bristol before he came to Liverpool, and with his view in going there ?

Yes ; he told me he had been at Bristol to collect, as far as he was able, a collection or state of the abuses said to have been committed in the African Slave Trade.

Did you understand with what view he was collecting this information ?

To bring those officers and masters to justice, who had treated their seamen harshly.

Did not you understand, that this was only Mr. Clarkson's second object, and that his main view was to obtain such information as should promote his object of an abolition of the Slave Trade, gradual or immediate ?

No ; I thought the object of his journey there was to redress the injuries said to be sustained by individuals, and I gave him credit for the attempt ; for I do not recollect his mentioning to me any other circumstance that was an object of his enquiry there, than to discover what violences had been committed by the officers against the seamen.

Did you understand, that the object he had in view, while at Liverpool, was the same as at Bristol ?

Yes ; so far as making there similar enquiries to what I understand he did at Bristol, and also his plan for an establishment in Africa, and a gradual abolition of the Slave Trade.

Did you conceive this redress of injuries to the seamen, or this gradual abolition, to be his main object?

I conceived this redress of injuries to be his immediate object; the other parts of his plan I conceived to be a more distant consideration, as they could not be effected immediately.

Question repeated.

I am not competent to answer what was his main object.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 3^o die Maii 1790.

ROBERT NORRIS, Esquire, called in; and further examined.

When and where did the conversation before alluded to, respecting the gradual abolition of the Slave Trade, pass between you and Mr. Clarkson?

In the year 1787 at Liverpool.

Was it in your own house, or in any other place?

I cannot recollect particularly; but most probably at my own house.

Were you then, for the first time, or were you before, acquainted with Mr. Clarkson's view and object respecting the gradual abolition of the Slave Trade?

I had seen his book on the commerce of the human species before I had seen Mr. Clarkson.

Do you recollect the circumstances of your first introduction to Mr. Clarkson?

Yes; I was introduced to him upon the quay by a Mr. Rathbone, a merchant, who informed me, that Mr. Clarkson wished for some information respecting the African Trade, in which I had been long engaged; I replied, that I would give him what information

information I knew, and shew him a manuscript or manuscripts respecting Africa.

Was it then mentioned, that Mr. Clarkson was pursuing the object of an abolition of the Slave Trade?

I cannot recollect.

Was the interview, in which the propositions for the gradual abolition of the Slave Trade, before alluded to, were discussed, a meeting by appointment?

I really do not recollect.

When Mr. Clarkson was first introduced to you, was there any mention made of the society instituted in London for the abolition of the Slave Trade, either by Mr. Rathbone, or any other of the party?

I believe not.

The following question and answer being read; viz.

“ Did you, or did you not, express your concurrence with Mr. Clarkson in his object, as stated, of gradual abolition?”

“ Yes; and still entertain the same opinion, that the African Slave Trade will gradually come to that abolition which he wished for:”

The Witness was asked,

Did you mean, in the above answer, that you concurred with Mr. Clarkson in his design, and wish for the abolition of the Slave Trade, or only that it was your opinion that the propositions, if adopted, would tend to that effect?

Mr. Clarkson was introduced to me by a friend, whom I respected; as his stranger, I wished to treat him with courtesy. I found him strongly impressed with the accomplishing of a particular object; courtesy to a stranger induced me to acquiesce in rather than discuss the merits of the question; and it was my opinion that his propositions, if adopted, would tend to that effect. At that time I had no expectation of ever seeing Mr. Clarkson again, nor could I interest myself either in the abolition of the Slave Trade, or the emancipation of the Negroes in the West Indies, which was also one of his propositions; but the redress of abuses committed by officers against their seamen was an object that I desired as earnestly I presume as himself.

Is the Committee to understand, that you expressed your approbation of Mr. Clarkson's object of gradual abolition, or only that you did not express any disapprobation of it?

I have before said, that I acquiesced, as well from complaisance to a stranger as from a conviction which I still entertain on my mind, that a day will come when the African Slave Trade will cease.

Is it then meant, that though you did not express any disapprobation of Mr. Clarkson's object, yet that in your own mind you condemned it, though complaisance prevented your speaking your opinion openly?

I could not but approve of Mr. Clarkson's philanthropy, and still give him credit for it, though I doubt of the policy of reducing his principles into practice; if I was to point at any thing reprehensible in Mr. Clarkson's conduct, it is abusing a private conversation in the manner I suspect he has done, by making me stand here to sustain an examination upon it, nearly three years after it passed; a conversation too of which I little expected ever to have had any future mention of.

Question repeated.

No; I did not condemn it.

Question again repeated.

I could not but condemn the measure, if carried on with precipitation, as being ruinous to the commerce of this country, and to the cultivation of the islands, but at the same time courtesy (as I said before) to a stranger, whom I never expected to see again, prevented me (if I recollect right) from debating with him on the merits or demerits of the measure.

Do you then mean, that you understood Mr. Clarkson's object to be precipitate and immediate, or gradual abolition?

I do not recollect the whole of Mr. Clarkson's object; our conversations on the subject were much too short for a full explanation of a measure of that importance; but I believe a gradual abolition, to be precipitated by his plan, was one object of his enquiries at Liverpool.

Then the following questions and answers being read; viz.

"Did you, or did you not, express your concurrence with Mr. Clarkson in his object, as stated, of gradual abolition?"

"Yes; and still entertain the same opinion, that the African

"Slave

"Slave Trade will gradually come to that abolition which he wished for.

"Did you approve of these propositions as the means of accelerating this event?

"I believe I suggested one of them myself, and the other I thought was conducive to the end he proposed."

The witness was asked;

Is the Committee to understand, that if you did not highly approve of Mr. Clarkson's object, that at least you did not think it a measure to be condemned?

I gave, in my own mind, Mr. Clarkson's heart full credit for the philanthropic measure which he pursued, without his weighing, in my opinion, the political and commercial inconveniencies annexed to it; and civility to a stranger induced me to acquiesce in the measure rather than condemn it.

Did you use any arguments to Mr. Clarkson to dissuade him from pursuing his object of gradual abolition?

I do not recollect I did; for I found him to cherish it so warmly, that any attempts upon that head would have been, in my opinion, fruitless.

How long was it after Mr. Clarkson left Liverpool that you was appointed a delegate from the town of Liverpool to be examined before the Privy Council, respecting the African Slave Trade?

I cannot recollect what month Mr. Clarkson left Liverpool in, nor do I know when I was appointed a delegate from Liverpool; for I was so appointed at a meeting of the merchants at which I was not present, without my privity or consent asked, or previous knowledge of it; from my first seeing Mr. Clarkson to the time of my appearance before the Privy Council, it may perhaps be six months; but I cannot speak exactly.

What were the particular abuses in the conduct of the Slave Trade, the correction of which Mr. Clarkson had in view?

I do not recollect, except what I have before intimated, too much severity said to be practised by the officers, and also the regulation of the price of slops, and the custom of paying half the wages in the currency of the West India Islands.

Did

Did you afford Mr. Clarkson any information or assistance towards the execution of this part of his plan?

I gave him all the information on that head that I possessed myself.

Did you express your concurrence in his idea of the existence of the general ill-treatment of seamen in this trade?

Respecting the frequency of ill-treatment I differed from him in opinion; and he quoted more instances of it than had ever come within my own knowledge.

Did you know this ill-treatment to have existed in any considerable degree, if not generally and universally?

I never heard of many instances of it in fifteen years experience; however there were some that came to my knowledge.

From the whole of your own experience, and of the information you received from Mr. Clarkson, did this abuse appear to you to exist in any such degree as greatly to require correction, and to justify Mr. Clarkson's endeavours for this object?

One single instance alone would justify Mr. Clarkson's endeavours for this object; I conceive wanton severity always merits punishment; the instances that I have heard of, having not occurred under mine own eye, I cannot be a judge of the provocation that occasioned them; but if they were as represented, I should heartily embrace Mr. Clarkson's sentiments respecting them.

Did you give any opinion to Mr. Clarkson as to the general practice of kidnapping of the natives of Africa by their own countrymen?

I do not recollect I did; though it is probable I may have mentioned it; for a few months afterwards I stated, in my evidence to the Privy Council, that I suspected it was practised in some instances between the unconnected tribes who inhabit the windward coast of Africa.

Did you state your opinion to Mr. Clarkson respecting the utility of the African Slave Trade, considered as the source of supply to the marine of Great Britain?

I do not recollect I did; but if I did, I probably conceded on that as well as on several other points to the opinions which that gentlemen entertained, rather than harass his feelings by disputing opinions which he cherished.

Do you conceive the state of Dahomy to be in any sort a specimen of the general state of Negroland?

The inhabitants of the vicinity of Cape Appolonia are subject to nearly a similarly oppressive tyranny; they are the only two arbitrary governments that I have visited; the other districts of the Gold Coast have a milder government.

Do you think, that from the condition of the inhabitants of Dahomy or Appolonia, any fair conclusions can be drawn as to the condition of the inhabitants of Negroland in general?

In drawing conclusions (to have them fair) they should be drawn from the particular countries, and not by general comparisons; the two countries quoted are not a standard whereby to judge of the adjoining nations on the sea coast, and I know but little of the interior country.

What is the usual weight of a basket or crue of rice on the windward coast of Africa?

A basket is an indefinite weight; when the rice is brought aboard in those baskets, it is measured in a crue, the content of which weighs about 20 lb.

Have you read the entries from Captain Fraser's journal or trade book, mentioned in the examination of Mr. Falconbridge, before the former Select Committee on the Slave Trade, and reported by them to the House of Commons?

I have.

What is the date of the first entry, and of the last?

The 19th of September, and the 10th of November.

What is the amount of the weight of the total quantity of rice mentioned in those entries?

Not quite twelve tons and a half.

How much of that quantity appears to have been gotten at Junk?

Not quite six tons.

Do you know whether all the rice which was purchased by Captain Fraser's ship whilst on the windward coast, was or was not inserted in the journal?

The daily consumption of the ship's company, and of the few Negroes that were on board during the period of time mentioned, was,

was, I believe, not included in the quantity stated in Captain Fraser's journal.

Do not you know that the abolition for which Mr. Clarkson wished, was an abolition to be accelerated by means to be made use of for that purpose, and not merely a discontinuance of the trade from the circumstance of the West India Islands ceasing to want any farther supply?

I cannot at this distance of time take upon me to say what Mr. Clarkson wished; nor do I recollect more of it than a gradual abolition of the Slave Trade, and the emancipation of the Negroes now in the Islands.

Did you say, that previous to your conversation with Mr. Clarkson you had seen his Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species?

I did.

From the sentiments expressed in that essay, and from the conversation which you had with Mr. Clarkson, were you not convinced that his object was to use means to accelerate that event?

From the tenor of his publication and conversation, I might be led to suppose that he had that object in contemplation.

Was then the concurrence which you have stated yourself to have expressed with Mr. Clarkson in his object, a concurrence in that object which his writings and his conversation led you to suppose he had in view?

I call my conduct, in all my communications with Mr. Clarkson, rather an acquiescence from deference to a stranger of his character and functions, than a concurrence with his measures.

Had you disapproved of that object, which you supposed Mr. Clarkson to be in pursuit of at that time, would you have suggested means which were in your opinion conducive to the attainment of that object?

Yes; because Mr. Clarkson could not reasonably suppose me totally ignorant of the trade which he was investigating; and if I had withheld every hint or communication, I might expect to be deprived of treating a stranger, introduced to me by a friend I respected, with that civility and hospitality which I wished to do during his visit at Liverpool; besides, one part of Mr. Clarkson's plan met my most sincere concurrence; I mean redressing the abuses said to be practised towards seamen; and I found it im-

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possible

possible to converse with him upon the one subject, without being insensibly led to the other.

Do you then apprehend that the acquaintance you had with Mr. Clarkson demanded of you, that by proposing means to effect the gradual abolition, you should actively concur in the destruction of a trade, which composes "a considerable link of our commerce, and is the connecting medium of our foreign and domestic trade?"

I found Mr. Clarkson so zealous on the subject, that my acquaintance with him would not justify me in presuming to reason with him against a system ruinous to the commerce of this country, and which I thought at the time he could not possibly effect. I conceived it to be a fine-spun theory of humanity, and could not bring myself to think, that men and measures were so powerfully combined, as I have since found them, to promote his views.

Was you of opinion, that any of those propositions in which you concurred, and which you apprehended would tend to accelerate the abolition of the trade, would tend also to accelerate that period at which the West India Islands would cease to require any farther supply of Slaves?

I cannot say now, that at that time any such consideration occurred to me; I do not recollect that there did.

When you stated it as your opinion, that the African Slave Trade would gradually come to be abolished, what period had you fixed in your own mind for that abolition?

It would have been presumption in me to have fixed any; for in all my conversations with Mr. Clarkson on a subject which I deemed equally imprudent and impolitic, I had scarcely one serious consideration beyond being commonly civil to him.

On what grounds do you still entertain that opinion?

I wish to decline replying to matters of mere opinion—but respecting matters of fact I shall not hesitate to answer any question that I suppose myself competent to.

Having stated this to be your opinion, you are now asked, what were the grounds of that opinion?

The restrictions already laid upon the trade, and the measures so ably and unremittingly pursued in this country to effect it.

Do

Do you consider as a commercial man, that it would be for the interest of this country to furnish with Slaves the West Indian Colonies of foreign powers, after our own shall have ceased to require any further supply?

That is matter of opinion—and should I live to see the day when the British Islands have ceased to require any further supply, I shall be more competent then to form a judgment upon the question than I am at present.

Then the following question and answer being read; viz.

“ Was it your opinion that the necessities of our West India Islands ought to prescribe as to the degree of the Slave Trade’s being carried on, as well as with respect to its continuance?

“ No; for whilst the colonies of other states require a similar supply (which they would endeavour to procure for themselves) I consider, as a commercial man, that we should relinquish an important share of our commerce if we were to regulate the degree of the trade by the necessities of the British Colonies alone.”

The question was repeated.

I fancy there is not a politician or merchant in this country but will admit, that such a commerce would be to the advantage of this country; for it would be securing to the merchants of it that profit which would otherwise center with the merchants and manufacturers of the countries that continued it.

Are you of opinion, that “ the African Slave Trade is carried on as much to the ease and comfort of those that are the subjects of it, and also of those that conduct it, as it is possible for human ingenuity to devise?”

I beg leave to object to the question; because it is a quotation from a pamphlet, which I do not think it incumbent on me to support before this Committee.

Can you undertake to say, whether all the ships, which in that account from Liverpool which you here delivered, were stated to have been laid up in consequence of the act commonly called the Slave carrying Act, were actually driven out of the trade by the operation of that law?

I have

I have no reason to doubt it; for they are stated to have been so laid up in the letter, which contained the list I had the honour to deliver here.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Martis, 4^o die Maii 1790.

ROBERT NORRIS, Esquire, called in; and further examined.

Have you not recently received an account of a late rapid increase in the French Trade to and from the Coast of Africa?

I have, and I have an abstract of the information which I received on that head now in my hand, which, if I may be permitted, I will acquaint the Committee with:

That there had sailed, or were fitting out, between the 1st of June 1789 and the 18th of January 1790, for the African Trade, from Nantes 42 ships or vessels; from Rochelle 12; from Bourdeaux 32; from St. Maloes 4; from Harfleur 8; from Marseilles 4; and from Havre 28. In all 130 ships or vessels, in 7 months and a half or thereabouts.

Does your information specify, whether any of these vessels are employed in the Trade for the productions of the country, in contradistinction to the Slave Trade?

It does not.

Does then the tenor of your information induce you to believe that it means the Slave Trade only?

It does induce me to believe so.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

The Reverend THOMAS CLARKSON called in, and examined.

Do you know Mr. Robert Norris, of Liverpool?
I do.

How, and by whom, were you first introduced to him?

I was introduced to him by Mr. William Rathbone, of Liverpool. We went to his house, which is at a little distance from the town; he was not at home, but his servant informed us that we were likely to meet with him upon Change; we accordingly proceeded there, and I was introduced to him in that place.

In what light were you first introduced to him, and what passed on the occasion?

I was introduced to him as the author of an Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, which had been some time before given to him by Mr. Rathbone for his perusal, and as one who had come to Liverpool for information on the subject of the Slave Trade; I perfectly recollect that I then asked Mr. Norris if he had read my book, and if he believed the contents of it to be true? He replied, as near as I can recollect, that he had read it with much satisfaction, and that it contained the truth: with respect to information to be obtained at Liverpool on that subject, he promised to give me every assistance in his power, and appointed a meeting on the following Sunday morning at his own house.

Were you ever with him afterwards?
I was; several times.

Can you recollect with any precision how often, and can you relate the sort of intercourse and conversation which passed between you and him on the subject of the Slave Trade?

To the best of my recollection I was at his house six times, during which I had long conversations with him on the subject of the Slave Trade; he called upon me four or five times also, during which the same subject was continued; I went to his own house, as I have stated before, on the Sunday morning; I believe Mr. Norris was dressing at the time, but he came down to me, and put into my hands to read, a manuscript which I believe was intitled, "An Account of the Wars and Customs of the Dahomans;" we went afterwards to church, and I dined with
S him,

him, and drank tea with him that day. The points of discourse on that occasion were I believe three; namely, the productions of Africa; the probability of introducing a new and valuable Trade in those productions; and the mode of obtaining Slaves. The productions which Mr. Norris mentioned to exist there, were such as mentioned in his evidence before the Privy Council, as stated in the Privy Council's report. With respect to the mode of obtaining Slaves, he assured me that the greater part were kidnapped; that he spoke this from having enquired into the histories of many of those whom he had taken from the coast of Africa in his own vessels; that he was enabled to enquire into this by knowing one or two, but I believe one, of the languages of Africa, and that their almost universal reply was, that they were kidnapped, either as they were travelling on the roads, or fishing in the creeks, or cultivating their little spots. I was so particularly desirous of understanding him well on this point, that I repeated the question in future conversations, and his answer generally was, "Undoubtedly; no person can deny it." In a future conversation on the subject of African productions, he told me, that he had brought some black pepper from Whydah; which black pepper he gave a specimen of, stating, at the same time, that such specimen was one argument of the impolicy of the Slave Trade. In our future meetings, other subjects became the topics of conversation, and among these, the loss of seamen, and the cruelties exercised upon such of them as were in the Slave Trade. I shewed Mr. Norris the copies of several muster rolls, taken from the original, which I had collected previously at Bristol, and his observation was, that I should find the same or nearly the same loss in the Slave vessels of Liverpool. With respect to the cruelties exercised upon seamen in that trade, I called upon him one morning to inform him, that I was on the point of discovering a murder perpetrated by Captain Brown, of the Vulture, on the body of one Peter Green, which murder I had heard of about a month before at Bristol. Mr. Norris allowed that great cruelties were practised upon seamen in that trade; and he one morning came to me in Williamson Square, and he told me, that he had brought with him the journal of a voyage, which would convince me that I had not been deceived in that particular; this journal he left with me for some days; I perused it, and it certainly did contain a corroborating proof of the cruelties which I had before told him I had found out, as exercised in that trade. At another time, in the evening, he called upon me at the King's Arms in Liverpool; I was called out to him; he told me, that if I would appoint a morning, he would have a fire lighted, when we should be

be by ourselves, and that he would communicate with me as to the clauses of a Bill which would bring about the abolition of the Slave Trade. I accordingly waited upon Mr. Norris, at the time appointed, at his own house; we sat down together, and after much conversation on the subject, he dictated, and I wrote; these clauses were written with his own pen and ink, and in his own room. I had several other conversations with him, which were less material than those which I have mentioned.

When you speak of kidnapping in your last answer, do you mean kidnapping by the natives, or by Europeans?

I understand kidnapping by the natives.

On the whole, is the Committee to understand, that you placed perfect confidence in Mr. Norris, both in respect to the communications he made to you, and of his concurring with you in the object of the abolition of the Slave Trade?

I placed the greatest confidence on the word of Mr. Norris, and I always conceived him as a zealous friend towards the abolition of the Slave Trade; I placed so much confidence on his word, that on publishing a second edition on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, I inserted the circumstance of kidnapping, as well as that of the King of Dahomy breaking up a village when he wanted Slaves; these facts will be found in my second edition of that book, printed soon after my return from Liverpool, and before Mr. Norris's arrival in London as a Liverpool delegate for the continuance of the Slave Trade; and I considered these facts as truly valuable from my confidence in him: as a farther proof, I give the following instance; I was in the country, I think in the month of January, when I heard that a Committee of Privy Council were to take the subject of the Slave Trade into consideration, and to examine witnesses upon it; on my arrival in town, I waited upon Mr. Pitt; I told him, I hoped he would examine witnesses on one side of the question, as well as the other; he replied, that it would be but just, and that justice should be done; I then told Mr. Pitt, that Mr. Norris of Liverpool was a gentleman who could give very material information on that side of the question which related to the abolition of the Slave Trade; I repeated Mr. Norris's account of the produce of Africa; the probability which he supposed there was of instituting a new trade in that produce; that he could speak also to the loss of seamen in the Slave Trade, as well as the cruelties exercised upon them; that he had given me clauses for a bill for its abolition; that I was very fearful, however,

ever, situated as Mr. Norris was in Liverpool, he would not be willing to come up on that side of the question if an individual like myself were to write to him, though I knew his heart to be engaged on that side; and I therefore wished to know from Mr. Pitt, whether the Committee of Privy Council had a power of ordering up witnesses; thinking, if that was the case, that Mr. Norris would have an opportunity of stating what he had stated to me, without disobliging any connections which he might have formed at Liverpool; Mr. Pitt replied, that the Committee of Privy Council had no such power; and desired me, as having taken up the other side of the question, to write to him myself; I accordingly did write to Mr. Norris, intreating him to come up to London in behalf of the Africans; this letter I sent inclosed to Mr. Rathbone; Mr. Rathbone wrote to me again, stating, that he had received both my letters, and that he had delivered one of them at Mr. Norris's house, but that Mr. Norris, and one or two other Gentlemen, were gone to London.

Did you see Mr. Norris after he had thus come up to town?

Not immediately; I did not know where to find him; I recollected however that he had a brother, who resided, I believed, at Somerset House. I was very busy at that time, but sent my brother to Somerset House to see Mr. Norris in person, and to intreat him to persevere in the same line of conduct as that to which I had been a witness at Liverpool. My brother waited upon him accordingly, but was informed that Mr. Norris lodged at the Salopian coffee-house. I determined to pay him a visit there, but in the interim was informed by the bishop of London, that Mr. Norris had come up as one of the Liverpool delegates, in support of the Slave Trade; this circumstance struck me with much surprize, and I could not help declaring to the bishop, the whole of Mr. Norris's conduct, nearly in the manner, I believe, which I have stated to this Committee. I wrote also the account for his lordship. I was very much distressed at the time, and I told him that I did not know how to act; that Mr. Norris had behaved to me with the greatest attention and respect, and that I was fearful, lest, by coming forward, I should be considered as having violated the laws of hospitality. I told him also, that there was a certain duty which I owed to the cause to incline me the other way, and that in this distressing situation I solicited his advice; he desired me to wait upon Mr. Norris in person, to talk with him upon the subject, and to beg of him to explain to me the reasons of his conduct. In consequence of this, I waited
upon

upon Mr. Norris, at the Salopian coffee-house, but not finding him at home, I left my card. Mr. Norris afterwards called upon me, and afterwards sent me a letter, which I have now in my possession.

The Witness being then desired to produce the said letter, the same was produced and read; and a copy thereof is as followeth; videlicet:

“ The Reverend Mr. Thomas Clarkson, N^o 10, Gerrard Street, Soho.

“ My dear Sir,

“ The letter which you did me the honour to address to me at Liverpool missed me there, and reached me here only a few days ago; being brought to me by a gentleman from thence, who was so obliging as to charge himself with the care of it. It gave me the sincerest pleasure to receive this testimony of the regard of a gentleman, whom I shall ever respect and esteem, and whose philanthropy claims the admiration of every person whose bosom contains a spark of humanity. Upon my return to my lodgings last night, I was honoured with your card, announcing your address, and resolved to wait upon you this morning; but the arrival of a packet from the West Indies, which called on its way at Charlestown, has brought me letters from my connections there, which oblige me to relinquish my intention, from avocations which require my immediate attentions elsewhere: and as I am under an engagement to visit a friend in the country to-morrow, and shall not return till Monday, I find I shall not be able to enjoy the pleasure of waiting on you until some day early in the ensuing week.

“ Since we parted last, the subject of our conversation has frequently employed my thoughts; and the force of your arguments, and the justice and humanity of your sentiments have impressed on my mind a due deference for your opinions; but we differ in some points: from commercial

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“ and

“ and political considerations, I am induced to think
 “ that the benevolence of your plan cannot be
 “ acceded to *in toto*. If you will please to turn to
 “ my favourite author, the Abbé Reynal, vol. 1.
 “ page 9. you will see a strong argument against
 “ one part of it; and other objections occur to
 “ myself; but I assure you that whatever my own
 “ private opinions may be, I should gladly have
 “ declined any public interference in this business,
 “ could I have refused it with propriety. The
 “ present investigation will I hope tend to correct
 “ whatever abuses exist in the African trade, as well
 “ as to improve the condition and situation of that
 “ unhappy part of our fellow creatures, whose un-
 “ fortunate lot it is, perhaps, for some wise though
 “ inscrutable purpose of our Creator, to toil for
 “ their brethren; and every idea tending to so de-
 “ sirable a purpose is, I trust, as dear to me as it
 “ can be to any person whatever.
 “ Your kind remembrance of Mrs. Norris claims my
 “ warmest thanks, and I am with every sentiment
 “ of respect and friendship,

“ Dear Sir,

“ Your obliged and most obedient servant,

“ ROBT NORRIS.

“ Salopian, 29 Feby. 88.

“ P. S. I am so pressed for time that I must beg
 “ you will excuse this very incorrect letter, which
 “ I assure you I have not leisure to copy.”

Was there any other person to whom you communicated the conduct of Mr. Norris?

Yes; I communicated it so early as the time of the Regulating Bill to Sir William Dolben, whom I now see in the chair of this Committee. I have also stated this conduct of Mr. Norris two or three times to Mr. Cruden; this I did, because Mr. Cruden was one of the most intimate friends of Mr. Norris, was present at the first conversation at Mr. Norris's house on this subject, and perfectly knew the great pains which Mr. Norris had taken to give me intelligence on this subject. I desired Mr. Cruden, at both those times, to tell me how I had acted in his opinion, and whether such conduct had not been equally striking to him as to me? At both those

those meetings, in which another person or persons were always present, he told me that his opinion of Mr. Norris was of the highest kind; that he had known him for many years, but confessed at each time, I believe, nearly the following words: " His conduct " to you at Liverpool, and since as a Liverpool delegate, embarrasses me much."

Was it so generally notorious at Liverpool, that your object there was the abolition of the Slave Trade, that Mr. Norris must have known it if he had not been informed of it by yourself?

I was never ashamed of the cause. I mentioned my object and my sentiments publicly and in all companies. It was a notorious fact that I came there with that view. I was frequently pointed at in passing the merchants upon Change, and I dined in public almost every day, so that my object could not fail to have been well known in that place.

Are you sure that you took down in writing the clauses respecting the abolition of the Slave Trade framed by Mr. Norris and yourself, at a meeting between you at his house, as mentioned in a former answer?

I am quite sure of it; I took with me, both to Bristol and Liverpool, several small books, in which I wrote down many of the facts which I had heard, and the persons from whom I heard them. Two facts, namely, that of kidnapping being the general mode of obtaining Slaves, and that of the king of Dahomy breaking up a village when he wanted Slaves, were put down in these little books, but not in the presence of Mr. Norris, but after having left him, merely to serve me as memorandums of these facts; but with respect to the clauses for a bill for the abolition of the Slave Trade, they were taken down in his own room which faced the garden; and as I have said before, they were written with his own pen and ink, but with my hand. I have these little books, I believe all of them, to produce if necessary, which not only contain those facts, but much other information collected upon this subject.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

And

And being again called in ;

He was asked,

Have you here the identical book in which you say you wrote those clauses ?

Yes.

Read from it those clauses.

The Witnesses then read as follows :

- “ 1. Make every Slave Vessel take out a licence, and
“ let the sum paid for such licence be at least
“ £. 50.
- “ 2. Let no Slave Vessel, under severe penalties, be
“ suffered to take a tooth, a puncheon of palm oil,
“ or any of its productions, from the coast.
- “ 3. Let no Slave Vessel be permitted to bring a bale
“ of cotton, a hogthead of sugar, or even a pas-
“ senger, from the West Indies.
- “ 4. £. 1,000 fine for a Vessel that supplies the Spa-
“ niards and French.
- “ 5. Let every Vessel that goes to Africa for the
“ natural productions of the country receive a
“ bounty. £. 500 for bounty would be adequate
“ to the wages of seamen, their provisions, and
“ the stores of a vessel of 200 tons for eight
“ months; £. 300 to be paid at outfit, £. 200 at
“ her return.
- “ 6. The Bananas to be head quarters and first set-
“ tlement; they belonged to one Cleland a Mu-
“ latto; perhaps his family, who remain, would
“ sell it.
- “ 7. That the De Lofs Islands be the second from
“ Sierra Leone to Cape Mount. To windward of
“ Sierra Leone there is a tract where the Blacks
“ are descendants of the Portuguese; these people
“ are industrious at present, more civilized than
“ the natives, good boatmen, craftsmen, &c. They
“ are free and not dependant on the Portuguese, a
“ sort of Mulattoes, and would easily be brought
“ over.
- “ 8. The River Caramanca, on the Windward or
“ Gold Coast, runs parallel to the sea, and would
“ be a most eligible situation, both in point of
“ defence and productions.

“ 9. These

“ 9. These regulations will destroy the Slave Trade
“ in a few years.”

The Witness was then asked,

Were all these clauses suggested by Mr. Norris, or any of them by yourself?

I cannot say that all of them were suggested by Mr. Norris; that clause whereby it is made necessary for every Slave Vessel to take out a licence came from him; I perfectly well recollect that that clause which relates to the bounty was suggested by myself, though Mr. Norris assisted me in calculating what that bounty ought to be to defray certain expences on the voyage, so that the sums annexed are his; I recollect also having proposed myself that clause which says, that no vessels shall be permitted to take a Tooth or Palm Oil, or any of the produce of Africa; but that the clause which states, that no Guineaman be allowed to bring West Indian produce, or even a passenger, home, was suggested by Mr. Norris; as to the clause which relates to that branch of the Slave Trade carried on by the French and Spaniards, I cannot accurately say who proposed it; but Mr. Norris mentioned the fine of £. 1000, mentioning at the same time that this branch of it ought immediately to be abolished, in as much as we were supplying foreigners at the expence of our marine; the settlements also, with the order in which they stand, were mentioned by Mr. Norris, though I cannot positively say whether he or I proposed the settlements as necessary; Mr. Norris however gave his sanction to the whole.

Can you then take upon you to say positively, that Mr. Norris was then perfectly informed, even as to the clauses in which he did not himself suggest, and that he entirely concurred in them?

Undoubtedly he did concur in all the clauses which were put down in that book; for I put down no clause that was not approved of by him, after separate conversation upon the propriety of it.

Did Mr. Norris at any time give you his opinion as to the general profitableness of the Slave Trade?

I recollect that he stated it to be a losing trade; and if I recollect, it was on the Sunday, the day of my first appointment to meet him, in the presence of Mr. Cruden and Mr. Copeland. Mr. Copeland had, I believe, been a Slave Merchant.

Can you recollect when you were first introduced to Mr. Norris, at Liverpool?

I should suppose in the beginning of the month of September; but I have no memorandum of it.

Can you recollect what interval there was between your last communications with Mr. Norris at Liverpool, and your being informed in London, that he was come up as a delegate from Liverpool on the Slave Trade?

I left Liverpool, to the best of my recollection, at the latter end of October, and I believe that I received the information, that Mr. Norris was come up as a Liverpool delegate in the month of February following; my last communication, as far as I recollect, with Mr. Norris, might be two or three days before I left Liverpool.

Did you ever propose to Mr. Norris to procure, through his recommendation, the command of an African Slave Ship for Mr. Falconbridge?

I think I can take upon me to say never; having in view the abolition of the Slave Trade, I should have thought my character would have suffered much in the opinion of Mr. Norris to have made him any proposal of the sort; to which I add, that when I first saw Mr. Falconbridge at Bristol, and asked of him information relative to the Trade, he told me, on our first meeting, of which I believe a witness can be produced, that he had left the trade from principle, and would go into it no more; and certain I am, the only object of Mr. Falconbridge's journey to Liverpool was, to assist me in procuring facts for the abolition of the Slave Trade.

Did you ever make such a proposal on behalf of Mr. Falconbridge to any other person?

Certainly not.

Do you recollect having observed to Mr. Norris, upon the Exchange at Liverpool, that as the abolition of the Slave Trade could not be immediately effected, it was a pity that humane men were not selected for the command of slave ships, in the mean time, or any thing to that effect?

I think it not at all improbable but that I might have made an observation of that kind; but I have no recollection of it.

Was

Was Mr. Falconbridge ever in company with you and Mr. Norris upon the Exchange at Liverpool, or any other place, at any conversations you had together upon the subject of the Slave Trade?

I recollect that it was a long time before Mr. Falconbridge was ever known at all to Mr. Norris; I went repeatedly to Mr. Norris's house, and to the best of my recollection, Mr. Falconbridge never went with me; and I recollect also, that there were very few communications between myself and Mr. Norris, at which Mr. Falconbridge was ever present; and I have no recollection of being at the Change with Mr. Falconbridge and Mr. Norris; indeed I am clear that I never was conversing upon the Change at Liverpool, to the best of my recollection, more than two or three times during my residence at Liverpool.

Do you recollect to have seen Mr. Falconbridge upon the Exchange at Liverpool at any distance from, though not actually in company with, yourself and Mr. Norris, at any of your conversations?

I really do not recollect the circumstance, but it might have been.

How long was you at Liverpool upon the whole?

I should think about six weeks, to the best of my recollection.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 5^o die Maii 1790.

THE Reverend THOMAS CLARKSON called in, and further examined.

You said, that to the best of your recollection, you called half a dozen times at Mr. Norris's house; but did you ever find Mr. Norris at home more than twice or thrice?

I called, I believe, more than half a dozen times; but found him at home, to the best of my recollection, five or six: I recollect to have dined with him twice; I recollect also having seen him one morning, when I shewed him the copies I had occasion to have made from the Bristol muster rolls; I saw him another time at his

own house, in the morning, when he gave me the pepper from Whydah; I saw him also another time, when I went to inform him of the likelihood of ascertaining the murder by Captain Brown, on the body of Peter Green, as mentioned in my examination of yesterday. I perfectly recollect that these were distinct times, but I cannot at present recollect any other; I do recollect the time when he gave me the clauses, which is a sixth time.

Do you suppose, that curiosity in Mr. Norris to discover the nature of a plan so new and extraordinary as that you had in contemplation might have occasioned his attention to you?

I always considered, that Mr. Norris did not consider the abolition of the Slave Trade as an extraordinary plan; but as a plan which ought to be put into execution; his whole conduct to me at Liverpool was of a nature to make me form this opinion.

Did Mr. Norris shew you his books, containing his accounts of the seamen who had sailed with him, to convince you that the mortality of seamen was not so considerable as you thought it to be?

I do recollect, that Mr. Norris shewed me some papers, and that he gave me one, which was an invoice for a cargo to Whydah. I do not recollect, that he shewed me his books relative to the loss of seamen; but I must do him the justice to say, that I have heard him state to me, that the loss of seamen on board his ships was little or nothing. This however he did not state to me with a view of shewing that I had been deceived in my enquiries relative to the loss of seamen in the Slave Trade; but that there were ships in that trade which went to the Coast of Africa without any material loss; and I considered him at the time as exhibiting by such statement, a proof of his own humanity and good usage of the seamen entrusted to his care.

When Mr. Norris spoke to you of kidnapping, did you understand it to be, from what he said, a general practice in Africa, or only in particular parts of it?

I understood it to be the general practice, as far as he could deduce the inference from the experience made in his several voyages, with an exception only to the mode of obtaining Slaves, as existing in the territories of the king of Dahomy, because he informed me, that that king seized upon a village whenever he was in want of Slaves.

Did you find any mention of kidnapping in that manuscript history,

history, which he shewed you, of the wars and customs of the Dahomans?

I certainly did not, for I have just made an exception to the mode of procuring Slaves as existing in those parts. Mr. Norris uniformly informed me, that the custom of seizing a village was the way in which Slaves were obtained in that country, and of course I had no reason to expect to find kidnapping mentioned in a work which was intituled, "An Essay on the Wars and Customs of the Dahomans."

Did you not understand from Mr. Norris, that Dahomy is an arbitrary government, the inhabitants of which are all Slaves to the king, and that kidnapping could not be practised there?

I have already said, that kidnapping was not practised there; it was not necessary, according to Mr. Norris's account, where the king could seize a village without being called to any account for his conduct.

Upon recollection of the conversation you had with Mr. Norris on the subject of kidnapping, did he not state it as a species of depredation committed by nations living in a state of hostility with each other, and not an act of individuals committed by the Natives on their neighbours and townsmen?

He never made, to the best of my recollection, any discrimination between nations and individuals; his words were, which are now strong in my mind (and which have been so ever since) "that on enquiry into the histories of several of those whom he had taken from the coast of Africa in his own vessels, that their almost universal answer was, that they were kidnapped, either as they were travelling on the roads, or fishing in the creeks, or cultivating their little spots." Immediately on returning from Mr. Norris's house, I put down his words on this occasion in a little journal which I kept, and which I presented to this Committee yesterday.

You say you had so much confidence in Mr. Norris, that you inserted the circumstance of kidnapping in the second edition of your book, as related by him; if you either misunderstood him, or were misinformed by him, are not your observations on that subject erroneous, and such as require to be corrected?

If I was misinformed by him, it was his fault; if I misunderstood him, I am very sorry for having given such facts to the public, and shall always think it my duty to retract when I find myself in error; I beg leave however to say, that I think it
X impossible

impossible for me to have misunderstood him; I was never clearer as to the recollection of any assertion in my life, than that made by Mr. Norris, which relates to kidnapping, as a general mode of obtaining Slaves—I would not wish to be understood as saying, that the circumstance of kidnapping, as a mode of obtaining Slaves, which is mentioned in my book, depends upon the authority of Mr. Norris alone; it depends upon many other authorities; I brought in the assertion used by Mr. Norris only to corroborate that which had been given to the public in the first edition of that book; with this view also I mentioned other facts collected in the same tour.

You say, you were informed by Mr. Norris, that the African Slave Trade was a losing one, do you mean at that particular period, or universally so?

I do not recollect to what period he alluded.

Did Mr. Norris say that he had lost money in it?

I never heard him state any profit or loss which might have accrued to him as an individual concerned in these voyages.

Did Mr. Norris express his approbation of your endeavours to redress any abuses in the treatment of seamen in the African Trade?

I never heard him express any approbation or disapprobation of any measures taken by me on that account; he only, as far as I recollect, concurring with me, that it was a trade in which great enormities were practised on the persons of seamen engaged in it; and that the seamen were much worse used in that than in any other trade, which he expressed first in my conversation with him at his own house, when I told him of the usage of Captain Brown; and secondly, at my lodgings in Williamson Square, when he came to me with the journal of a voyage made in the Slave Trade; by which it would appear that I had not been deceived in the accounts given me of the treatment of seamen in that trade; and which journal he left with me for many days.

Did he approve of your plan or scheme for emancipating the Negroes in the West Indies?

I never was so absurd as to think of the emancipation of the Negroes at all; the sole object of my journey to Liverpool was, to collect facts for the abolition of the Slave Trade; this distinction between abolition and emancipation I set out with as a first principle, and have preserved to the present day.

Is it probable, that more was really meant by Mr. Norris, than to redress any abuses in the treatment of seamen, or that he could be serious in condemning a trade in which he had been long engaged?

I believe that he sincerely meant the abolition of the Slave Trade, as comprehending many branches which could neither be justified on the principles of humanity or policy; and my conduct, as explained in my examination of yesterday, is a proof that I thought so; for I not only mentioned him to Mr. Pitt, as I then stated, as a proper evidence on the side of the abolition, but even wrote to him to come to London in that capacity.

Did you know the late Mr. Rathbone of Liverpool?
Yes.

What was his general character?

I was recommended to him as to a very worthy man, and during my intercourse with him at Liverpool, I had no reason to consider him in any other light.

Did it not occur to you, that civility to a stranger recommended by Mr. Rathbone might prevent Mr. Norris from controverting opinions which you warmly espoused?

In my opinion no civility ought to prevent a man from telling the truth; and I believe it did not; because Mr. Rathbone repeatedly told me that Mr. Norris condemned the trade.

What do you mean by the words "it did not" in your last answer?

I mean civility to a stranger, on Mr. Rathbone's account, did not prevent Mr. Norris from controverting those opinions.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Dr. THOMAS TROTTER, M. D. a Surgeon in the Royal Navy, called in, and examined.

Have you ever been in the African Slave Trade?

I sailed from Liverpool in 1783, surgeon of the Brookes, Clement Noble, master.

How long were you on the coast of Africa?

I think from the time we made Cape Palmas, till we completed the cargo at Annamaboe, was about ten months.

Did

Did you in that period make any enquiries concerning the methods of procuring Slaves?

I made many enquiries concerning that particular part of the trade.

Of whom?

Of the Slaves themselves, of the traders, and particularly of Accra, a trader at Cape La Hou.

Had you any, and what reason to believe that the intelligence you received might be relied upon?

Accra particularly had no interest in deceiving me; besides, the man was well known to the English who traded there, as a man of great integrity. I found him a most intelligent man, and he possessed a modesty and gentleness of disposition I never afterwards met with in any Black trader.

What was the general result of the information on this subject which you received from him, and the other parties you have mentioned?

I found that the natives of Africa were sometimes condemned to slavery for crimes of different kinds; but by far the greater number were what they called "prisoners of war."

Did you understand that many of the Slaves had been reduced to that situation in consequence of crimes?

Few Slaves came on board of whom I did not enquire, why they were made Slaves. But of all the cargo, I only recollect two for adultery, and one for witchcraft, who, with his whole family, were sold.

Did you learn the circumstance which attended the conviction of the persons for adultery?

One of the men told me, that he had been decoyed by the woman, who informed her husband, and he was sentenced to pay a slave; but by being a poor man, and unable to pay, he was sold himself.

Have you found reason to believe that the women frequently practise stratagems of this sort?

Yes; the practice is notorious; the fourth mate of the *Brookes* was entrapped in the same manner, by a woman that informed her husband, and he was obliged to pay a Slave, otherwise our trade was threatened to be stopped.

You

You have mentioned a man, who, with his family, were sold to you on account of witchcraft; can you relate the circumstances of the case?

The man had been a trader, and spoke a little English; the circumstances of his case are shocking; the women on coming on board (his mother, wife, and two daughters, I think) exhibited every sign of affliction; the man himself had every symptom of a sullen melancholy; he informed me, that he had quarrelled with the chief, or Cabbotheer of Saltpan, who to be revenged upon him, accused him of witchcraft, for which he and his family were condemned to slavery; after coming on board, he refused all sustenance; early next morning I was called to him, and found he had made an attempt to cut his throat, but by only dividing the external jugular vein, he lost little more than a pint of blood; the parts were immediately secured by futures; but on the night following he not only tore out the futures, but made a similar attempt on the other side; he declared, he never would go with White men, looked wistfully at the skies, and uttered incoherent sentences; diligent search was made throughout all the rooms, but no instrument could be found, and from the ragged edges of the wound, and the blood upon his finger ends, there was every reason to believe that he had torn the parts with his nails; his hands were now secured to prevent any further attempt; he still however adhered to his resolution, refused all sustenance, and died in about a week or ten days afterwards of mere want of food.

You have stated, that by far the greater part of the Slaves consisted of what they called prisoners of war; what meaning did you understand them to affix to the term "Prisoners of war?"

I repeatedly and often asked Accra what he meant by prisoners of war; and I learnt, that they had been carried off by a set of desperadoes or marauders, whose business it seemed to be to ravage the country, and carry off the inhabitants in this manner, and to sell them as Slaves.—I found the language among the traders very familiar, of the bushmen making war to make trade; by which they seemed to understand, procuring Slaves.

Was this account confirmed to you by any other circumstances?

Yes—by the Slaves themselves—many of whom shewed me by gesture or motion, how the robbers had come upon them—and during the Middle Passage, some boys in my ship played a sort of game, which they called, Slave-taking, or bush fighting; and I have seen them perform all the manœuvres, such as leaping, tally-
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ing,

ing, and retreating, and all other gestures made use of in bush fighting—On making enquiries of this kind among the women, I was only answered by violent bursts of sorrow—I was led by enquiries of this nature to ask Accra what they made of their Slaves, when the English and French were at war—he simply answered, “ Suppose ship no come, massa, no take Slavee”—those were his words, as near as I can recollect.

In your last answer, you have spoken of boys whom you had on board; can you state whether these were brought to your ship, with or without their parents, or other near relations?

We had many, both boys and girls, who had not father, or mother, or any relation on board—many of them told me that they had been kidnapped in the neighbourhood of Annamaboe, particularly a little girl of about eight years of age, who told us she had been carried off from her mother by the man who sold her to our ship.

Did any instances of kidnapping by the natives fall within your own personal knowledge?

Yes; I saw Fat Sam, our gold taker, dispatch his canoe for three fishermen employed in the offing; they were immediately brought on board, put in irons, and about a week afterwards he received payment for them. I also remember another man being taken in the same way out of a canoe alongside of our ship. Fat Sam very frequently sent Slaves aboard in the night; these I found, from their own information, were every one of them taken in the neighbourhood of Annamaboe; and I remarked, that Slaves that came off in this manner in the night were never paid for till they had been kept some time on board.

Can you assign any reason for the circumstance just mentioned of the payment for these Slaves being delayed?

I have every reason to believe that it was the hazard of their being claimed, for some of them were really restored, particularly a boy, who was carried on shore again by his father, uncle, or some near relation.

Can you give any information respecting the kidnapping of Slaves by the Europeans?

I have only heard of it; but the master of the vessel I was in urged his gold takers every day that they came on board to get him Slaves by any means.

Were

Were the Slaves much crowded in your ship in the Middle Passage?

Yes; so much so that it was not possible to walk amongst them without treading upon them.

Had they room to turn themselves, or in any sort to lie at ease?

By no means; the Slaves that are out of irons are locked spoonways, according to the technical phrase, and closely locked to one another. It is the duty of the first mate to see them stowed in this manner every morning; those which do not get quickly into their places are compelled by the cat, and such was their situation when stowed in this manner, and when the ship had much motion at sea, that they were often miserably bruised against the deck, and against one another.

Did you find the gratings sufficient for ventilating the Slave rooms; and had you any additional means for that purpose, such as ventilators or wind sails?

I am now speaking of the Middle Passage. When the scuttles are obliged to be shut, I do not think the gratings are by any means sufficient for airing the rooms; for I never could myself breathe with freedom, unless I was immediately below the hatchway. Ventilators I never heard of being used in these ships; we had none; a wind sail was frequently tried while we lay upon the coast, but I remember of none being used in the Middle Passage.

Did the Slaves appear to suffer from the want of fresh air?

Yes; I have seen their breasts heaving, and observed them draw their breath with all those laborious and anxious efforts for life, which we observe in expiring animals, subjected by experiment to foul air of different kinds, or in the exhausted receiver of air pumps; I have also seen them, when the tarpaulins were, through ignorance or inadvertently thrown over the gratings, attempting to heave them up, and crying out "Kickeraboo, Kickeraboo," which signifies, we are dying; on removing the tarpaulins and gratings, I have seen them fly to the hatchway with all the signs of terror and dread of suffocation; many of them, whom I have seen in a dying state, have been recovered by being brought immediately under the hatchway, or on the deck, for fresh air, but

others were irrecoverably lost, whom I had every reason to believe were suffocated, having shewn no previous signs of indisposition.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 6^o die Maii 1790.

DR. THOMAS TROTTER called in; and further examined.

Do the Slaves appear greatly dejected when they first come on board?

Most of them, at coming on board, shew signs of extreme distress, and some of them even looks of despair; this I attributed to a feeling for their situation, and regret at being torn from their friends and connections; many of them, I believe, are capable of retaining those impressions for a very long time; this I have illustrated in my Observations on Scurvy, published five years ago, by the following curious fact: I should not have alluded to this instance, had it not been known to the public before, as an evidence on this business.—The Slaves in the night were often heard making a howling melancholy kind of noise, something expressive of extreme anguish. I repeatedly ordered the woman, who had been my interpreter in the latter part of the voyage, to enquire into the particular causes of this very melancholy sort of noise. I found that it was occasioned by finding themselves in a Slave room, after dreaming that they had been in their own country amongst their friends and relations. This exquisite degree of sensibility was particularly observable among the women, many of whom, in these situations, I found in violent hysteric fits.

Did your vessel leave the coast in the day or the night?

In the night, after dark, and when all the Slaves were secured below, to prevent them from murmuring, and shewing any signs of discontent at leaving the coast.

Have you any reason for imputing your having sailed in the night to this motive?

Every

Every ship that was in the road when we came there, or that failed before our ship, left the road in the night in the same manner; the custom I apprehend is general from what I have heard.

Have you ever known an instance of a living man being found chained to a dead one, on the opening of the gratings in the morning?

Yes; more than one or two instances of this came under my own observation.

How many Slaves did you purchase, and can you state how many you lost in the course of the voyage?

To the best of my memory we purchased upwards of 600, and I think lost about 70 in the voyage.

Do you know of any attempts to rise on the ship's company having been meditated, or actually made by the Slaves?

Yes; a number of the strongest men in our ship attempted one night to saw themselves out of irons, which they had done with an old knife, knotted for the purpose, and brought by a woman who lived in the cabin; but they were fortunately detected by another Slave giving information.

Were there any instances of Slaves jumping over-board?

One man jumped over-board while we lay at Annamaboe, and was drowned; another man, in the Middle Passage, jumped over-board, but was taken up again; a woman, after having been taken up, was chained for some time to the mizen-mast, but being let loose again, made a second attempt, was again taken up, and expired under the punishment of flogging for having made these attempts.

Are the Slaves, during the Middle Passage, obliged to take exercise, and by what name is this commonly called?

I believe the practice of dancing them is very general in the trade, and in all ships; but in ours it was not practised till their health made it absolutely necessary that they should be allowed some exercise: the men, who were confined in irons, were ordered to stand up, and make what motion they could, making a lane at the same time for those who were out of irons to dance round the deck, with all those awkward gestures and motions which they call dancing. Some of them, who did not seem to relish the exercise, were compelled to it by a lash of the cat; but many of them refused to do it, even with this mode of punishment in a severe degree.

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Did

Did any of the Slaves ever refuse sustenance?

I have already related the case of the trader who attempted to cut his throat; I also remember a woman who perished from the same cause, by refusing to take food. The situation of the man's wounds in his throat put it out of our power to use any compulsory means; but the woman was repeatedly flogged, victuals forced into her mouth, but no force could make her swallow it, and she lived for the four last days in a state of torpid insensibility.

In what manner was your cargo disposed of in the West Indies?

By what is called a scramble. People who wish for Slaves are ready, when the signal is given them to open the sale, to apply their tallies to the Slaves they wish to purchase, by rushing all at once among them. This unexpected manœuvre had an astonishing effect upon the Slaves; they were crying out for their friends with all the language of affliction at being separated. On this occasion some husbands and wives were parted, and many other relations.

Were the seamen on board your ship properly sheltered during the Middle Passage?

No; they lay, according to custom, under the booms; and when the weather was bad, were certainly exposed very much to all its inclemencies.

Did you see any of them ill treated by the master?

I remember during the Middle Passage, some of them being most unmercifully flogged by him, so much so, that I saw from the quarter-deck some of the seamen coming aft from the fore-castle with the view to rescue the man; on seeing this, he was immediately let go; and I remember, that he never afterwards punished any of them in that manner: he was carrying twelve parroquets to the West Indies; they either all died, or were killed, by somebody; he suspected a seaman of killing them, and ordered the man to be confined or lashed for twelve days to one of the topmast heads, during which time he eat nothing but one of those parroquets, and a pint of water a day; though it was in the Middle Passage, the punishment was rigorously inflicted, and, wonderful to be told! the man survived it. He was a native of Philadelphia, and was discharged from the ship in the West Indies. I have heard the man who perpetrated this wanton piece of barbarity relate it in a public company, with a degree of triumph and satisfaction that would have disgraced an Indian scalper. The masters of the vessels

vessels who were present when he related it, applauded his invention for the novelty of the punishment.

What is your opinion of the capacity and disposition of the natives of Africa, so far as you have had an opportunity of judging of them?

From what I have seen, I should suppose their minds very capable of cultivation; some part of my evidence certainly shews that they are capable and susceptible of all the social virtues; I have seen no bad habits among them, excepting those who were engaged in trade with the White Men, Accra excepted, the man whom I formerly mentioned with some degree of respect.

What was the food given to the Negroes in the Middle Passage?

Rice, horse beans, and Indian corn, with usual condiments of palm oil, salt, and pepper.

Where were those articles produced?

The beans were brought from England, the rice was purchased to Windward, and the Indian corn at Annamaboe.

Were the rice and Indian corn you purchased on the Coast fully sufficient for the ship's consumption during the Middle Passage?

We had abundance of every thing; a quantity of the Indian corn was sold in the West Indies.

Have you reason to believe that if you had wanted more corn on the coast you could have obtained it?

Yes; the Indian corn at that time was plenty, and many canoes were sent away after our corn-room was full.

What were the quality and colour of the rice you purchased on the coast?

The rice was a very wholesome food, had a red husk, but was white within.

Was the surf whilst you lay off the Gold Coast often so great as to cut off all communication between the shore and the vessels?

I do not remember that the surf was ever so high during the whole time I was on the Coast as to prevent canoes coming off for more than two or three days at most.

How

How long were you on the coast?

I think nearly for ten months all together.

What was the condition of the three men who were taken by your gold taker in the offing?

They were fishing in the offing; from which I called them fishermen.

Were they Slaves or Freeman?

From what they said themselves they certainly were Freeman.

Did they tell you they were Freeman?

Yes.

By what authority did your gold taker take them?

I cannot tell—I knew none.

Is it usual in that country to take Freeman and sell them, in the manner you have described?

I have related another case of a man being taken out of a canoe along-side of our ship; and as it seemed to be done with so much indifference, I should think the practice was frequent.

Do you know the practice to be frequent?

I have in a former part of my evidence said, that many of the Slaves themselves were taken without committing any crimes, and were Freeman, and ought not to have been taken in that manner.

Question repeated.

I can only speak from the information I received, and from the few facts that came under my own observation.

Did the three men that were so taken complain to any body of the illegality of their capture?

All communication is prevented betwixt the Slaves aboard of ship, and the traders and canoe-men who come to sell Slaves; therefore it could not be supposed that any of their connections were informed that they were taken and sold.

Had these men no opportunity of communicating to their friends, or the people of the country, their situation?

None that came under my observation.

Are there not always on board the ships, either traders or the natives of the country?

Yes, while the Trade lasts; but the barricado is so high that they cannot even see over.

Had they no opportunity of seeing the Slaves, or hearing from them?

I do not remember any instance of a trader being allowed to go forward after our barricado was put up.

Cannot they see the canoes as they come alongside, notwithstanding the height of the barricado?

I do not believe that I ever remember an instance of their being allowed to look over the ship's side; whether they have seen them or not I cannot tell.

Do you mean to say, that no Slave on board, however illegally taken, has an opportunity of making his situation known to his friends, or the people of the country?

I do not know any instance of any Slave that ever had it in his power; if he did, it was unknown to me.

If they have no communication, how came the child to be restored to its friends as you mentioned?

It is very probable that the trader who sold him was himself the informer.

Do you think, that the person who brought the child aboard would condemn his own act by redeeming the child again?

It is very likely that this man was not the kidnapper of the boy.

How do you know the boy was kidnapped?

From what he told me himself; that he lived in the neighbourhood of Annamaboe.

If they are withheld from the sight of every body, how can they be reclaimed?

They may have been seen in carrying off by people on shore, who have informed their connections.

Does the government of the country allow of such a practice?

I know nothing of the nature of the government of the country, therefore cannot say whether it allows of the practice or not.

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What

What time in the night did your ship fail ?

I do not particularly remember the hour, but it was growing dark.

Was your failing a matter of privacy, or publicly known ?

I was not out of the ship, so cannot tell whether it was known publicly or not.

Were any signals made that you were going to fail ?

I do not remember, I took no notice of any occurrence of this kind.

Do not all African ships give notice of their failing ?

I cannot tell, this did not belong to my duty, and I never made any enquiries on the occasion.

Did the other ships that you mentioned to have failed in the night make signals before they failed ?

I do not remember any ; and indeed I seldom looked at any other ship ; it was not the duty of a surgeon to take notice of occurrences of this nature.

You said, that by far the greatest part of the Slaves in the Brookes were prisoners of war ; was there any war in the country when you was there ?

I said that Accra called these people prisoners of war ; as to the term, I have no other meaning than I have given to it.

Was there any war in the country when you was there ?

I cannot tell ; I made no excursions up the country.

Do you suppose that the man who attempted to cut his throat with his nails was insane ?

By no means insane ; I believe a degree of delirium might come on before he perished, but at the time when he came on board, I believe that he was perfectly in his senses.

Was he perfectly well in health when he came on board ?

I have said that he had all the appearance of a fullen melancholy.

Were the Slaves that you mentioned being brought on board your ship in the night, brought at that time in order to be concealed

cealed from the natives, or from the different captains of the ships, that they might not know each other's trade?

I never asked the traders why they brought Slaves on board the ship in the night, nor did they give any reason for it; they knew their own motives best themselves.

You said, that to the best of your memory you purchased upwards of 600 Slaves in the Brookes, and that you thought you lost about seventy; are you certain that you lost seventy?

I am not positive as to the particular number; I said about seventy; there might have been a few below or above.

Will you say that you lost sixty?

I cannot charge my memory with any particular number; I had no reason at that time for being so very particular; if I then knew the precise number, it has now escaped my memory.

When you said, that you thought you had lost about seventy, did you speak from guess?

I spoke to the best of my memory.

How far was your ship from the shore?

I cannot mention the precise distance, for we occasionally shifted our birth.

What was your distance when you were the nearest to the shore?

I cannot tell; I am no seaman, and cannot even hazard a guess upon such a question.

Did you ever see any boats or canoes overfet by the surf?

I never saw any.

Had you any landsmen aboard your ship?

There were some men that would have been called landsmen in a King's ship; but, to the best of my memory, they had all of them been at sea.

You have said, that not being a seaman you could not judge of the distance which the ship Brookes lay from the shore in Africa; if the man of war to which you at present belong was riding at Spit-head, would you think yourself seaman enough to make a reasonable conjecture of the distance she was from the shore?

I never needed to hazard a conjecture of the distance that Spit-head

head was from the shore, for I have been told that it is about three miles.

Do you mean from Portsmouth or the Isle of Wight?
That must depend upon the part of the Spit where the ship lays.

Supposing she lays three miles distance from Portsmouth, cannot you form a reasonable guess what her distance may be from Ryde, in the Isle of Wight?

I believe I could scarce see Ryde from Spithead.

Did the ship Brookes lay in a river when she was trading for Slaves in Africa, or on the coast?

She lay in what is called the road of Annamaboe.

Can you say whether she lay one, two, three, four, or five miles from the shore, or at what distance?

I cannot say at which of those distances she lay, nor at what distance she lay.

How often have you been in Africa?

This one voyage of about fifteen months.

What several parts in Africa did you visit when you was there?

If I right remember, we made Cape Palmas first, traded along the coast to Annamaboe, where our cargo was completed.

Were you frequently on shore at those parts?

The trade being all conducted aboard of ship, nobody went on shore but those employed to water the ship.

Do you mean to say, you never were on shore?

I never had any communication with the shore.

When did you first engage to go as surgeon in the Brookes?

In the spring of 1783, immediately on the close of the war.

What was your previous employment, or course of life?

I had the honour to be a surgeon of one of His Majesty's ships.

What ship, who was the commander, and when were you thus appointed to that ship?

I was surgeon of the sloop Bustler, Captain Cox the commander ;
8 and

and surgeon of the William armed ship, commanded by Captain Rawe, before the conclusion of the war.

When was your first appointment?

It is to be found in the Surgeon's list; I do not recollect precisely.

What year was it?

In 1782.

When was you appointed to the armed ship?

I have not the warrant about me, so cannot name the date.

Cannot you recollect the date or the month?

My appointment to the William might be in the September of 1782.

When did you quit the Brookes?

The moment I could get a boat on her arrival in the river Mersey.

Does your memory enable you to state when that time was?

Sometime in the harvest of 1784, I think.

About what month?

Perhaps in August or September.

At what island was your cargo of Slaves sold?

At Jamaica.

When you said you thought you lost about 70 Slaves out of the 600, which you say to the best of your remembrance you purchased, do you mean that those 70 were lost after you left Africa, or that any part of them died before you quitted the Coast?

I mean to include the whole number lost during the voyage, whether by sickness or any other means.

Can you state what number of those seventy were lost in the Middle Passage?

I cannot recollect the precise number that perished in the Middle Passage.

You said, that you quitted the Brookes as soon as you possibly could,

B b

could, after the Ship's arrival in the river Mersey ; had you had any difference with Captain Noble during the voyage?

I know of no difference but abusive language that he very frequently bestowed upon me as the Slaves were dying, which he was pleased to call "the machinations of the doctor and devil."

Did he ever complain to you of your inattention towards the Slaves?

He certainly very frequently accused me of ignorance in my profession.

What reason have you for saying, that the cause of Captain Noble's punishing the Philadelphia man, by confining him twelve days on the top-mast of the ship in the manner you have described, was his suspicion of that man's having destroyed his twelve parroquets?

Only from what Mr. Noble had said himself.

Can you be certain that that was the exact representation which Mr. Noble made to you of the circumstances you have mentioned?

The circumstances I have related of the whole case are as near as I can remember.

Is the Committee then to understand, that this treatment of the Philadelphia man did not happen in the voyage in which you failed?

I did not say that it was in that voyage.

Had you ever the curiosity to enquire how many of the Slaves on board the Brookes had the remarkable coincidence of the dream which you mentioned to have related in your Treatise on the Scurvy?

I was not particular as to the number.

What relation has such an incident to a treatise upon the scurvy?

Though a medical question, I will endeavour to explain it—I mentioned it in these observations on the scurvy, to shew the powerful effect of sedative passions of the mind, in pre-disposing the habit to scurvy; and as a proof that even on board of Guinea-men these Slaves felt all the effects of these passions, because it was a proof they perfectly enjoyed their feelings and reflections—it also shews

shews under what unfavourable circumstances the Slaves are exposed to the horrors of confinement and disease on ship-board.

Were these medical reflections (as applying to the cases of Slaves on ship-board) the consequence of these Slaves have suffered by the scurvy, either before or subsequent to the general dream that they had?

I did not collect the materials for my observations upon scurvy (though they were then in my hands) till I was requested to do it at the express desire of my friend, the late Doctor Cullen of Edinburgh; the occurrence was new; scurvy had not been mentioned under such circumstances by any preceding writer, and it has added some very new facts to illustrate the history, and add to our general knowledge of the disease, the scurvy.

Did those Negroes, in fact, suffer by the scurvy?

Many in our ship died of that disease; and I have said that it was probable that only a very quick Middle Passage saved the half of the cargo, for about betwixt two and three hundred were tainted with this disease, in different degrees, at the time we arrived at Antigua.

Was the nature of their food such as to produce the scurvy?

I do not think the food alone would have done it, had not other causes concurred—these are, the peculiar circumstances of their confinement, and the contaminated atmosphere of the ship, with all those depressing passions which must ever be inseparable from the situation of a human being, torn from all that is to be valued in existence.

What was the length of the passage from Africa to Antigua?

If I right remember, about five weeks; it might be a few days above or below; it was reckoned a quick one.

What ship do you at present belong to?

I am at present surgeon of the Edgar at Portsmouth.

How long have you been so?

About six months.

Have you taken any degree in medicine?

I received my medical education at the University of Edinburgh, where also I received my Doctor's degree.

Are

Are not the Slaves, when on board a Guineaman, under the absolute power of the captain, as to the place and manner of their confinement?

All those things are certainly under his immediate direction as master of the ship.

If a captain should have Slaves on board, whom, for any reason whatsoever, he would wish to prevent from having any communication, either with persons on shore or those who should come on board in canoes, is it not in his power so to confine them as certainly to prevent such communication?

Yes; if he suspects any thing from this communication, he certainly can prevent it.

When you lay in the road of Annamaboe, do you recollect whether or no your distance from the shore, whatever that distance might be, was sufficient to prevent your feeling much of the land breeze?

I do not remember that we ever felt much of the land breeze, it being a road perfectly open in all directions; but as the shore runs, it is not what is called land locked, and there is usually a fresh sea breeze.

Are you sure that Mr. Noble avowed, that on some account or other he did punish one of his seamen by confining or lashing him for twelve days to the top-mast, during which time he had nothing but one dead parroquet and a pint of water a day?

Yes; and I have related it in his own words as near as I can remember.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 7^o die Maii 1790.

DOCTOR THOMAS TROTTER called in; and further examined.

Did you ever mention to any person the circumstance of the extraordinary punishment inflicted on the Philadelphia sailor?

Immediately on hearing the case related, I was so shocked with the circumstance that I immediately left the cabin, and told the

story to one of the mates—I shall never forget the impression it left upon my mind at the time, and I have since mentioned it among my friends as a piece of cruelty I thought unparalleled.

You have said that Captain Noble declared the man had no other food for twelve days than one of these dead parroquets per day; what is the ordinary size of these birds?

I think they may be about a medium betwixt the common sparrow and thrush in size.

Did Captain Noble consent to use every expedient you suggested for securing the Slaves from suffering by the scurvy or other disorders?

By no means—I was often thwarted by him in the exercise of my profession, particularly in the medicines I prescribed for those who had the flux, and in violent bursts of anger he swore they fell victims to my medicines—but his contradicting my prescriptions was much more observable when the scurvy made its appearance; and when I urged him to carry out a great quantity of fresh fruits, such as limes and oranges, my opinion was treated with contempt, and not one twentieth part of the quantity that ought to have been carried to sea was in the ship when we left the coast—the event fully justified what I had proposed, for when we had a liberal supply of these fruits at Antigua, the recovery of the Slaves was rapid beyond example.

Had the trade for Slaves been slack or brisk at the time of the three fishermen being forcibly brought away in the manner you have before described?

The trade at that time, if I remember right, was very slow.

Had you on board your ship any persons nearly related to each other, as husband and wife, brother and sister, &c.?

I particularly remember two or three husbands and wives, and many other relations of different degrees of kindred—one of these had a child which died in the Middle Passage—I have often carried the child from the mother to the father, who always received it with much affection.

Was there any intercourse between any of these near relations whilst on board, and did their conduct towards each other indicate mutual affection?

Any intercourse betwixt the husbands and wives was carried betwixt them by the boys which ran about the decks; but other relatives,

latives, such as brothers and sisters, commonly wished to mess with one another, and their affection to each other was certainly very conspicuous, particularly when diseased; and, in some instances, I have seen their sufferings such as would not have degraded the feelings of any civilized people—I mean, by their sufferings, what they felt for each other.

You say, that other relatives, such as brothers and sisters, wished to mess together; is there not a separation of the sexes on board a Slave vessel?

There is a separation of the sexes; but I meant those men that were brothers with brothers, and those women that were sisters with sisters.

Are boys and girls, under the age of puberty, kept separate from each other on board a Slave ship?

The boys are generally kept amongst the men, and the girls with the women.

Did any of the husbands and wives ever endeavour to talk with each other whilst on board?

I do not remember that there was any intercourse betwixt them but what was carried on by boys, who were allowed occasionally, at proper times, to come aft.

When did you hear Captain Noble first relate the circumstance of his punishing the Philadelphia seaman in the manner you have described?

It was on a Saturday night when he had company, but the precise time I do not remember.

At what place did he make this relation?
In the road of Annamaboe.

Did he mention the time when he inflicted the punishment on the seaman?

It was during the Middle Passage, and on some former voyage.

Do you recollect the persons who were present at that relation?

I cannot charge my memory with the names of any of them; when he had company I was sometimes asked to drink a glass with him, but had not always the honor of being a constant guest, though at other times I lived in the cabin.

To

To the best of your recollection, were any of the persons who were then present British subjects, who had any fixed residence in Great Britain or elsewhere?

I do not remember; the fact itself, as related, struck me so forcibly, that I thought of nothing else at the time.

How many days did you stop at Antigua in your way to Jamaica?

I do not remember; I believe no time was lost in putting to sea, after we got the necessary supply of fresh fruits.

In what month did you arrive at Antigua?

I cannot be certain; it might be June or July.

Did you go on shore at Antigua?

No.

Do you know from whom the supply of oranges and limes were got, whether from the Negroes or White people?

I never heard.

State as near as you can recollect the precise time of your arrival at Antigua.

I can only say, that I think it was in one of the months I have mentioned.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 8^o die Maii 1790.

MR. WILLIAM DOVE, called in; and examined.

Were you ever in Africa?

Yes.

In what year, and on what part of the coast?

In the year 1769, from Sierra Leone down to Piccinini Sisters, in the ship Lilly, James Salcraig master or captain, which sailed from Liverpool.

What is your present situation and place of residence?

I carry on a tan-yard and cooperage at Plymouth.

What did you observe respecting the mode of obtaining Slaves on the coast of Africa?

In one particular instance I observed, that a girl was brought on board that was kidnapped whilst lying at Piccinini Sisters, brought on board by one Ben Johnson, who called himself Grand Trading Man. As soon as he had brought her on board, and received the price for her, he set off in his canoe; he was scarcely gone above ten minutes from the ship, and made about the distance of 100 or may be 200 yards from her, till another canoe, with two Black men in her, came up along-side of the ship, boarded us in a great hurry, asked the captain if he had not bought a little girl; the captain told them that he had, and that they might now see her; accordingly the girl was presented to their view; without saying another word, they with great precipitation got down into their canoe, and paddled away as hard as they possibly could; in the course of about half an hour they came up with Ben Johnson in his canoe; they brought him back to the ship, got him upon the quarter deck, and immediately called out to the captain "Teeffee, teeffee," which implies a thief; and from thence offered him for sale to the captain; Ben Johnson remonstrated repeatedly, saying, "What, captain, will you buy me, grand trading man, Ben Johnson from Wappoa;" which is a place about two or three miles to the leeward of where we lay. The captain told him, "That if they would sell him, he would buy him, be he what he would," or words to that purport; he continued remonstrating in the same manner, but it was all in vain; the captain called the boatswain (whose duty it was) to put him in irons; accordingly he was taken through the wicket gate in the barricado to the main deck, and put in irons with another man; from that circumstance I altered my notion that I had formerly entertained respecting the mode of getting Slaves; for the notion that I first entertained was, that they were taken in war principally, and in order to save their lives they would not cut them off, but brought them on board as Slaves; but I was then led to think that they were taken by surprise or kidnapped, from that circumstance of the girl's being brought on board; and what further confirmed me in that opinion was, that I have seen children brought on board separately by themselves, and men and women brought on board without any marks or wounds fresh on them, or any that I could see had been made of old wounds; these were

were my reasons for thinking that they were obtained by kidnapping, and taken by surprise.

Do you recollect whether you had many children on board your ship?

About forty; between thirty and forty, both boys and girls, some sucking at their mothers breasts; there were four or five born on board of our ship during the voyage.

How were the Slaves in general treated on board your ship?

They were in general treated very well, as well as any Slaves I suppose that were in any ship on the coast, except in two or three instances, wherein great cruelty was inflicted.

Can you specify any of these instances?

Yes; in the first instance, the Myrtle, Captain Welch, belonging to the same employ from Liverpool, came into the Roadstead to an anchor; our captain went on board to pay his respects to him, staid the afternoon with him, and came on board in the evening somewhat intoxicated; as soon as he came into the ship, he began to find fault with the officers, saying they had not paid due respect to him by not attending to the sides to see that they were manned to receive him, and thence took a rope's end and beat several of the White people that were on the quarter deck; thence he bid one of the hands to stretch a rope across, making one of the ends fast to the shrouds, and then ordered the boatswain to knock a stout fellow, a Negro, out of irons, a man whom he knew very well; the man being brought upon deck, he ordered him to stand on one side of the rope whilst he stood on the other, and put his foot to the Black man's foot, and then squared as if to box the man, saying, "That he would learn him how to fight," and signified to the Black fellow to make a blow at him again; the Black fellow did not know how to do it, but however at last he did, and gave the captain a terrible blow; the captain turned about, and went down into the cabin, brought up a horsewhip, and beat him most unmercifully, first with the lash part, then turning it and twisting the lash about his hand, with a full sweep with the butt end in such a manner, till he evacuated both by urine and excrement, insomuch that most of the ship's company thought he could not survive it.

Another instance; the Black men between decks had drawn the staple of the fore lazaretto, where the horse-beans were kept, and had taken some, about two or three gallons, and hid them away in

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some of the cases that were between decks; the way it was found out was, they heard them eating them in the night; accordingly the second mate went down, and examined into it, and found they had been down and got them up in order to eat, from hunger I fancy; the captain ordered four or five of the people that had done it upon deck, gave them a severe horfe-whipping first; two of them that were supposed to be the ringleaders he put thumb-screws on, a thumb-screw on each thumb, which tortured them very much, as appeared from their groans and cries, the sweat running down their faces, and trembling as under a violent fit of the ague; those were the two instances that I referred to.

Were the men Slaves on board your ship fettered during the greatest part of the Middle Passage?

All the Middle Passage, till we hove in sight of Defeada, an island in the West Indies, excepting some few that had the flux, called meagre Slaves; they were let out to walk the deck when they pleased, and taken great care of in order to recover them.

Was it necessary thus to confine the Slaves?

I should think so, from the great superiority in number they were to the ship's company.

Did you ever know any instances of Slaves that were fettered together quarrelling with each other?

Yes; some few instances in the night time between decks, when the second mate or boatswain has gone down and enquired into it, and put the matter to rights.

What judgment did you form of the capacity of the natives of Africa?

I observed there were some of them that seemed apt at taking any thing; as an instance of which, there were two boys about sixteen or seventeen years of age, that would work a fishing line from a little oakum we gave them, of any length, very dexterously, a curious line, by twisting it on their knees, without any other way of proceeding, which lines we often used, and caught cat-fish with them; there were others among them, as among our country people at home, not so apt to take things as others are; I have seen them in the West Indies at different handicrafts, such as coopers and carpenters, and they made good workmen, equal to any of the White people.

Do they seem in general so indolent as that they might not be induced

induced to cultivate the ground, and trade with Europeans for the produce of the soil if proper encouragement was offered them?

I was not on shore in Africa to take notice of them there; but at the West Indies I have observed, that there are some of them who are diligent and attentive to such duty as is required of them; there are others which are of a lazy cast, just as our common people at home are. I have no doubt but that a trade might be cultivated with them in Africa.

Was your ship supplied, whilst off the Coast, with any articles of their produce?

Yes; with rice from Sierra Leone; we took in about two tons of it; as to pine apples, plantains, bananas, and yams, they were brought off to us in great abundance; as also some honey, and a few bottles of the juice of sugar cane. Those were the articles that I have seen brought off to us.

Were these brought off by the natives, or by the ship's boats?
Brought off by both, but generally by the natives.

What was the quality of the African rice?

Equal in quality to the Carolina, and I have understood from the captain, that it was thought to go further; it is of a reddish cast, but has no peculiar taste.

Do you know whether this redness extends through the grain itself, or whether it is confined to the husk?

The husk being beat off, it leaves some little reddish matter between the husk and the rice itself, of the nature of flour, which does not go through the rice.

Was there any peculiar appearance on board your ship, when the tarpaulins were first taken off in the morning?

The tarpaulins were not put on but in case of rains; when they have been then taken off, the ship being near flaved, there is a steam then has come up between the gratings, by which means the air was communicated to them below, and has relieved them when they have been panting for breath.

What was the general treatment of the sailors on board your ship?

Generally oppressive and hard usage; in one or two instances, I think, particularly so; in one instance, the chief mate found a
leak

leak in one of the barrels of tar, and some of the tar about the decks; the captain was acquainted of it, and called the boatswain to account about it. The boatswain told him, it was not his fault, he could not help the leakage of tar, and in that warm climate it would run. The captain told him, he would make him prevent it, and then took an end of a rope, and beat him in a most unmerciful manner, in so much that he did not recover it for some weeks.—Another instance was one John Coffee, who went out as an assistant to the surgeon, was taken ill with the disorder that generally prevails with the White people; it generally seizes them like as people are seized with an ague, a sleepiness and heaviness about them, and not caring to move out of the way, and soon after a swelling of the legs takes place, so that it becomes painful for them even to stand or walk, which has been often construed into idleness, and that if they would exert themselves they would soon get well, and in order to make them, he has repeatedly beat them with a rope's end, which he did this John Coffee two or three times; at last the poor fellow could not stand; the captain insisted upon it he would make him, and accordingly called one of the hands, whether it was the boatswain or no I cannot say, and ordered him to seize him up to the shrouds abaft, on the starboard side; which being done, and after being some time in that position (a few minutes) he begged, for God's sake, the captain to shoot him, to put him out of pain. The captain told him, in a most brutish manner, "No! no! do you think I'll be hanged for you." He repeatedly requested the captain either to let him down, or shoot him, but he kept him there for near three hours, and then he was unloosed, and he lay down on the deck on his bed that was handy by, and in about two hours, or somewhere thereabouts, he expired. These were the instances of cruelty particularly.

How were the seamen generally off, in point of provisions?

When we first left Liverpool, we came to an allowance of four pounds of bread a week, and one pound of salt beef a day, with a proportion of potatoes boiled for the ship's company; so that upon the outward-bound passage we made it out tolerable well; but the potatoes being gone just about as we arrived on the coast, we had nothing in lieu of them; in consequence of which we felt it a little sharp, and in order to make up for that, when we came to an anchor, we used to catch cat-fish; by which means we made it out as well as might be expected; the captain seeing we made it out so well, forbade the cook to let us boil any more, and ordered them to be thrown overboard; in consequence of

of which we had nothing but four pounds of bread a week, and the pound of salt beef a day; the beef when boiled, and the bones taken out of it, was scarcely more than five or six ounces to each man's share; so that we found it rather hard, and requested the captain to allow us half a pound of bread a week more, which he refused to do;—but I would make an observation with respect to diet; we used to have stock-fish once a week, chiefly during the voyage to the West Indies, which we used to have with a little vinegar only;—there is one matter I have omitted, which is, that during the greater part of the outward bound passage we used to have oatmeal boiled thick, called burgou, for breakfast, and a little salt in it, which made it a comfortable meal; and, I believe, at some certain times we were so highly favoured as to get a little butter.

Did you ever reside in America?

Yes; both at Boston and New York, from the year 1774 till 1783.

Had they any Negro Slaves in that part of America?

Yes; a great many, and free Blacks; I should suppose one half of the inhabitants were Black people.

What did you there observe concerning the general treatment of Negro Slaves?

They were treated very well in general, equal to our servants at home.

Did you learn any thing concerning the keeping up of their stock of Slaves without fresh importations from Africa?

There never was an importation whilst I was there; during the time I was at Boston there was none; neither was there while I resided at New York, which was the greatest part of the war.

• Did the numbers decrease under these circumstances?

I do not think they did, for you see the young Black children running about the streets in great plenty, the same as our White children at home; therefore I infer, that they did not decrease, and that population was kept up.

Do you know whether there is a driver to every gang of Slaves employed in the cultivation of the land in that part of America in which you have resided, and what is the ordinary mode of correction for them, or for the domestic Slaves?

E e

With

With respect to a driver, I never heard or saw such a thing in America; with respect to the ordinary punishment of the Negro Slaves, they have transferred them from one to another (to such masters as they should like themselves, which they have been at liberty to choose), for they never found beating answer.

Were you paid any advance money on the ship's sailing from Liverpool?

Yes; two months.

Was this accounted for in West India currency on your arrival in the West Indies?

In West India currency.

Do you know whether Captain Saltcraig was discharged by his owners for drunkenness and bad conduct?

I do not know; because I soon left Liverpool, and came up to London; but I would observe that Mr. Rice, one of the owners and ship's husband to the Firm, came to me at three different times, requesting that I would remain in the service, and that they would promote me the first vacancy that offered as a mate of one of the ships. I told him, the treatment I had received myself, and the manner in which the ship's company in general were treated, and that it deterred me from going on the coast any more, and not only so, but I did not like the traffic. When he saw he could not prevail with me, he did not call again, but at the same time he assured me that Captain Saltcraig should be prevented in future from using the ship's company in such a manner as had been represented to him; which I made a point of telling the owners myself.

It what situation was you in that ship?

As cooper.

Are Piccinini Sisters and Wappoa distinct states?

I do not know.

Do you know whether they were in a state of hostility at that time against each other?

I never heard that they were.

Did not you state that Ben Johnson was sold for having kidnapped the girl?

I did.

Did you ever know families sold on account of witchcraft?

No; I never heard of such a thing as witchcraft while on the coast.

Had you any landsmen on board your ship?

Yes; I believe upwards of one half.

Did you ever eat any of the horse-beans yourself?

Yes; many a time, and thought it a most excellent mess.

In what situation was you when you resided at Boston and New York?

I went out to Boston in his Majesty's ship Preston as cooper of the ship, under admiral Graves, at New York.—I was as cooper in the same ship under commodore Hotham.

At Boston, do not the White people cultivate the land as well as the Negroes?

Yes; they do, and indiscriminately work together—the reason of my having an opportunity to make those observations so particular was, that on my arrival at Boston I was appointed to conduct the brewery and cooperage for his Majesty's fleet, and afterwards with commodore Hotham I was appointed as superintendant of the brewery, cooperage, and bakery, and was discharged from the ship, and remained in that situation on shore during the whole of the war, till the year 1783.

Is an English constitution equal to the labour of the field at Boston?

Yes; I think it is, and in any of the Northern Provinces.

Provided there were a sufficient number of White people at Boston, could the country be cultivated without Negroes at all?

Most assuredly—without doubt.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. CLEMENT NOBLE called in; and examined.

How many voyages have you been to Africa, and in what capacities?

I have been nine voyages, two as a mate, and seven as a master.

Do

Do you remember the voyage when you had Mr. Thomas Trotter as surgeon?

Yes.

What year was it in?

We sailed on the 3d of June 1783, and arrived at Liverpool in August 1784.

Had you any knowledge of Dr. Trotter before that time, or how did you become acquainted with him?

He was recommended by one of his friends to one of the owners of the ship; I knew nothing of him before.

According to your judgment, in his capacity of surgeon, was he attentive to the Slaves that were ill on board?

I thought him often very inattentive to his duty, and I thought likewise that he spent a great deal too much time in dress, and which I was often under the necessity of telling him of, or reproving him for.

Do you remember the number of Slaves you purchased in that voyage?

Yes; 638.

Of what burthen was your ship?

About three hundred tons.

How many Slaves did you lose?

Fifty-eight in the whole; nineteen on the coast of Africa, thirty-three on the Middle Passage, and six in the harbour of Kingston.

Did you usually bring as many in any voyages before?

We brought more the voyage before that; we purchased 666, and buried twenty-six in the whole.

How many seamen had you the voyage Mr. Trotter was with you, and how many did you lose?

We had forty-nine in the whole, and lost three; one of those three died in the small-pox about ten days after we left Liverpool; another fell over-board in a boat, and was drowned, and the third died a natural death.

Was

Was that the average loss in your voyages?

I think it was.

Do you remember the circumstance of a dead man and a living one being found chained together in your ship?

No; I never remember any circumstance of the sort, neither that voyage nor no other that ever I was concerned in to the Coast.

Did you ever know any Slaves suffocated from the tarpaulins being laid over the gratings through ignorance or inattention?

I never did; it is impossible a circumstance of the sort could happen, for the Slaves are always ready enough to call to the people on deck to put the tarpaulin either up or down, as they find themselves either too hot or too cold.

How is the rain prevented from getting into the rooms through the gratings?

By a tarpaulin or awning spread ten or twelve feet above the deck, from mast to mast, in imitation of the roof of a house.

Have you been at Cape Le Hou? And by whom is the trade to that part carried on?

I have been several times there; the trade is chiefly carried on there by the Dutch; English and French ships only stop a day or two, or perhaps a week sometimes.

Do you believe any Slave can be taken off the Coast that is not regularly sold under the laws of the country?

I believe not. I never knew an instance of the sort.

Do you believe any Slaves could be kidnapped with impunity on the Gold Coast?

I really believe not.

Do you remember a man Slave on board your ship attempting to destroy himself?

I do; and I really believe the man was perfectly mad, and I am sure so too.

Do you remember any of your Slaves falling overboard, or wilfully throwing themselves overboard?

I have known several instances of their falling overboard by accident, but generally picked up again.

F f

Did

Did you lose any in that voyage in which Mr. Trotter was with you, by their falling over-board, or by their throwing themselves over-board?

I only recollect one, and he was subject to fits, and fell out of the fore-chains in a fit, and was drowned.

Do you remember a woman repeatedly jumping over-board, and did you punish her for it?

I remember a woman that was insane, and that was very troublesome, and she did jump over-board once or oftener, I believe. I ordered her to be confined, to prevent her from jumping over-board again, but punished her no other ways.

Do you remember that woman dying?

I do not recollect whether she did or not.

Had you ever any Slave that died on board in consequence of the correction they had received in any of your voyages?

I never had.

Were your officers and seamen who sailed with you one voyage always ready and desirous to sail with you again?

They always were, or at least in general. I hardly ever knew an instance to the contrary.

Do you remember particularly flogging one of your seamen the voyage that Mr. Trotter sailed with you?

I do; I flogged him for abusing the Slaves, and being very insolent to myself—I believe it was the only time that any of the seamen were flogged that voyage.

Do you remember what time you generally sailed from the Coast?

I generally sailed in the evening or morning, but that depends chiefly on the winds.

Do you believe Mr. Trotter was ever ashore on the Coast of Africa?

I believe not.

When Mr. Trotter returned, did he appear dissatisfied with any occurrences of the voyage, or with your treatment of him?

I do not know that he did.

Do

Do you remember in any of your voyages having a number of parroquets on board, and how long since?

I do remember it—it was in the year 1774, rather sooner in the year than this month—I do not exactly remember the time.

In what year was Mr. Trotter with you in your voyage?

We sailed in 1773, and came back in 1774.

Do you remember any accident happening to the parroquets in the voyage alluded to?

Yes—I remember they were all killed in one night—When I enquired the next morning how it happened, I found they had been killed by a Black man belonging to the ship (he was not a Slave); he also had told some of the people that he would do as much for me the next night—I asked him if he had said so? and he said, yes, with all the insolence in the world.—I immediately ordered the people to confine him, and then held a consultation with my officers what we should do with him, and we all thought it was unsafe to keep him below; I therefore sent him to the mast head, where he was kept for about two days—At the end of two days he sent word down by some of the people, that he was very sorry for what had happened, and hoped that I would let him come down—I immediately ordered him to be brought down, and let out of irons, and he came on the quarter deck to me, and begged pardon for what he had done, and hoped that I would excuse him; and I told him to go forward about his business; but all the remainder of the passage I took good care to keep the cabin door fast during the night—he was a very troublesome turbulent man, and after we arrived at Kingston, he was caged almost every night, until he went off the Island—he sent somebody to me every morning when he was confined, for money to release him—he never blamed me after for confining him at the mast head, but told many of the sailors that it was very fortunate that I had confined him in that manner, otherwise he was sure he should have murdered me, for his resolution was then firmly fixed.—I do not recollect that ever I was called to any account for inhumanity, nor never since I was master had any trouble with my sailors, such as their employing attornies, or any thing of that sort; and the very same man (I mean the White sailor mentioned before) came home with me afterwards from Jamaica, and behaved very well.

Did you often receive Slaves in the night?

Not often; but we did every now and then.

Why

Why did you receive them in the night?

That the other captains should not see them come on board. I always judged that was the cause, for the traders wished to keep on good terms with all the captains, which they perhaps could not do, if they carried all the trade to one ship.

Do you remember receiving three men that were fishing in the offing?

I do not remember it; but I have frequently seen them taken out of canoes and sold.

Were they Freemen or Slaves?

Slaves to be sure; the greater part of the people that paddle the canoes and go a fishing are Slaves.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 10^o die Maii 1790.

MR. CLEMENT NOBLE called in, and further examined.

You have mentioned that the Slave who destroyed himself was insane; was he so when brought on board?

He did not appear so, otherways I should not have bought him.

How soon did you perceive any marks of insanity?

In a very few days after he came on board; I cannot speak exactly to the time.

What were the first symptoms of his insanity which you perceived?

He stormed and made a great noise, worked with his hands, and threw himself about in an extraordinary manner, and shewed every sign of being mad.

Do you know whether or not he refused sustenance?

I believe he did, in general.

Had

Had you yourself any conversation with him?

No; except talking to him at times, when he seemed to be rather better than at other times.

What account did he then give of the reasons for his violent conduct?

He gave no reason at all; I could seldom get him to speak.

Did you talk to him through the means of an interpreter?
I did.

Had you any conversation with Dr. Trotter respecting him, on his first appearing to you to be insane?

I have no doubt but what I had; but I cannot recollect the particulars.

Do you, or do you not, recollect Dr. Trotter's being sent for to visit some sick persons on board other ships, whilst you were on the Coast of Africa?

I think he was.

Was any particular treatment adopted for the recovery of the sick Slaves on your arrival in the West Indies?

We generally purchase all the vegetables we can on our first arrival, such as limes, oranges, and any thing of that sort.

Did your Slaves soon after their arrival, recover their health?
They did mend very fast, and do in general.

How long were you on the Coast of Africa in this voyage?

We were nine months and eight days from our first arrival until the time we left the coast.

Was there a constant intercourse between your ship and the brokers on the shore?

I think there was in general, if the badness of the sea did not prevent them from coming off.

Had you any children on board your ship?

I think we had several.

Were they brought on board with or without their parents, or other near relations?

G g

Always

Always with their mothers, that is, young children: I am speaking of children at the breast.

Do you know whether or not persons of the condition of Slaves, on the Coast of Africa, are liable to be sold to the Slave Ships, without having been convicted of any crime?

I believe they are.

What reason have you for believing so?

I always understood that they had a right, according to the laws of their country, to do what they pleased with their own property.

When Slaves were offered you for sale, did you make any enquiry to ascertain whether or not they were the property of the person who offered them to you for purchase?

I did not; they are not in general the property of those that bring them on board; those that sell them to us only act as brokers.

What enquiry did you use to make respecting the manner in which these brokers had come by them?

None; we never look upon it there is any occasion to enquire; we always suppose, and do not doubt but they have a right to sell them.

You have mentioned a woman who was insane; how soon after her arrival on board did you perceive any marks of insanity in her?

I do not recollect.

Are instances of Slaves falling overboard frequent on board Guinea ships?

Not very frequent; it happens every now and then.

You have mentioned your receiving Slaves in the night; is it usual for Guinea ships to receive them after dark?

It does not very frequently happen.

Are you at present engaged in the African Trade?

I am not.

How long have you quitted that line of life?

It is better than four years since I was at sea.

Did

Did Dr. Trotter ever apply to you to take him again as surgeon in any subsequent voyage?

The ship was laid up when we came home, or else I do not doubt but what he would; I had no reason to think any thing to the contrary.

Had you any reason to believe he would?

I believe there was nothing ever said upon the subject by either one or the other of us.

Did you ever consult Dr. Trotter respecting the cause of the insanity of the man mentioned in a former part of your evidence?

I have not a doubt but what I did; but I cannot now recollect the particulars.

Do the Slaves in general appear much dejected when first brought on board?

Some of them do; but they in general soon mend of that, and are in general in very good spirits during the time they are on board the ships.

Have you known repeated instances of their refusing sustenance; and of compulsive methods being used to oblige them to take it?

We now and then met with sulky ones that would not eat without force, and we then endeavoured to persuade them; and if they would not do it with persuasion, to force them to it.

Did you ever go below when all the Slaves were in their rooms?

Yes; very frequently.

Had the Slaves sufficient room, and were they tolerably well off as to comfort in other respects?

Yes; they had room enough to lay down, and were as comfortably as any body could expect on board a ship.

Could you walk about amongst them without treading upon them?

Yes, certainly; it is done every night by the officers; I mean after they go to rest.

Had

Had your ship platforms?

She had; and all the ships that ever I was in had.

Was the heat oppressive, and the air very foul?

It was much hotter at some times than others; that depends chiefly on the weather; it is sure to be very warm when calm.

The enquiry is not concerning the heat of the climate, but whether the air was not very foul and offensive from the number of human bodies confined in a small place?

I never found any bad effects from the air.

Question repeated.

It is sure that the air cannot be so good as upon deck.

Question repeated.

It is rather foul and offensive, but more so in calm weather than at other times.

To what voyage have you been referring, in what you have said respecting the state of the ship between decks, &c.?

To the voyage that Doctor Trotter was with me.

How many Slaves did you carry in the men's room in that voyage?

I do not know; we generally divide them as equally as we can fore and aft in the ship.

Cannot you state with any tolerable precision what number of men you carried in the men's room?

I cannot; I should suppose, from the number on board, that there must have been something short of 300 in the men's room.

What proportion of your cargo was males?

I cannot exactly say; but I should suppose about two thirds males, and one third females.

What number of boys had you on board?

I do not recollect; we in general reckon them in our account as males and females without distinguishing; we had a great number of both boys and girls.

What was the length and breadth of your men's room ?

The breadth I think was about 26 foot, but the length I do not remember.

How many rows of Slaves were there in breadth ?

Four; I mean on the decks; and one on each of the platforms.

Were the male Slaves stowed on their backs or on their sides in the night ?

On their backs or sides, just as they chose to lie.

Whose business was it to stow them ?

The chief mate and boatswain generally stow them in the men's room.

What space had each Slave to lie in ?

I do not know the space; I never measured it, or made any calculation of what room they had; they had always plenty of room to lay down in, and had they had three times as much room they would lay all jammed close up together; they always do that before the room is half full.

What interval was there in the middle way between the two rows of Slaves ?

In some places more, and in some less, according to the lengths of the Slaves.

Will you state how large it was to the best of your recollection ?

In some places perhaps a foot, in some more, and in some less. Sometimes, when the weather is cold or cool, they will lay as near the side as they can, and when it is warm, they crowd more under the gratings.

In what manner were your Slaves sold on your arrival in the West Indies ?

The men are on the main deck, and the women all on the quarter deck; and the gentlemen that come on board to purchase come in at the gangway, betwixt those places, and there they remain until the sale is opened, at which time they rush in fore and aft, and suit themselves as well as they can, clapping their tallies on whatever they mean to take.

Is this the common way of selling a cargo of Slaves by scramble?

I believe it is in Jamaica, in other islands it is different.

Do you remember the Slaves being in great distress, and making grievous outcries on the sale by scramble in this particular voyage?

I do; the cause of it is, because they are parting; it is a general cry, and a noise through the whole ship; but more particularly so with some that think they are going to be parted from their husbands, wives, mothers, children, &c.; but the planters or gentlemen that come to purchase them are always very particular in making exchanges, so that husbands, wives, mothers, and children, and even acquaintances, shall go together. I never knew it otherwise.

Do the men Slaves take exercise during the Middle Passage?

They do.

Of what sort?

We have a drum, which they beat, and the others jump or dance to it, as well as the nature of their situation will admit of.

What is the nature of their situation to which you refer?

The stout men are all in irons, a right leg and a left, and likewise their hands the same.

Is there not also a chain that connects them all together, which is fastened to the deck?

There is a chain which fastens the greatest part of them to the deck, a few days before you leave the coast, and a few days after; then those chains are taken away, and a great number of the Slaves let out of irons.

Are the Slaves in the situation before referred to, willing and disposed to dance?

They are always very ready, and very fond of dancing, except a few sulky ones; but in general there are very few of them.

Are any means used to compel them to dance, when sulky?

The mate or people that are amongst them endeavour to persuade them, and if they will not, they let them do as they please.

Can

Can you take upon you to say positively, that one seaman only was flogged during your voyage?

I do not recollect any other, and that very seamen after we came home, came and applied to me to go again, in preference to any other ship; but I told him I was not likely to go out again soon, otherwise I would have taken him.

Were you supplied with rice, or corn, from the natives whilst on the coast of Africa?

I was.

Can you state in what manner your cargo of Slaves was distributed on board your ship?

I cannot recollect how they were divided as to numbers, but we contrive to divide them so as one room should not be more thronged than another.

Were they distributed as the cargo usually is on board Guinea ships?

They were, for any thing that I know; I always understood that it was the rule on board Guinea ships to distribute them equally fore and aft.

In what other part of the ship, besides the men's room, had you any men Slaves stowed?

In a room called the boys room, adjoining to the men's room; there are generally some of the men amongst the boys.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

R E S O L V E D,

That the Examination of Mr. Robert Norris, the Rev. Thomas Clarkson, Doctor Thomas Trotter, Mr. William Dove, and Mr. Clement Noble, be reported to the House.

N° 2.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE
TAKEN BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE,
APPOINTED FOR THE
EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES
ON THE
SLAVE TRADE,
Reported 11th MAY 1790.

Witnesses Examined,

Mr. ROBERT NORRIS,
The Rev. THOMAS CLARKSON,
Doctor THOMAS TROTTER,
Mr. WILLIAM DOVE,
Mr. CLEMENT NOBLE.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Veneris, 21^o die Maii 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to take
the Examination of Witneffes on the Slave Trade.

Lunæ, 10^o die Maii 1790.

ISAAC PARKER, ship-keeper on board the *Melampus* frigate in ordinary, called in; and examined.

Were you ever in Africa?

Yes.

How often, when, and in what ship?

Three times; once in the *Black Joke*, in the year 1764, captain Joseph Pollard, from Liverpool, to the river Gambia: we flaved at Culloreen.

How were the Slaves treated in that voyage?

The Slaves were treated very well, except one child that was used ill.

Did captain Pollard command the ship during the whole of your voyage?

I;

No;

N^o 3.

No ; he died off the island of St. Jago, and captain Marshall, who was the chief mate, succeeded to the command.

Did captain Marshall behave as well to the Slaves as captain Pollard had done ?

No.

When you speak of the Slaves being well treated, do you speak then of captain Pollard's, or of captain Marshall's behaviour ?

Of captain Pollard's.

Was the child to which you refer ill treated by captain Pollard or captain Marshall ?

By captain Marshall.

What were the circumstances of this child's ill treatment ?

The child took fulk and would not eat.

What followed ?

The captain took the child up in his hand, and flogged it with the cat.

Did he say any thing when he did so ?

Yes ; he said, " Damn you, I will make you eat, or I will kill you."

Could the Slaves who were on board see the captain while he was flogging the child ?

Yes ; they could.

How could they see him, and how did they behave on the occasion ?

They saw it through the barricado, looking through the crevices ; they made a great murmuring, and did not seem to like it.

Do you remember any thing more about this child ?

Yes ; the child had swelled feet ; the captain desired the cook to put on some water to heat, to see if he could abate the swelling, and it was done. He then ordered the child's feet to be put into the water, and the cook putting his finger into the water, said, " Sir, it is too hot." The captain said, " Damn it, never mind it, put the feet in ;" and so doing, the skin and nails came off, and he got some sweet oil and cloths and wrapped round the feet in

order to take the fire out of them ; and I myself bathed the feet with oil, and wrapped the cloths around ; and laying the child on the quarter deck in the afternoon at mess time, I gave the child some victuals, but it would not eat ; the captain took the child up again and flogged it, and said, " Damn you, I will make you eat," and so he continued in that way for four or five days at mess time, when the child would not eat, and flogged it, and he tied a log of mango, eighteen or twenty inches long, and about twelve or thirteen pound weight, to the child by a string round its neck. The last time he took the child up and flogged it, and let it drop out of his hands, " Damn you (says he) I will make you eat, or I will be the death of you ;" and in three quarters of an hour after that the child died. He would not suffer any of the people that were on the quarter deck to heave the child overboard, but he called the mother of the child to heave it overboard. She was not willing to do so, and I think he flogged her ; but I am sure that he beat her in some way for refusing to throw the child overboard ; at last he made her take the child up, and she took it in her hand, and went to the ship's side, holding her head on one side, because she would not see the child go out of her hand, and she dropped the child overboard. She seemed to be very sorry, and cried for several hours.

For what purpose did the captain tie the child to the log ?

He did it for spite, because the child would not eat ; for a punishment to it.

Were the Slaves well treated in general by captain Marshall ?

No ; they were not ; he pinched them in provisions and water, while there was plenty in the ship.

What port did you sail from in your second voyage, in what ship, when, and to what part of the Coast ?

From Liverpool, in the Latham, captain George Colly, to Old Calabar, in the year 1765.

Did you leave the ship on the Coast ?

Yes ; I did.

For what reason ?

For want of provisions.

Where

Where did you leave the ship, and what became of you afterwards?

I left the ship upon the Bar; the ship was homeward bound, but still lay windbound; I went ashore with the surgeon of the ship to purchase a few Slaves with the goods we had left.

What do you mean by homeward bound?
From the Coast of Africa to the West Indies.

What became of you after you left the ship?

I went along with the surgeon in the boat to New Town; I followed the surgeon up to Dick Ebro's, who was a king's son in that place;—I said to Dick Ebro, "You know captain Colly,—you know that he uses his people very ill, and I have run away from him;" and he locked me up in one of his rooms for three days, till the ship was gone, then I came out and employed myself in fishing, and cleaning their muskets, cutlasses, and blunderbusses; I was with them five months.

Did you ever go up the river whilst you remained with Dick Ebro?

Yes.

Upon what occasion; state the particulars as well as you can recollect?

He asked me first, "Parker, will you go to war with me?" I said, "I did not care;" upon that the canoes were fitted out with ammunition, cutlasses, pistols, powder and ball, and two guns, which were three-pounders, fixed upon a block of wood; one in the canoe's stern, and one in the bow; then we paddled up the rivers in the day-time, and when he knew himself nigh a village, then he lay under the bush till night; when night came we put the canoes ashore, leaving two or three Negroes in each canoe, the rest flying up to the village, taking hold of every one we could see; and as we took them we handcuffed them, and brought them down to the canoe; after we had done so, we quitted the place, and went farther up the river, and so during the second time; and we got to the amount, to the best of my knowledge, of 45 Slaves that time.—Then we came away to New Town, and put our Slaves into different houses, sending word to the captains of the shipping, that if they would come, we had got some Slaves for them, and so saying, the Slaves were divided amongst the different ships. About a week or a fortnight after that, we went a second time, and went higher up the river; to the best of my knowledge,

ledge, we were gone eight or nine days plundering of other villages; we got much the same as we did the first, and brought them down to New Town, and put them in different houses as before, and divided them among the captains, when news was given them as before.

Had the people up the river made an attack on Dick Ebro?

No; I never heard or saw any such thing, either by land or water.

Must not you have seen it if they had made any such attack?

Yes; I must have seen it, for when I was not a fishing I was about the woods shooting of parrots, and I never saw any disturbance amongst the inhabitants.

Did you carry up any goods with you in the canoes?

No; we did not carry any of any kind.

Was Ebro at war with these people before he went up the river?

Not that I know of; I never saw him at war with any body before that time, neither he nor any person in the place.

Was there a want of Slaves before Ebro went on these expeditions?

I believe there was; Slaves were very slack in the back countries at that time.

Did you take any children in these expeditions?

Yes.

Were their parents along with them?

Yes; we took man, woman, and child, as we could catch them in the houses.

Did you take any particular care to sell the parents and children to the same person, to prevent their being separated?

No; they were divided, some in one ship, and some in another, excepting sucking children, who went with their mothers.

Have you told these circumstances at different times to your mess-mates and friends?

I have to different people in different ships, in talking about voyages.

Do you remember how many men you lost in your first voyage in the Black Joke ?

Yes ; eight.

What was the number of your crew, as well as you can recollect ?

I am sure there were thirteen in number, and that eight of them died ; we had five left, the captain, three White men, and one Black.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Martis, 11^o die Maii 1790.

ISAAC PARKER, called in ; and further examined.

What was your birth on board the Black Joke ?

I was a seaman before the mast.

Did you go the whole voyage in the Black Joke ?

Yes ; I did.

What month did you leave Liverpool outward bound ?

I cannot recollect the month.

Do you recollect the month when you arrived in the river Gambia ?

No ; I cannot say I do.

How many months were you on the voyage, out and home ?

Nine months.

Where did you sell your cargo of Slaves ?

At Dominica.

What part of Africa did you sail from with your cargo of Slaves ?

From the river Gambia.

How many Slaves had you on board ?
Seventy-five.

What was the tonnage of your vessel, the Black Joke ?
Seventy-five or seventy-six tons.

Was this a ship, brig, snow, or sloop ?
A brig.

What land did you first make in the West Indies ?
Barbadoes.

How long was it before you made the land that Captain Pol-
lard died ?

I cannot justly say ; but it was under a month or five weeks.

How long was you on your passage from Africa to Barba-
does ?

To the best of my remembrance seven weeks.

Did you make any land between Africa and Barbadoes ?
Yes ; we did—the Island of Jago.

How soon after you left Africa ?
I cannot justly say.

Do you think it was a month or six weeks ?
I cannot say whether it was a month or six weeks ; but I be-
lieve it was about three weeks.

What age was the child that Captain Marshall treated so ill, to
the best of your judgment ?

Nine months, as near as I could guess.

How many days running did Captain Marshall flog the child,
after it had lost the nails on its toes by being scalded with hot
water ?

Four days, to the best of my remembrance.

What was the meat that they offered to the child which it took
falk at, and would not eat ?

Rice mixed with palm oil.

Would

Would not Captain Marshall let the child suck its mother ?
Yes he would, if the child would have sucked.

Is it usual on board Guinea ships to feed children with rice and palm oil, as far as you know ?

It is ; there is no other food but that, and beans, and yams.

Is it common for Negro children of nine months old to refuse the mother's breast ?

I cannot say ; I never saw any one but that.

How many days was the log of wood of twelve or thirteen pounds weight, tied round the child's neck by Captain Marshall, before the child died ?

Four days.

Was it before or after the child's skin and toe nails were scalded off its feet by the Captain ?

After it was scalded.

What month in the year 1765, in your second voyage in the Latham, Captain Colly, did you leave Liverpool, outward-bound ?

I cannot justly say ; I do not remember.

Do you remember what month it was that you left Africa that voyage ?

No ; I do not recollect.

Was it in the winter or spring of 1765, that you left Liverpool ?

To the best of my remembrance it was in the fall of the year.

Was it in October or November, or in what month ?

I do not know ; I cannot rightly say the month, but it might be about that time.

Do you recollect the time when you returned to England that voyage ?

It was in June or July 1766.

How long was you upon the coast in the Latham before you ran away from her ?

Nine months.

Recollect

Recollect, if you can, whether it was September, October, or November, that you left Liverpool in the Latham?

I cannot recollect rightly; but I believe in October, or somewhere thereabouts.

When you ran away from the Latham, had she purchased her complement of Slaves, and was she ready to sail?

Yes; she was.

How many Slaves did you and the furgeon buy?

I did not stay by the boat; I left the boat, and do not know how many Slaves he purchased.

Whose goods were they that you and the furgeon carried with you from the ship to buy Slaves with?

The merchants that owned the ship, as far as I know.

Do you mean the Liverpool owners?

Yes.

Did Captain Colly give you and the furgeon those goods to go and buy Slaves with?

Yes; he did; he ordered them into the boat to purchase Slaves.

Who went with you besides the furgeon?

Nobody but the boat's crew.

How many did they consist of?

Seven.

What became of the furgeon?

He went about the town to look for Slaves.

Do you know how many Slaves the furgeon bought?

I cannot tell whether he purchased any; I was concealed in a house.

How long did the ship remain upon the coast after you left her?

Three days.

Where did Dick Ebro live?

In a place called New Town.

Had you known him before that voyage?

No; that was the first voyage I was there.

Do you recollect the names of the villages you went to make war against?

No, I do not; I never heard any name for them.

How far up the river were those villages, do you think?
Betwixt twenty and thirty miles.

What was your usual employment while you staid with Dick Ebro?

Going a fishing, and cleaning their arms, pistols, and blunderbusses.

Was there not a war between the people of the New Town and the Old Town when you was there?

I do not recollect whether there was or not

How long was you with Dick Ebro?
Five months.

Did you ever know Dick Ebro called by any other name?
No; I never did.

Did you never hear him called by the name of Duke Ephraim?
No; that was another trader.

Who was that trader?

Another that lived in the same village of New Town, a great trader the same as Dick Ebro.

Was there never any war or disputes between Duke Ephraim and Dick Ebro, while you was there?

I never saw any dispute in the villages, nor amongst them.

What was the occasion of your quitting Dick Ebro?

I wanted to get home to England, and I did not chuse to live there all the days of my life.

What is the distance between the New Town and the Old Town of Calabar?

As

As nigh as I can guess, about three or four miles; four miles or better I believe.

Were the inhabitants of the two towns friends while you was there?

They were, to the best of my remembrance; I do not remember any disturbance amongst them.

In what vessel did you come to England from Calabar, when you quitted Ebro?

In the Dalrymple, Captain Ellifon.

What port did you come to?

To Barbadoes first.

Had you a cargo of Slaves on board?

Yes; and we sold them at Antigua.

What port in England did you arrive at?

I did not come home in that ship.

What ship did you go into then?

In a sloop called the O'Hara, to Senegal; I went back in her to Africa, for I had no wages with Captain Ellifon.

When did you return to England?

I cannot recollect the month rightly; but it was in the summer of 1766.

What way of life have you been in ever since that?

In the coasting trade some time, and some time in His Majesty's service.

When did you enter into His Majesty's service first, after quitting the coasting trade, and in what ship?

In 1768, in the Endeavour bark; she was rated as a man of war, and I went in her with Captain Cook round the world as boatswain's mate.

What was the next ship you served in?

In the Monarch, a 74, Captain Joshua Rowley, commander.

What is your present employment?

An

An extra man on board the Melampus frigate, in ordinary, in the service of the Ordnance.

What service do you do on board in that capacity?
Washing and scraping the ship, and keeping her clean.

By whom was you appointed to that birth on board the Melampus?

By the master attendant at Plymouth Dock.

What is your pay for that?

Twenty-two shillings and six pence a month, the same as on board a ship in commission.

Are you under the orders of the officers of the dock yard, or who else?

Under the master attendant and the commissioner.

Is Captain Marshall dead or alive?

I cannot tell.

Did Captain Marshall command any other ship in the African Trade?

I believe he did; I heard so.

Did you ever know that the captains of Guineamen have taken any measures among themselves, or towards the natives, to force a trade in Slaves?

No.

Do you know what is meant by the question?

I cannot say I rightly do.

Do you remember any instance of captains of Guineamen making any agreement respecting the price which they would give for Slaves?

Yes; I do.

Relate what you know of any such instances?

They agreed among themselves to lay under a fifty pound bond, if any captain should give more than another; such a certain price.

Did

Did the natives readily bring on board Slaves to sell at those prices ?

No ; they did not.

What did the captains then do ?

They used to row guard at night time, to take the canoes as they approached, or passed the ship.

What did they do with those Negroes whom they took on board in that manner.

They took them on board the different ships.

How long did they keep them ?

Till such time as they agreed to slave at the same price as they formerly did ; the old price.

Do you remember any thing about that price ?

I cannot recollect what it is now, but I remember it used to be so many bars ; I think I am mistaken in the term, I believe it is coppers ; I believe bars is to the Windward Coast.

Will you explain what you mean by rowing guard ?

Stopping of the Slaves that they should not get up to their towns, to prevent the traders from getting Slaves.

Did you ever know the captains make presents to the Black traders to induce them to bring Slaves ?

Yes.

Did you observe the behaviour of those Slaves which you took out of the villages up the river, when they were sold to the English captains ? Mention what you remember of it ?

Yes—lamenting and crying that they were taken away by force.

Did you know Dick Ebro before you put yourself under his care ?

Yes ; I did—by going up to his house twice a day, to see after Slaves for the shipping.

Had Ebro any Slaves of his own ?

Yes ; he had a great number.

How did he employ them ?

M m

In

In cutting the wood, and fishing—and going in his canoes up the country sometimes.

How did he treat his Slaves?

He treated them very well—I never saw it otherwise.

Do you recollect whether Captain Colly behaved as well to his ship's crew, after his arrival on the Coast, as he did during the voyage?

No; he did not.

Do you recollect any particular instance in which you thought yourself ill used by Captain Colly?

Yes—by being kept short of provisions—having nothing but fish to live upon for four months, and nothing but palm oil with it, and sometimes not that—and when up in the country, having taken a yam off the coppers, he took it away from me, and told the mate to charge me one shilling in the log book against my wages—and not having more than four pounds of bread a week, and an allowance of so much fish for the mess, which, when boiled, was scarce sufficient for a meal—and the rest of the day we were forced to go without victuals.

You have said, “ That in your first voyage in the year 1764, “ the Slaves were treated very well, except one child that was “ used ill,”—did you mean in that answer to say, that they were well used during the whole of the voyage, or only during the life of Captain Pollard?

During the life of Captain Pollard only.

Were you ever in the West Indies at any other times than you have already mentioned?

Yes.

Did you ever see there seamen sick, with swelled feet, and begging, for want of food and employment?

Yes; I have several.

Did you ever ask them from what ships they came?

Yes; I have.

What answers did they make?

They have told me Guineamen; but the ships names I cannot remember.

Do you recollect in what islands you have seen these seamen alluded to?

Yes—in Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua, and the Grenades.

When you entered on board Captain Pollard's ship, did you know that part of your wages were to be paid you in the West Indies, in currency, and not in sterling?

No; I did not.

Did you voluntarily enter on board that ship?

I did.

Did you enter voluntarily on board Captain Colly's ship?

Yes; I did.

How came you to enter on board Captain Pollard's ship?

I received a hurt on board a coasting vessel, and was obliged to quit her—and I had taken a fancy to go upon the coast of Guinea.

Did you ever know or hear of the people coming down from the villages, twenty or thirty miles up the river, to make war on Dick Ebro?

Not during the time that I was there, to the best of my knowledge.

Had you heard of their having done so before you was there?

I don't remember that ever I did.

What was the reason of your leaving Captain Ellifon, in whose ship you left the coast of Guinea?

I cannot recollect the owner's name of the ship; but I left him because he would not give me wages for the time I had been with him.

By what means did you know that the captains of Slave ships entered into bonds with each other respecting the price they were to give for Slaves?

Because I heard the captains say so; my own captain, and others too, being on board with one another.

Can you name the captains who made presents to the Black traders?

Yes;

Yes; I can name one; Captain George Colly made them a present of some pieces of cannon.

Did you see it done?

I did; and saw them landed.

How long have you been from Plymouth?

A week last Monday.

What are you to have for coming here?

I do not know.

Who gave you leave to come up?

Commissioner Fanshaw ordered me; he ordered me money to pay my expences up.

Were any forcible means made use of to oblige you to take your wages in currency in the West Indies, in your first voyage?

Yes; in the manner of paying of our wages; and when I, and the ship's company, said "It is not our due;" and added, "If you don't give us full pay, we won't go home in the ship," Captain Marshall said, "It is the rule of the voyage." We then went to the governor, who gave us no redress, and we told the captain, "We would not go home in the ship;" upon which he went and got some soldiers, and put us into the prison; and after lying there for two or three days, we told the captain, "If he would pay the gaol fees, we would agree to go home;" to the best of my remembrance, two or three dollars was the money. The captain went on board, and we sailed, and proceeded on the voyage to England.

Did you ever know that the Slaves on board ship refused to eat their victuals?

Yes; very often; they take fulk, and will not eat.

In what manner are they then made to eat?

Sometimes the man who messes them is apt to give them a blow with his hand; but it is best let alone, for the more you beat them, the more fulky they are.

Was it the practice on board any of the ships you have sailed in to use any particular means to oblige them to eat?

No; no further than when they take fulk, they let them alone, and they come to of themselves.

Did

Did the Slaves in general seem very melancholy and dejected ?
Yes; they did.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

The Reverend JOHN NEWTON, Rector of Saint Mary Woolnoth, called in; and examined.

Were you ever in Africa ?
I have been in Africa.

How long ago, and in what capacity ?
I was last in Africa in the year 1754; I was master of a ship in the African Slave Trade.

How many voyages on the whole did you make to the Coast of Africa ?
Five.

Were you ever much ashore on the Coast of Africa ?
I lived ashore on the Coast of Africa about a year and a half.

On what part of the Coast ?
Principally at the Island of Plantains, at the mouth of the river Sherbro.

Was there any civil government in that part of the country ?
There is an institution there called the Purrow, which is both the legislative and the executive power there; it is an order into which people are initiated, a sort of African free-masonry, and I suppose two-thirds of the inhabitants are of the order; there are deputy principal persons in this Purrow in every village, and a certain word that is pronounced authoritatively brings them all together, and unites their force; whatever is commanded by the power of that word is done, so that Slaves will rise against their masters, and children against their parents by the force of that word. I cannot give any better description of the government.

Was the obedience paid to the authority of the Purrow, the result of any superstitious idea of charms or witchcraft; or was it submission to the established authority of the government ?

I believe it may be a mixture of both; but there is a real effective

tive force ; they certainly do speak of charms ; but if they did not obey the Purrow's order, their whole towns and villages would be destroyed. After so long an interval as from the year 1754, I cannot be supposed to speak to every point with equal precision or certainty ; but many facts are so deeply impressed upon my mind, that I cannot forget them while I am capable of remembering any thing.

Is the committee to understand then, that this long interval will cause you to be uncertain in the information you shall give, or only that it will render you unable to give such full information as you would have done after a shorter interval ?

When I do not make an exception, I mean to be understood as speaking positively.

What conclusions did you form respecting the capacity of the Negroes, compared with that of other men in the same period of society ?

I always judged that, with equal advantages, they would be equal to ourselves in point of capacity ; I have met with many instances of real and decided natural capacity amongst them.

What opinion have you formed of the temper and disposition of the Negroes ?

I must confine my answer to the place where I lived most, Sherbro ; because it would be as difficult to give a general character of the inhabitants of Africa as of the inhabitants of Europe, which should apply to them all. The people at Sherbro are in a degree civilized, often friendly, and may be trusted where they have not been previously deceived by the Europeans. I have lived in peace and safety amongst them, when I have been the only White man amongst them for a great distance.

Your last answer being confined to Sherbro, can you give any information on the same points, with respect to any other part of the coast ?

The most humane and moral people I ever met with in Africa were on the River Gaboon, and at Cape Lopas ; and they were the people who had the least intercourse with Europe at that time.

Was there any Slave Trade with them at that time, or any commerce for other articles ?

I believe they had no Slave Trade at that time ; I have heard
8 them

them speak against it; their articles of commerce were ivory and bees wax.

You say, "you have heard them speak against the Slave Trade," will you relate the sort of language they held on this subject?

One man of consequence said, "If I was to be angry, and to sell my boy, how should I get my boy back again when my anger was gone away?" For the same reason they would not use fire-arms in their petty quarrels, though they had them, for they said, "If I kill a man when I am angry, I cannot bring him to life when my anger is over."

Did the practice prevail at that time of redeeming the captives that had been taken in their little quarrels with one another, speaking of the country in the neighbourhood of Gaboon?

I can give no answer to that; I was not a sufficient time on that part of the coast to know.

Did they appear grateful for any good offices that were done them, and ready to return them?

The principal people, who received presents from the ship, would take no money for the provisions they brought, for that reason; I mean, because they had received presents, they would take no money in return when they made presents.

Do not instances frequently happen of ships or boats being cut off by the natives of Africa?

I have known both ships and boats cut off.

How do you reconcile this with the account you have given of the inoffensive disposition of the natives?

I never heard of any ship or boat cut off at Gaboon or Cape Lopas; boats have been sometimes cut off at Sherbro; but it has usually been by way of retaliation.

Did the Negroes appear to you to be so indolent that they would not cultivate the ground, &c. and carry on a trade for the natural productions of their country, if they were sufficiently encouraged to do so?

They have comparatively few wants, and therefore make fewer exertions; but I do not think they are naturally indolent. We hire many of them by the month to work on board our ships and
in

in our boats ; and they cultivate the ground upon the Windward Coast sufficiently, not only to supply themselves, but the ships, with rice.

Do the natural affections appear to be as strong in the Negroes as in the inhabitants of other countries ? Did you know any instances of women selling their own children, &c. ?

Polygamy being the general custom, it is possible the natural affections may not be so strong as in other countries ; but I never heard an instance of a mother selling her own children.

From what you saw of Africa, did the intercourse of the natives with the Europeans appear to civilize them, or rather to render them more corrupt and depraved ?

The intercourse of the Europeans has assimilated them more to our manners ; but I am afraid has rather had a bad than a good influence upon their morals ; I mean they learn our customs, they wear our apparel, they get our furniture ; but they are generally worse in their conduct in proportion to their acquaintance with us.

From your experience in the African trade, is it to be deemed a nursery for seamen ?

I believe it is a fatal source of mortality to seamen.

To what causes did you chiefly ascribe this mortality ?

To their being much exposed to the weather, to intemperance, and ill-treatment.

Do you think a trade with Africa for her natural productions would be equally injurious to the marine ?

I think such a trade might be carried on without the necessity of exposing them to the weather so much ; and that the Slave Trade is a great cause of the hard treatment they receive.

How does the Slave Trade produce this effect ?

The real or supposed necessity of treating the Negroes with rigour gradually brings a numbness upon the heart, and renders most of those who are engaged in it too indifferent to the sufferings of their fellow-creatures ; and I suppose there is no trade in which seamen are treated with so little humanity as in the African.

African Slave Trade.—I have myself seen them when sick, beaten for being lazy till they have died under the blows.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 12^o die Maii 1790.

THE Reverend JOHN NEWTON called in; and further examined.

Did any instances come to your knowledge of depredations being committed on the Coast of Africa by European Traders?

I was once on shore myself, when the Traders suddenly called me away, put me into my long boat, and then told me, that the ship which had just passed by had carried off two of their people; and had it been known in the town, I should have been detained myself.—I have known many instances of the like kind;—but after a length of time, of thirty-six years, it is difficult to speak to my own personal knowledge—I have only a general remembrance of them, and cannot speak to the particulars.

Was it the general opinion on the Coast of Africa, that depredations of this sort were frequently committed by the European Traders?

It was a general opinion, founded upon repeated and indisputable facts.

Did any thing come to your knowledge respecting the punishments for crimes being increased in degree or number in consequence of the Slave Trade?

The question being objected to;

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

The question was repeated.

I know little of the punishment inflicted for crimes, excepting the selling the offenders for Slaves;—and I thought, and
O o believe,

believe, that many were sold for Slaves whose punishment otherwise would have been trifling.

In the conduct of the Slave Trade, were many frauds practised on the natives, in respect to the articles that were sold to them?

Very generally; many people considered it as a necessary branch of the traffic; that is, the man who was most expert in committing frauds was reckoned the most handy and clever fellow in the business.

Of what nature were these frauds?

I have known them put false heads into their powder casks; cut off two or three yards from the middle of a piece of cloth where it was not missed; greatly adulterate and lower the spirits (the brandy); and sometimes steal back articles that had been delivered into the canoes.

Were the men Slaves in general fettered during the Middle Passage in your voyage?

Always; I never put them out of irons till we saw the land in the West Indies.

Did this precaution appear to you necessary for the security of the ship?

I think the ship would not have been safe without it; it was the universal custom at that time.

Did the Slaves ever plot, or attempt to rise in your vessel?

I remember two or three plots, but they were happily discovered in time, in the ships that I was master of; I was mate of a ship in which there was an insurrection, where one White man was killed, and three or four of the Negroes.

Were the Slaves, during the Middle Passage, in a situation of tolerable comfort when below?

They were rather more tolerable in my ship, because I never complicated my purchase, so that they had more room; but the situation of Slaves in a full ship is uncomfortable indeed.

In what respect chiefly does it deserve this epithet?

Their being kept constantly in irons; crowded in their lodging; and often in bad weather almost destitute of air to breathe; besides what they suffer from the ship's motion in their irons, and the difficulty in the night of getting to their tubs, which are sometimes overfet.

In

In cases of plots to rise, or of actual insurrections, what were the punishments usually inflicted on the Slaves?

Most generally severe floggings, to which some commanders added the torture of the thumb-screws; I mean commanders of ships that I have been on board of. A Captain has told me himself repeatedly, that he had punished Negroes after an insurrection with death.

Was the number which he said he had so punished with death, after the insurrection, considerable, or was the punishment aggravated by any previous torture?

I cannot answer for the number, only I am sure it was more than one; because he told me of the different ways in which he put them to death, which were by cruel tortures.

Were the sufferings of the Negro women on board ships aggravated by their being exposed to the brutality of the crew?

In many ships they were, if we allow the Negro women to have any degree of sentiment.

Did the women in general appear to have as much modesty as the women of other countries?

I knew many women in Sherbro whom I thought were modest women; I do not know how to state a comparison.

Did you ever see any instances of a dead Slave being found chained to a living one?

They are fettered, but not chained in pairs; and I have often seen in the morning one of the pair dead.

Did you ever know any instances of pawns being taken off the coast by the European traders?

I have.

What was the opinion entertained of the Europeans, in your time, by the natives of the part of Africa in which you lived?

There were individuals thought well of by the natives, but they had no good opinion of them upon the whole; and sometimes when charged with a fraud or crime, would say, "What, do you think I am a White man?"

Had you on board any of your ships any and what number of children?

I have had children born on board.—Small Slaves that are usually sold (I mean such as are usually brought to market) used to constitute about a fourth part of the cargo, from 8 to 16 years.

Were

Were you ever in a Slave ship on the disposal of her cargo in the West India Islands?

Three times in the West India Islands, and once at South Carolina.

In felling the cargo, was any care taken to prevent the separation of relations?

It was never thought of; they were separated as sheep and lambs are separated by the butcher.

Can you state the mortality of Slaves or seamen on board the ships in which you sailed?

I cannot exactly; I have the exact numbers upon my journals.

In your time, was the Slave Trade a profitable commerce to the Slave merchants?

My concern in it was not profitable to my employers; there were some gainful voyages, but the losing voyages were thought more numerous; it was generally considered as a sort of a lottery, in which every adventurer hoped to gain a prize.

In what year did you first go to Africa?

In the year 1745.

How many voyages did you make to the coast of Africa as commander of a Slave ship?

Three.

Was you at Gaboon in the year 1747?

I left Gaboon in the end of the year 1747; perhaps the last day of the year, or thereabouts.

How long had you been there in that year?

I cannot certainly say; I had no interest in the ship; I was only a passenger; I suppose about a month.

Do you recollect a certain snow, called the Fortune, commanded by one Captain Tindal, of Lancaster, being at Gaboon, while you was there in the year 1747?

I do not recollect any vessel being at Gaboon whilst I was there.

Do you reckon your being at Gaboon for a month in the year 1747,

1747, as one of the voyages you speak of, when you say you made five voyages to the coast of Africa?

I account the interval of my absence from England a voyage; I first went on board an African ship at the Island of Madeira, in the year 1745; I was discharged from her upon the Coast, where I lived perhaps eighteen months.—The ship in which I left the Coast, called at Gaboon in the course of her voyage.—I arrived in England in the year 1748; and I count the whole of that time my first voyage.

In what capacity or employment did you go to the Coast of Africa from Madeira?

I was discharged from a man of war, in the room of a man that entered from on board the Guinea man as a foremast man; but the captain made me steward after I was on board.

How long did you continue as such, or in any other, and what capacity, on board of that Guineaman?

I continued in the same capacity about six months, to the best of my recollection, till the ship was flaved, and ready to go off the Coast.

Did you remain in Africa, or sail with the ship after she was flaved?

I was discharged from the ship the day she sailed; a person who was part owner resided on the Coast, and I went with him.

What was the nature of your employment in Africa after you was discharged from that ship, and during your residence there?

As a servant to White traders, sometimes in their shallops, and sometimes in their houses, attending the trade.

Did this fill up the period of a year and a half, which you have stated to have lived on shore on the coast of Africa?

I was wholly so employed while I staid there; it was more than a year, but I cannot say whether it was a year and a half; but that is the period I allude to.

During that time what extent of coast may you have visited?

We traded to the Rio de Nuna, which I suppose is about forty leagues north from Sierra Leone, and twenty leagues to the southward of Sierra Leone, in the river Sherbro.

Can you state what that extent of coast may be in English leagues?

Forty leagues to the North West of Sierra Leone, and twenty leagues to the south east; and that is about sixty or seventy leagues.

How often, and how far may you have travelled inland on the continent of Africa?

I once went three days journey, which I suppose might be fifty miles from the head of the river Camaranca, where I was. I never was so far at any other time; seldom above three, four, or five miles from the coast.

How far distant is Camaranca from Sherbro?

Four or five leagues, I suppose, from the mouth of the river Sherbro to the mouth of the river Camaranca; Camaranca is a creek rather than a river; a small water.

How long did you remain in the country when you made that three days journey that you speak of?

I believe not above two days.

Have you any knowledge of the country lying between Sierra Leone and the river Nuna?

I have no knowledge of that country from my own personal knowledge; I never traded there.

Does not this tract of Country comprize part of the coast which you have stated to have visited, and to comprize an extent of sixty or seventy leagues?

The two most distant places being sixty or seventy leagues asunder, I necessarily passed and repassed the rest frequently, but we did not trade there.

During this residence of a year, or a year and a half, at the island of Plantains, at the mouth of the river Sherbro, did you acquire any personal knowledge of the manners and customs of any, and what other part of Africa, but what lies immediately in the vicinity of Sherbro?

I profess no knowledge of any other part of Africa; I went down the whole coast in the ship that brought me off, but she made little stay at any place, and purchased no Slaves.

How many voyages did you make to Africa as commander of a Slave ship?

Three.

You have said, " That it was a general opinion on the coast of Africa, that depredations, such as carrying off the people of the country, were committed by European traders; and that that opinion was a general and received opinion, founded on repeated and indisputable facts;" Will you state some of those repeated and indisputable facts of your own knowledge?

I have stated one fact already; at this distance of time I cannot take upon me to specify; but when I was upon the coast I had not the least doubt that there were such repeated and indisputable facts; when I have visited a place of trade, I have found all trade and intercourse stopped, and these depredations have been assigned to me by the natives as the cause; and I have more than once or twice made up breaches of this kind between the ships and the natives.

In what parts of the coast of Africa do you mean to state this to be a general opinion?

The part which we usually call the Windward Coast, between Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas.

Is Sherbro on the Windward Coast?

Sherbro is counted on the Windward Coast.

Did you ever, in any of your voyages as master of a ship, carry off any Slaves that had been procured by depredations by any Europeans?

Not knowingly.

Then do you not in clarity think, that other masters of Slave ships have been as innocent of such a practice (as you state it to be the general opinion of the people on the coast to exist) as you yourself have been?

I would not be uncharitable; but I cannot suppose that my own views and conduct, when master of an African ship, were wholly a specimen of all that was transacted on the coast; I knew several captains of ships upon the coast, who I believe were honest and humane men, but I have good reason to think they were not all so, the depredations or taking off Slaves by force have been thought most frequent when the captain has been upon the coast,

as he supposed for the last voyage, and was not likely to be called to account for it in future.

Then is the Committee to understand that this practice of carrying off Slaves that have been procured by depredation, is indiscriminately attributed by the natives to all captains of Guineamen in each voyage they make to the coast, or only in the last voyage that they make to that country?

The natives can hardly be supposed to know when a ship is making her last voyage; the truth is, that such depredations and reprisals attempted for them were both so frequent that the Europeans and Africans were in a spirit of mutual distrust; it was but seldom that they would place any dependance upon us, and we could as seldom depend upon them.

By whom do you mean that it was understood that depredations or carrying off Negroes by force was supposed to be by the captains in the last voyage they made, and when they were not likely to be called to account for it in future?

I do not mean that there were no such depredations except in their last voyage; many things happen which may be called the news of the day, and may be worthy of credit and fully believed at the time, though the ground of that belief cannot be always recalled a great while afterwards; I have not the least doubt but that there were often depredations of this kind; I have known ships both from Liverpool and Bristol materially injured in their trade and boats, in consequence of the conduct of some ships from the same ports, that had left the Coast.

Question repeated.

This is the result of the opinions that masters and officers form amongst themselves.

Have you ever heard any masters or commanders express such an opinion?

I have frequently heard them.

Do you mean that it was their opinion, that the carrying off of Slaves procured by depredations was generally confined to the last voyage that the captains guilty of those practices intended to make?

It has been known as a matter of fact, that some captains have done so in their last voyage, who have not been known to have done it before.

Have

Have you ever been at the island of St. Thomas ?
I never was.

Had you constant and familiar intercourse with the natives, during your residence for the time you have mentioned on the coast of Africa ?

I was for the most of that time in an abject state of servitude and sickness ; I have known them better when I was master of a ship to the same part.

Had you any doubts or scruples of the lawfulness of the Slave Trade at the time you were engaged in carrying it on as captain of a vessel ?

I felt it very ineligible ; but I had no scruple of the lawfulness of it.

In speaking of depredations, and of other matters, wherein you cannot call to mind the particular facts, cannot you be sure that you formed your conclusions upon premises in which you were at that time fully grounded ?

Most certainly.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. JAMES MORLEY, Gunner of the Medway, called in ; and examined.

How many voyages have you been to the coast of Africa ?
Six.

Will you state, as near as you can recollect, the times, the vessels names, the ports from which they sailed, and the part of the coast to which they went ?

As nigh as I can recollect, my first voyage was in the year 1760, in the Eagle galley, Captain Jones ; she sailed from Bristol, and went to Angola.

The next was the Amelia, about 1763 or 1764, Captain Mixon, from Bristol to Old Calabar.

My third voyage was in the year 1767, in the Marcus sloop, Captain Bishop, (she was a tender to the Cato, Captain Jones,) from Bristol to Old Calabar.

The fourth voyage was in the Tom, Captain Matthews, about 1771 or 1772, from Bristol to the river of Gaboon.

The fifth voyage was in the *Venus*, — Forbes, master, about 1773 or 1774, from Bristol to Old Calabar.

The sixth voyage was in the *Whim*, Captain Butler, about 1776, from Liverpool to Annamaboe.

In what employment have you been since you left the African Trade?

In His Majesty's service ever since.

On what account did you leave the African Trade?

Upon account of the ill usage mostly that I had received myself, and seen towards others.

How then came you to continue so long in the trade?

My reason for continuing so long in the trade was, a promise of promotion, and to maintain my family, having been brought up mostly in that trade at that time.

Were you gradually promoted while you remained in the trade?

In the first ship I was a servant, in the second likewise, the third before the mast, the fourth gunner, the fifth boatswain and mate, and the sixth mate.

How old were you when you first went on board as a servant?

About nine or ten.

Have you been much on the coast of Africa, and far up the country?

Yes; I have.

Will you state where?

At Calabar river, the river of Gaboon, and the river of Nazareth, or Bristol river.

How far up those rivers have you been?

To judge from the length of time we have been going up the river in the craft, 300 or 400 miles; I am speaking of Nazareth or Bristol river; I have been up the river of Gaboon about 200 miles; I only judge from the time we were going up in the craft, for I never kept any log.

On what other parts of the coast have you been?

Angola, Affenie, Cape Appolonia, Cape Coast, Annamaboe, Old Calabar, Gaboon, and Nazareth; those are the places that I have been mostly at.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 13^o die Maii 1790.

MR. JAMES MORLEY called in; and further examined:

Do you know any thing of the different productions of Africa?

Yes; cotton, gold, rice, pepper of different kinds, palm oil, tobacco, and wood of different kinds for dyes.

Do you ever buy any rice on the coast for the supply of your different ships?

No; I never was ricing on the coast, but I have been buying it in small quantities off the River Sisters, and different places on the Windward Coast.

Was rice ever offered to you without your enquiring after it?

Yes; this rice we bought was brought alongside in canoes without any enquiry for it.

As far as you have had any intercourse with the people, did they or did they not seem willing to perform any services which you required of them, and which you offered to pay them for?

Always willing, where they had a prospect of being paid immediately, as far as ever I saw.

Have you had much intercourse with the natives on the various parts of the coast?

Yes.

From your knowledge of them, do you apprehend that they might be induced to raise different articles of produce, if they were certain of obtaining a speedy sale for them?

Yes;

Yes; that is, if they were made to see that they could get as much by raising this produce as by selling the Slaves.

Do they appear to have any ideas of trading for different commodities among themselves?

Yes; by the small traffic I have seen between themselves, such as provision; I remember ivory being sold at the same time with the provisions, in these markets; this is the only traffic that I have seen among themselves; they have also a traffic for Slaves among themselves, all through the country.

Do the considerable men possess Slaves as a property?

They deem their Slaves as their own property, I look upon it.

Have you made any observations on the manner in which such Slaves are generally treated?

With the greatest kindness that ever I have seen; more so than our servants or Slaves in the West Indies.

Is it usual with them to sell these Slaves?

Not any that came under my notice, but far from it; for they do not care to part with such for any price, wherever I have been; but I wish to make this distinction, I mean their canoe boys, or house servants.

From whom do you mean to distinguish these canoe boys and house servants?

From the Slaves who are brought out of the country for sale.

Do you know any thing of the different manners in which these domestic Slaves are employed?

Yes, in cultivation of the ground for raising provisions, fishing, getting palm-oil, palm-wine, making grass cloths, and other cloth of their own manufacture, making and thatching of houses, going in their canoes backwards and forwards to different places, and attending the necessary duty of their own families and houses.

Have you ever known whether Slaves whom the Europeans have refused to buy, having been employed in any of these occupations?

Yes; in Old Calabar, in the king of Aquaw's dominions, I knew an instance of one that was offered to the ship I belonged to; I saw

saw that Slave at work in the plantation myself, when out at Aquaw getting Slaves.

Have you any reason to think that this was an extraordinary circumstance; or on the contrary, do you believe it to be a common practice?

A common practice; I am convinced of that.

Have you ever known any methods made use of by the persons belonging to Guinea ships to induce the natives to sell such Slaves as you have before mentioned they were in general unwilling to part with?

Yes; I have myself (I tell it with shame) made the natives drunk, where I have seen a good man, or a good woman, and I have given them an extraordinary price for the same; I absolutely thought at the time I was doing it for my owners good to the utmost of my power.

Do you, or do you not, know this to have been a common practice with other persons employed in the trade?

I have seen it done by others; captain Hildebrand, who was master of a sloop belonging to Mr. Brue, paid an extraordinary price for a woman, one of a man's wives, after making of him drunk; the man wished to redeem her the next day, and so did the person that I bought the man of, but we did not give them up, neither he, nor I; and I suppose they would have given a third of the goods more than they had for them, but we did not chuse it.

Do you know any thing of the methods by which Slaves are usually obtained from the Coast?

The greatest method that ever came under my inspection is the buying of them.

Do you know any thing of the manner in which the Black traders obtain them?

I never found any that came under my inspection that was taken away by fraud but one—in Bristol or Nazareth River; it was one that came down to get shell-fish that I bought; but I have been told by the natives at Calabar of a different manner; that in what they call war they have taken them as captives; but what they call war I found was putting of the small towns and villages in confusion, and catching them as they could;—I know an instance on board the ship I was in—A man there that was sold, shewed in what manner he was taken in the night, by sur-

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prize;

prize; and he said, his wife, and children, and all were taken with him, but they were not in the ship he was in; this I heard him tell Archibald Robin John, who could talk the tongue; he was a pawn on board.

Had you reason to believe from this man's relation, that other persons belonging to the village were taken at the same time, in the same manner?

I have no other reason, from the man's words of himself and family, but to think that they took the whole village; those that could not get away, I cannot think but what they did.

Did you understand that the practice of seizing persons in the manner described out of the villages was frequent in that part of the country of which you are now speaking?

I never heard of any other.

Do you know any thing of persons being sold for Slaves on account of crimes, either real or imputed to them, for the purpose of selling them?

Yes; in Old Calabar for adultery and theft; under pretence of the former there was a woman sold that I can remember.

What reason have you to think that the accusation of adultery against that woman was only a pretence?

From her own mouth, for she could speak English, and very good English too, and from the manner that Ephraim, her husband, whom they call king, treated her when he came on board, which was with the greatest civility; whereas in these cases they are very desperate.

What do you mean by these cases?

When they commit such errors.

Do you mean that the husbands are very desperate, when they believe that the women have actually committed adultery?

Yes.

Have you ever seen boys and girls on board the ships without their parents, or any other relations, to whom they apparently belonged?

Yes.

Have you ever known any captain of a Guineaman make use
7 either

either of fraud or force, to carry off any of the natives as Slaves?

Yes;—off Taboo, two men came alongside of the ship I belonged to in a canoe;—one of them came up as high as the netting on the quarter deck, and gave the Captain a book (they call it such, but it is only a bit of paper) specifying their character and behaviour.—They got them from the ships on the Coast.—Most ships give them one, that they come on board of.—The Captain asked him if he would drink any brandy, which he told him he would, in English.—When the brandy was brought, he desired him to come into the ship, for he was then only on the netting or gunwale, which he absolutely refused to do.—The Captain then ordered the brandy to be carried back, and some laudanum put into it, but the quantity I can't tell, which was brought and given him, he still sitting on the netting, and the Captain persuading of him to come into the ship, or on deck, and kept talking to him, and asking him some questions; and after some talk, asked him again if he would have another dram; he said he would, which was ordered him with a portion of laudanum likewise put in;—he then desired the man to come out of the canoe, and get a dram;—he refused; and did not come in;—this man on the netting seemed to have some anxiety to come in by the form he seemed to sit in.—In a minute he began to fall as it were in a dose;—the liquor itself was enough to do it, as he drank near two tumblers of brandy;—the Captain laughed, seeing of him in this state, and said repeatedly, “I shall have you presently, Master Jacky;” (if I remember his name was John;) which was absolutely the case, for he fell in upon deck.—The Captain ordered him immediately to be taken down to the men's room, and there put a centry over him. Running about three or four leagues further down the Coast we hove the ship to again to receive a canoe that was pulling off to us as the other had done.—Two men came on board.—During the time of their being on board, there was a drum beating by this man, in order to prevent his hearing of them, or they him speaking.—The Captain gave the people that came in the canoe a glass of brandy each; there being a boat lying in shore, he did not detain these men.—We then made sail, and proceeded on our voyage;—but however I forgot to rehearse the circumstance of the man that was in the canoe.—After calling for this man several times that had tumbled on deck, having no answer, he put the canoe off, and paddled towards the shore as fast as he could. The Captain perceiving it, fired several muskets with ball in them, but I am sure they did not hit him.

Do

Do you recollect any other instance of Negroes being forcibly carried off by any captain whom you knew?

Yes; Captain Matthews, of the Prince of Wales, at Gaboon—the voyage before that I was with him in the Tom—and in this form I came by my knowledge of it: When we came into Gaboon river in the Tom, Captain Matthews desired Quinzel, the chief mate, who had formerly been a captain in the African Trade, to call himself captain of that vessel, while he hid himself away; which he did. Two of the natives, whose names were John and Smack Abram, being two of the chief's sons, told Quinzel positively that he lied, and that he was not captain—Matthews, hearing this, came up the scuttle, laughing, and appeared himself—As soon as these two saw him, they asked him, what he had done with their sons, and the boys that he had carried off the coast—and positively told him in English, “that he should not come a-shore there to trade; if he did, they would have his head;” and went into their canoe, calling to him after they had left the vessel, and making motions to him, with their hands to their necks, to the same purpose.

Have you known any other instances of violent and cruel behaviour from the commanders of Slave vessels towards the inhabitants of any part of the Coast?

No, I can't say any other, that I am positive in.

Have you ever known the Master of a Slave vessel fire upon the Natives, and on what account?

Yes; in the Island of Furnandipo—I was there in the Marcus sloop, in order to purchase provisions for the ship we were tender to. In the height of trading with them, some of them had stole a few strings of small beads—Bishop, the master, striking the man who had taken them, they all immediately flew up to the side of the wood from the boat—he then himself fired in amongst the thick of them, and ordered likewise the men to do the same in the boat—on which we heard great shrieking, and immediately they all disappeared—we then went out of the boat a little way into the wood, to see what way they took; where we saw the track of blood for many yards; from which we thought some were wounded undoubtedly, if not killed—but, however, that we could never learn.

Had any of the natives offered violence to the boat's crew?
Not any as I remember.

Then

Then the following question and answer being again read to the Witness; viz. "Have you known any other instances of violent and cruel behaviour from the commanders of Slave Vessels towards the inhabitants of any part of the Coast?"

"No; I can't say any other, that I am positive in:"

He was asked,

Did you understand this question?

No; I did not.

Are you well acquainted with the situation of Old and New Town, Calabar?

Yes.

How far apart are they?

From Old Town to the Duke's Town, by way of the creek, which they formerly used to go, it is about four or five miles; but to go down the river as far as the mouth of Cross River, to these towns, is 16 or 18 miles, or more, but I can't be positive to a mile or two; for you have first to go down the river where Old Town lies, then you have to go up Cross River, where the shipping lies, to trade at New Town; New Town is a long way from the shipping: before the towns parted they used always to go by the way of the creek.

Were the Slaves closely stowed on board most of the vessels in which you have sailed?

When there has been a full purchase they are undoubtedly closely stowed, but when they come off short of purchase, and have had mortality, they have more room consequently.

Have you ever been yourself employed in stowing them when the ship has been full?

Yes.

In what manner have you done it?

As close as possible that I could put them.

Were the men mostly kept in irons during the whole of the passage to the West Indies?

In most ships that I have been in.

In what situation have you seen the Slaves between-decks, when they have been stowed as closely as you have mentioned?

In great perspirations; in particular after heavy rains, when they have been obliged to keep the tarpaulins over the gratings for any length of time; I have been down myself, both wiping them and seeing of them wiped; and have found them in violent perspirations, sufficient to give reason to think, if they had been long kept close in that manner, suffocation must have taken place—but this I never found it had.

Have you ever perceived them under very great difficulty of breathing?

Yes; the women in particular, frequently getting up on the beams where the gratings have been raised with bannisters, about four foot above the combings, in order to give air; they get up there to breathe more freely; but when we find this the case, we generally drive them down, because they take the air from the other Slaves.

Have you ever known Slaves, when indisposed, beaten for refusing their food or medicines?

Yes; at the time of sea sickness, on leaving a place, I have known them make them keep the rice in their mouths, by holding of it in, in order to make them swallow it, till they have been almost strangled; I have seen the surgeon's mates on giving them medicines, force the pannikin between their teeth, and throw it over them, in a manner that not one half of it has gone into their mouths; this was done when the poor wretches have been wallowing or sitting in their blood or excrements, hardly having life; and this with blows with the cat; damning them for being sulky Black b——: I do declare, that I have known the doctor's mate report a Slave dead, and have him thrown overboard, when there has been life in him, and he has struggled in the water after being thrown overboard; this I saw; and why they did this, not one on board could imagine, only to get clear of the trouble; that was the conjecture of them that saw it.

About what number of Slaves, as near as you can recollect, were there taken on board the Eagle galley in your first voyage?
Seven hundred.

About what number were lost?

To the best of my remembrance about 250; but I believe it was more.

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In your second voyage, how many were taken on board the Amelia?

About 200; but there might be more.

What do you recollect of the loss in that voyage?

About eighteen or twenty, more or less; I am not positive.

How many were taken in your fourth voyage, on board the Tom?

About 150; or more.

Do you recollect the mortality?

Not particularly; twenty-five, more or less.

How many on board the Venus, in your fifth voyage?

About 250, or between that and 300.

What do you recollect of that mortality?

About twenty; but I am not sure.

Can you speak with any certainty as to the last voyage, in the Whim?

No; I cannot.

In what manner were the Slaves usually sold in the West Indies?

Some on board, some on shore; I have known them sold in both ways; it is most commonly on shore.

Have you ever seen them sold by what is called scramble?

Yes; my last voyage only; that is the only time I ever saw them sold by scramble.

Was there any care taken to prevent the separation of relations in that mode of sale?

No; not as I know of.

Were you not mate of the vessel at the time?

Yes; third mate.

How have you known what are called refuse Slaves sold in the West Indies?

Those Slaves that do not average with the cargo are sold by auction, what is called vendue.

Have you ever been a witness to the condition of such Slaves after they have been sold?

Yes; seeing of them lie about the beach at Saint Kitt's, in the market place, and in the different parts of the town (Slaves that came out of the same ship I was in), in a very bad condition, and apparently nobody to take care of them.

How do you account for the owners of such Slaves abandoning them in the manner you have described?

In the following manner:—I have known the poorer sort of people buy Slaves at vendue for a trifle; I cannot say particularly; a few dollars; not thinking of the expence for their cure that they must be at; when they find to the contrary of their expectations, that they will cost more than they gave for them, in order to raise them, they let them go about any where, where they can or will. I have been called upon an inquest at the Island of Jamaica, where from the appearances of the body, we have been obliged to give in our verdict, "died for want." Upon an enquiry being made for the owner, the person who was suspected to be the owner has denied that it was his Slave.

Mention what you know of the methods by which Guinea ships are supplied with seamen?

Some enter voluntary, others are kept by their landlords till they are in debt; they then offer them a Guineaman, or gaol; this I know. I will relate an instance: One Sullivan, a landlord, in Marsh Street, in Bristol, got two or three young fellows in that manner in debt, and forced them in my hearing, to go on board the Guineaman to which I belonged, or to gaol; these I lent a hand to carry on board myself.

Do you know this to be a common practice?

Not that I can positively speak to.

From your long acquaintance with the trade, do you believe it to be so?

Yes.

How have the seamen been generally treated on board the Guinea ships in which you have sailed?

With great rigour, and many with cruelty.

Do you recollect any particular instances?

Yes; many—in the Venus, Captain Forbes, Matthews, the chief

chief mate, would knock a man down for a very frivolous thing; such as not being as quick as he wanted him with a swab, or upon any small occasion, and this, with any thing that he could get in his hand, a cat, a piece of wood, or a cook's ax, with which he once cut a man down his right shoulder, by throwing of this ax at him in his passion.—Likewise in the *Amelia*, Captain Dixon, the men were treated with great cruelty, not only with the cat, but tying up and flogging of them, giving them four or five dozen lashes at a time, and then rubbing them with pickle, telling them, "That they should not stink, for he would salt them well." I have heard him tell them so frequently: I myself, when a boy with him (I was his cabin boy), for only breaking of a glass, which was an accident, was tied up to the tiller, in the cabin, by my hands, and then flogged with a cat, and kept hanging there for some time. I have seen great severity in all the vessels that I have been in out of Bristol; but my last voyage from Liverpool, with Captain Butler, in the *Whim*, I did not see this severity carried on, neither with the Slaves nor the men; and he was a man that I have known send the only bit of fresh provision (a fish) from his table to the sick Slaves.

Has the allowance of provisions to the seamen, in the voyages which you have made, usually been plentiful or otherwise?
Scanty.

What shelter from the weather have they had?

The heavens; no other that I know of; in the Middle Passage, and mostly on the outward bound passage, they lie upon deck, and die upon deck: that I have seen.

Have you seen many seamen sick, or diseased with ulcers, on board Guinea ships?

Yes; all my first five voyages, in every one of them, for it was all to a sickly part of the coast that I went.

What treatment did they usually receive when sick?

Generally bad.—I have known men ask to have their wounds dressed, or ulcers; and I have heard the doctor, with oaths and abusive language, tell them to take their dung and dress them.

Did you ever know the captain on such occasions compel the doctor to do his duty?

No; neither has the doctor made this answer in the hearing of the captain, that I know of. I have known the doctor, or at least his

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mates,

mates, go to bleed a man, and after cutting of him three or four times with a lancet, and fetching no blood, he has bound up his arm, and reported to the captain, that he had bled him.

Do you know any thing of the manner in which Guinea seamen are paid their wages in the West Indies?

In the currency of the country in every ship that I have been in.

Is desertion from the Guinea ships, to your knowledge, a more common practice than from West Indiamen, or from any other trade with which you are at all acquainted?

Yes; more so from the Guineamen than from any West Indiaman that I have been in.

Do you know or believe it to be much more frequent?

Yes; in most of the Guinea ships that I have been in, the greatest part have been runners home.

Do you know any thing of the situation, in the West Indies, of those seamen who have either deserted or have been discharged from Guineamen?

Yes; and so do most men that have ever been to the West Indies; you frequently see them lying about the wharfs, beaches, and different places, in almost all the Islands in the West Indies, with ulcerated legs and other disorders, almost dead; I have seen many of them in a melancholy situation, and I have given them many times money to go and buy bread.

Were you ever a witness to any very great severity of punishment inflicted on a Slave in the West Indies?

Yes; in Jamaica, I saw a man hoisted up with a crane upon one of the wharfs (I think it was the Market wharf) with three or four fifty fixes lashed to his feet, and he was hove up tort; then was flogged with a whip, not one of the long cart whips that they generally flog them with, but a short whip, and the skin swelled up in great lumps; it was not broke but bruised; the same Negro, after he had done flogging him with the whip, took a bunch of ebony, and flogged him on the same parts that had been flogged before, till the blood ran from most parts of his back; on my asking one that stood by, his crime, he informed me, it was for running away from his matter; then I asked him, why the ebony was made use of after flogging him with the whip; he told me it was to let out the bruised blood from his back. Another instance I saw in the same island, while I was there, though not at the same time; a woman flogged in a cruel manner

manner (this was in the town of Kingston); on inquiring into her crime, I was told that she had hired herself from her mistress, and was to pay so much a month, which she had not done; I know many instances of this kind.

Did you ever see Slaves in the West Indies branded by the buyer, merely as a mark of property?

Yes; in Jamaica, after heating marking irons over the flame of burning rum, they have been applied to the thick of the thigh, as they came through the barricado, one by one; that is the only instance that ever I saw done.

Do you recollect the circumstance of the mate of a Liverpool Guineaman being shot by one of the natives; if you do, relate the particulars?

I do; Captain Brigg's chief mate (I have forgot the name of the ship, though she lay just a-head of us in Old Calabar river) lying in ambush to stop the natives as they came down the creek, pursued Oruc Robin John, who immediately made for the wood or bush on seeing the boat follow him, jumped on shore with his musket, levelled it, and shot Briggs's mate through the head; the people then brought him alongside of the *Amelia*, which I was in, and informed the captain that the mate was shot; he immediately ordered them to carry him on board his own ship, and not bring him there for a spectacle; neither did he send his doctor or doctor's mate to stop the blood or look at his wounds.

Have you any reason to believe that any bad consequences followed upon Captain Matthews carrying off the sons of the Black traders, as you have before mentioned?

Yes; by an information given by Mr. Walker, master of a sloop, who was on board the *Jolly Prince*, Captain Lambert, when the king of Nazareth stabbed the captain at his own table, took the ship or vessel, putting all the White Men to death; the cook, and a boy, and I believe one man, were the only persons that escaped. Captain Punter, master of the *Prince of Wales* brig, belonging to the same owners, asking Captain Walker, "For what reason the king of Nazareth had taken this step?" he said, "It was upon the account of the people that Matthews had carried off from Gaboon and Cape Lopas the voyage before."

Was not Walker one of the persons that escaped?

Yes; and that by knowing the tongue; he could speak it as well as English.

Did

Did not the Jolly Prince belong to the same owners as Captain Matthews's ship?

Yes.

In what places were you ashore in Africa?

The river of Gaboon, Old Calabar, on the Coast of Angola, Annamaboe, Cape Coast, Affenie, Commenda, Secundee, Dixcove, Amunda, Brandenburgh or Fort Orange, and many other places.

How long was you ashore at Gaboon?

A week sometimes, and sometimes two or three days.

Did you see any quantity of ivory at Gaboon?

A great quantity.

Where did it come from?

From the interior parts of the country.

How was it brought down?

The Negroes bring it on their shoulders in this place, or on their heads—I have seen it both ways.

How far was you up above Parrot's Island?

About 200 miles, reckoning by the time I was in the canoe in going up, for I never was up in a boat in that river, but always in a canoe.

Is the country flat or marshy about Gaboon?

Down by the water side in some places it is, but the more we go up the river the better the land; and it runs high in the back parts of the country; we can see the double land a great way back.

Is the country overflowed at particular times of the year?

Never at the time of my being there; and I never heard that it was about Gaboon.

How often was you at Old Calabar?

Three voyages.

Is cotton or rice grown at Calabar or Gaboon?

Cotton in great quantities, both at Calabar and Gaboon; but no rice that ever I saw.

Did you ever see any cotton exported from thence?

No, I never did; but I have picked it, and made pillows of it for my own use—it is very fine but very short in the pod.

Did you ever see any villages put into confusion, and the natives taken?

No, I never saw it.

Did you see the laudanum put into the brandy that the captain gave the man?

I saw the liquid poured out of the bottle, but whether it was laudanum or not I cannot say.

What colour was the brandy that was given to the man?

A sort of an amber-colour; the brandy of itself rather high.

Is not laudanum of a black colour?

This that I saw poured into the brandy was not black, but it was a very dark brown; I do not particularly know laudanum; but the captain ordered him to pour in laudanum, and I saw him pour the liquid out of the bottle.

What colour was the liquor when given to the man?

Very thick and muddy after it was mixed with this liquid out of the bottle.

How old was you in your first voyage in the Eagle galley?

Between nine and ten.

Do you remember sufficiently the circumstances of that voyage, to enable you to speak correctly to the number of sick Slaves on board?

No; I cannot positively speak to it.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 14^o die Maii 1790.

MR. JAMES MORLEY called in; and further examined.

Do you know of the expression of wharfingers, as applied to sailors in the West Indies, and what it means?

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Yes;

Yes; it is what they are called by the seafaring people in general, because they have ulcerated legs, and are sickly, lying about the wharfs and private places, seemingly having no place of residence; the sailors call them so; it is a sea term; they call them so where there are wharfs; but they call them beach horners, and other cant names, where there are no wharfs.

Did you know any instances of frauds being practised on the natives of Africa, in respect to articles sold to them by the European traders?

Yes; relating to themselves, but not to the Whites. I have known an instance in Old Calabar frequent; when the countrymen have been bartering with the captain, the great men belonging to the place, who could speak English, after telling the captain the quantity of goods that the countryman would wish to have for his Slave, the king or this great man has pointed out such articles to be kept back for him, and such a quantity to be paid to the countryman; such goods I have handed up myself after the barter; that instance is the only one I know.

Did you ever know instances of the European traders making the natives drunk, and then defrauding them in bargaining for Slaves, either in what regarded the quantity or quality of the goods to be paid for them?

No further than I have related of myself, of making the natives intoxicated to get them as cheap as I could; that is a fraud, I look upon it, though I have done it.

Were you careful to purchase no Slaves but such as appeared to be in good health?

Yes; always very particular in that; and so I look upon it are most captains, or any body that purchase them; they always look to that particular.

Did you ever appropriate the boy's room to the purpose of an hospital on board your ship?

No, never; we had always an hospital forward, before the men's room; that would just be bringing the sick into the body of the ship, and I think would be wrong.

What did the rice generally use to come on board in, in bags or baskets?

In baskets, made seemingly of bamboo leaves.

How

How many pounds of rice did one of those baskets contain, as near as you can recollect?

About sixteen pounds; about two gallons.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Captain THOMAS BOLTON THOMPSON, of the Royal Navy, called in; and examined.

Were you ever in Africa?

Yes.

When, on what part of the coast, and in what situation?

I was second lieutenant of the *Grampus*, in the years 1784, 1785, and the beginning of the year 1786; and commanded the *Nautilus* in the year 1787, in carrying out the Black poor, to be settled on the river Sierra Leone, where I remained from the beginning of May to the latter end of September following.

Did the soil and climate of Africa appear to you in general, in those parts which you visited, adapted for the production of articles which might be imported into this country with great advantage?

The articles of commerce which the country produced are, cotton, indigo, tobacco, sugar-canes, cam-wood for dying, gums, cardamums, and rice, as well as ivory and gold-dust; those I think were the principal.

Did the Negroes appear to you so indolent that they could not be brought to cultivate the ground, or to trade with the Europeans in the natural productions of the country, if sufficient encouragement were held out to them so to do?

No; I do not think they were so indolent as that; and if they were instructed and encouraged, I should suppose that they would turn their thoughts to cultivating those things, that they would find upon selling to Europeans advantageous to themselves.

Can you mention any fact which fell under your own notice during your stay at Sierra Leone, which contradicts the notion of their extreme indolence?

Yes; I know of one instance, which is, that several of the native, at Sierra Leone, were employed at a small expence by the

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Black people whom I carried out to assist them in building their habitations.

Did the natives of Africa appear to you inferior in point of capacity to other persons in the same uncivilized state?

No; on the contrary, they appeared to be possessed of great quickness, and a great deal of cunning.

Do the natives of Africa, in most parts that you have visited, appear a harmless inoffensive people?

Those that inhabit Sierra Leone appear to be so.

Is there any particular term commonly used on the Coast of Africa to express kidnapping or seizing of men?

I have heard that the word Panyar implies that meaning.

Is not the term Panyar commonly known on the Coast?

Yes.

Can you give any information respecting the treatment of seamen on board Slave ships?

It appears to me that they are far from being well treated on board Slave ships.

From what circumstances did you form that opinion?

From the many complaints which I received from seamen whilst I was on the coast.

Can you mention any particular instances of the sort to which you allude?

Yes; one in particular respecting a man of the name of John Bowden, who swam from the ship Fisher of Liverpool, Richard Kendal, Master, between two and three cables lengths, to the Nautilus, at a time when there were a number of sharks about the ship, to claim my protection from the ill usage he had received on board the Fisher.

Did you keep this sailor on board your ship?

Mr. Kendal, the master of the ship he swam from, requested of me, in a letter, the next day, that I would return him the man, which was my wish, but he positively refused to go, giving it as his reason, that if he returned he looked upon his life to be endangered; I therefore kept him on board the Nautilus, and entered him as one of her complement.

Did

Did he stay long on board the Nautilus, and how did he behave himself?

He continued with me in the Nautilus until she was paid off, (he was entered in July 1787, and I was paid off in December 1788,) and his general conduct was that of a diligent, willing, active seaman.

Were there any other instances of seamen swimming, or endeavouring to swim, on board your vessel, to escape from Slave ships?

Yes; one of the Brothers, of Liverpool, Joseph Clark, I think, the master, belonging to the same owners as the before-mentioned ship, the Fisher, several of whose crew jumped overboard, and swam towards the Nautilus as she was passing by under sail; two only reached the Nautilus; the rest, I believe, regained their own ship; the major part of her crew had the day before taken a boat, and come on board the Nautilus, to complain of ill usage; but I had returned them to their ship, with an officer, to inquire into and redress their complaints; this happened also in the month of July 1787.

Did you receive from seamen on board Slave ships any applications or letters complaining of ill usage, and desiring you to protect them from it, or to take them on board?

Yes; many.

Do you believe that seamen are as ill used on board such African ships as do not deal in Slaves, but in the natural productions of the country, as woods, gums, &c.?

I am inclined to think not.

On what grounds do you rest this opinion?

From an instance I had in the Iris, a ship which traded in wood, ivory, and gum, from which I had no complaints; but on the contrary, the best accounts of the good treatment of the master, and the healthiness, cleanliness, and good order of his ship.

Were any of your officers on board this ship, and did their report confirm this account?

Yes; several of them; and it was from them that I had the account.

Was this ship near you for any time?

X x

I cannot

I cannot immediately ascertain the time; but I know it was several weeks.

From what you have seen, do you think the African Slave Trade a nursery for seamen?

I should suppose the contrary, as the seamen on board Slave ships appear to be very sickly.

To what causes is this sickness chiefly to be ascribed?

From their being very much exposed to the sun, rains, and dews, in small craft.

Would a trade with Africa, for her natural productions, be attended with the same ill consequences to the health of the seamen employed in conducting it?

As I should suppose they would not be liable to so much unpleasant and hard work, I should think not.

From your experience, is the climate of Africa fatal to the lives of seamen on board ships that are lying off the coast, provided proper means are taken to keep them healthy, and provided they are not employed in such services as you have before-mentioned to be highly injurious to them?

I think a ship's company, with proper care, may be kept as healthy in Africa, at least those parts that I have been upon, as in any other tropical climate.—I speak from the crew of the Nautilus; from which only one young man lost his life during my stay in Sierra Leone, and which was occasioned by a careless neglect.

Is not a greater number of people crowded together on board a Slave ship, than can be carried with a due regard to health or comfort?

I should think so.

What was the size of your own ship, and the number of seamen you had on board?

She was about 320 tons, and she had on board her full peace complement of 100 men.

Could you have stowed 4 or 500 people in your ship, with a due regard to their health and comfort?

No; impossible.

Can you mention any fact in corroboration of this opinion?

It was as much as I could do to stow the complement of the
the

the Nautilus, with any degree of comfort or convenience to themselves; but upon my return to England, by the way of the West Indies, being ordered to take on board about 70 or 80 invalids for England, the ship was much crowded, and the company incommoded to a very great degree.

In what state, in general, were the forts on the coast of Africa, in those parts which you visited?

They appeared to me, in general, to be very much out of repair, and some in a ruinous state; that at a place called Tantomquerry particularly so, as the governor of it was twice obliged to apologize to Commodore Thompson for not saluting the king's colours, lest the concussion of firing the guns might shake down the castle: this was their state in the years 1784 and 1785.

Were not the Sierra Leone settlers landed in Africa at the most improper season of the year?

Yes; I think so; as they arrived there at the commencement of the rainy season.

When in the West Indies, have you ever seen seamen in a very wretched and destitute state?

Yes; at Barbadoes I have seen several strolling about the streets in a begging state, apparently very sickly and destitute; and I believe the major part of the seamen employed in the Slave Trade to Africa receive from sickness a great shock to their constitutions.

When in the West Indies, did you often observe the backs of the Negroes to bear indelible marks of the whip?

Yes; very often.

What particular parts of the coast of Africa did you visit in the years 1784, 1785, and 1786?

We touched at most of the forts belonging to the English from Cape Appolonia to Accra; but I was on shore only at Commenda, Cape Coast, and Tantomquerry.

What was the longest space of time you were on shore at each of those places?

I slept at Commenda one night, at Cape Coast two, but I was ashore at Tantomquerry only for a few hours.

What parts of the continent of Africa did you ever visit at any other time?

Sierra

Sierra Leone, and I have sailed along the coast of Africa from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Negro, in the latitude of sixteen degrees south, have anchored at many parts, and been ashore at several places; this is an unfrequented part of the coast, to which there is no trade.

When you speak as to the manners, dispositions, and capacities of the natives, to what part of Africa do you allude?

Principally to the inhabitants of Sierra Leone.

What are the species of gum, and what are the particular parts of Africa to which you alluded?

I believe there are several species of gum in and about Sierra Leone, but the principal is the Gum Copal.

Are not the French in the possession of that part of Africa in which the Gum Senega is produced?

I cannot speak to any certainty; but I believe they are.

Do you know whether the Gum Copal, of which you speak, is in much estimation, and what quantity of it is usually imported into this country annually?

I have always understood there was a great demand for it in this country, as the varnish of the carriages is made from it; it is held in much estimation as the best varnish, and bears a high price even on the coast; I think, if I recollect, to the value of two shillings, or two shillings and six pence a pound; but the quantity imported into this country I do not know.

Can you inform the Committee how many ships are employed, one year with another, in the importation of the productions of the soil and manufactures of Africa into this country?

No; I cannot.

Have you sufficient knowledge of the quantities of ivory, dying wood, and other productions of Africa (which you have mentioned) as are imported annually into this country, so as to be able to say whether the quantity of each so imported is supposed to be equal to the demand; or whether the quantity imported can be increased with a probable prospect of a reasonable profit to the importers?

No; I have not.

What is the space in breadth allowed on board a man of war for the hanging up of each seaman's hammock?

From

From eighteen inches to two feet, according to the room which we can spare.

Do you recollect the number of the Free Negroes which were sent out to Sierra Leone under your convoy?

I believe about 380; but I do not recollect—a great many more were embarked in the River Thames; but some of them found means to get ashore, and others died.

What was the behaviour of these Free Negroes upon their arrival at Sierra Leone, with respect to their disposition to work, and endeavours to procure a maintenance for themselves?

In general very bad; the major part of them were a worthless, lawless, vicious, drunken set of people, and it was with the utmost difficulty that I could persuade them to erect a covering for themselves from the inclemency of the weather; I had no authority or powers to compel them; a few only of them, (who possessed some industry, which they used in cultivating the land,) if they were supported and encouraged, I think had a prospect of doing well.

Was not their behaviour to Mr. Irvin (who went out with them as their director) such as induced him to take the resolution of quitting them, and not settling with them at Sierra Leone?

Mr. Irvin, before he died, published his resolution of quitting them, and gave their ill-behaviour to him as a reason for so doing; but I am inclined to think that Mr. Irvin had never any intention to settle there with them; nor did he appear to me to be a man at all calculated to establish an infant colony.

But was not their behaviour to him such as in your judgment justified his resolution of quitting them?

Certainly; and their general behaviour was such as would have justified every European who went out with them in taking the same step.

Did they shew any attention or respect to the surgeon or clergyman that went out with them?

None; on the contrary, they could not be persuaded to build the clergyman a habitation or any place of public worship, which was obliged to be performed, whilst I staid, under a large tree, frequently incommoded by rain; and at my departure the clergyman was obliged to take up his abode with the factor of Bens Island, a great distance from them up the River.

R y

Are

Are you acquainted with the previous situation of the greater part of those Negroes whom you conveyed as before mentioned?

Some of them I believe had occupations which they exercised in this country; but the generality of them were, I believe, vagrants who infested the streets of London.

Do not you apprehend that their behaviour, and the issue of that expedition, was such as might reasonably be expected from the character and previous situation of the majority of those persons?

As they were sent out without any laws to govern them, or power to keep them in any order, I certainly think so.

Are you of opinion, that from their conduct or from the issue of this adventure, any conclusions can be fairly drawn as to the probability, or otherwise, of the success of a colony which should be established on that coast by persons of different character, and under proper and well enforced regulations?

I think a colony on that part of the coast may certainly be established by persons of the latter description, and with every prospect of success, as it is a very fine fertile country, well wooded, and well watered, and the river forms a safe and commodious port for shipping.

What proportion of a man of war's crew are in their hammocks at the same time?

At sea, very few more than half, as ships are generally at watch and watch.

What is the usual height of ships of war between decks?

Ships differ very much, from five feet four or five, to five feet ten inches.

Are you acquainted with the situation in which Slaves are confined between the decks of a Guineaman?

No; not at all; I seldom or ever visited any of them, as my disgust always got the better of my curiosity.

Did you ever observe on board a man of war, such circumstances as created in you that disgust of which you have just spoken?

No; never.

Do

Do you apprehend that any kind of fair comparison can be formed between the situation in which you know seamen to be on board a man of war, and that in which you have been informed Slaves are on board a Guineaman?

Certainly not, and I should hope no person would be illiberal enough to draw one.

Do you know whether spices of any kind grow spontaneously on any of those parts of the Coast of Africa which you have visited?

The cardamum is in great plenty; I have seen some black pepper; red peppers of many species are in abundance; and I have been told that there are wild nutmegs; the island of Saint Thomas, belonging to the Portuguese, abounds in cinnamon, which grows spontaneously, but I never saw any on the continent of Africa, although I think it is equally calculated to produce it; I may also add, that wild grapes are in great plenty at Sierra Leone (although the fruit is not very palatable), and that I planted a few cuttings of vines brought from Teneriffe, which thrived very well.

Are you certain whether it was cinnamon or cassia that you saw at the island of Saint Thomas?

I am not competent to distinguish.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 15^o die Maii 1790.

CAPTAIN JOHN HILLS, of the Royal Navy, called in; and examined.

Were you ever in Africa?

I was.

In what parts, at what time, and in what situation?

At Goree, in the River Gambia, and as commander of His Majesty's

jeffy's sloop Wasp—the latter end of the year 1781, and the beginning of 1782, to the best of my recollection.

During the time of your stay at Goree, were you acquainted with any of the natives who were intelligent men, and capable of giving you information?

There was a person at a village called Dacard, named Moriel, who was a high priest, and was a very intelligent man.

During your stay, did you observe any thing concerning the mode of obtaining Slaves?

I saw them of an evening very frequently go out in war dresses, as I understood, to obtain Slaves.

Did you make any enquiry concerning the occasion of the appearance of these armed men?

Yes; and found that they were employed to get Slaves for the king of Damel, and to sell to merchants—I apprehend on his account. There were some smugglers or pirates, or whatever you please to call them, who had obtained one improperly, and brought him on board the Zephyr, with his hands tied behind him, with a view of disposing of him to me—I informed them, we were not a trading ship, and could not suffer him to remain in that state—I had him released from his confinement, and fed, and desired they would take him out of the ship again—they requested he might stay there till morning, and they would carry him over to governor Wall at Goree, who would take him—the next morning they came for him, and the man, when he got into the canoe, jumped overboard, in order to make his escape from them, which he did by diving frequently, till he gained the shore, where he was rescued by the natives of the village of Dacard, under the direction of the afore said Moriel.

Did you see this man after his release?

I saw him the same evening, as I was coming to my boat to go on board, with a knife in one hand, and a very sharp-pointed horn in the other, coming to me with a vast deal of expression in his countenance, expressing his gratitude for his release.

Did you ever see any of the natives who had been brought into the huts with a view to their being sold for Slaves?

I have seen them in the huts tied back to back, at several of their houses.

Was any particular reason given to you for the parties being sent out to get Slaves?

I was informed by one of them, that the king was very poor, not having received his usual presents, and it was done on his account.

Are there, in the villages of the country bordering on Goree, officers stationed on the part of the king to receive dues, customs, &c.?

At Dacard, where we watered and provisioned, there was a person who received the dues—they called him Captain Ganna.

Did this Ganna countenance the practice of seizing the natives for Slaves in the manner before related?

He was the very person who brought the man before described by me.

Was this represented to you to be a common mode of proceeding on his part, and was it condemned by any other person?

Moriel, who was his brother, held it in very high indignation; and there had very near been a quarrel between the two villages on that account; but Ganna was a man of bad character, and I understood this was his practice frequently.

Were both these persons subjects of the king of Damel, and in respectable situations under him?

They were both subjects of the king of Damel; both were chiefs of villages, Moriel a respectable character, the other a very bad one.

Do the natives in this part of the country generally go armed?

Always with a knife or spear of some kind, or a musket; they all carry some weapon.

What did you apprehend to be the reason of this?

I imagine they were afraid of being taken.

When you were in the river Gambia, did any incident occur, which led you to believe kidnapping was practised in that part of the country?

There did; wanting servants on board the ship, I expressed a wish to have some volunteers; a Black pilot, who was in the boat with me founding, called to two boys who were on the shore

with baskets of shallots on their heads, and asked me if they would do, in which case he would take them off, and bring them to me ; this I declined.

Was this represented by the person who made the proposal to you as being an unusual mode of proceeding?

From the ease with which he did it, I conclude it was a customary thing.

Did he make any remark on your refusing to close with his offer?

Yes ; that the merchants ships would not refuse it.

Was you on shore when you sailed up the Gambia?

I was not ; I was advised by no means to go on shore by the merchants who were there, for fear of being taken by the natives, as they owed us a grudge for some injuries they had received from the English.

Did you, while in the Gambia, see any person of distinction who mentioned his having been formerly carried off the Coast?

There was a man, who called himself the brother of a prince, that had been carried to the West Indies, either in a Liverpool or Bristol ship, I do not recollect which, who, on representing his case to the governor, had him sent to Europe.

Did you purchase a boy for your own service on that part of the coast?

Yes ; I did ; and the lieutenant purchased another ; we were both in want of servants ; they were spared as a great favour from the merchants to us.

Can you give any account of the manner in which either or both of them had been made Slaves?

The one who was my servant was taken in the night, and carried away from his father's house, where a skirmish had happened, in which his father and mother, I believe he said, were both killed, but one I perfectly well remember ; the fate of the other I know nothing of.

Did you understand from the boy, whether any other inhabitants of the village had been surprized at the same time?

Yes ; I understood there were a great many killed at the time, and some taken.

What

What opinion did you form of the capacity of the natives of Africa?

There were several of them that spoke exceeding good French and English, and I had a letter from one man in the river Gambia very well written in the French language.

Did they appear to possess the social affections in as strong a degree as the inhabitants of other countries in the same state of society?

I saw an instance of one man whose child was to be buried, who could not stand the shock; he requested to come on board, and to remain on board the *Zephyr* till the ceremony was over, during which time he shewed much grief and agitation of mind.

Did any thing fall under your notice, which led you to form any conclusion respecting the loss of seamen on board the Slave ships?

I was frequently applied to by the merchants to give them assistance of people, owing to deaths and sickness among them.

What was the loss of seamen on board your ship?

I did not lose a single man.

Is the corn in that part of Africa where you have been, commonly cultivated by the men or the women?

I never saw the women at work in the fields, but I have frequently seen the men.

Where did you see the men working?

In the neighbourhood of Dacard.

What other opportunities had you of seeing the men work?

I have seen them dress their corn in a large hole, by cutting it to pieces with sharp instruments on staves; I have also seen them at their common manufactory of cotton cloths by the help of their looms.

Did you see them cultivating the ground for raising the produce?

Yes; I did,—in the neighbourhood of Dacard.

Did you see them any where else?

No—I did not.

Do

Do you know whether the two boys who were on shore were free or Slaves, or whose property they were?

I apprehend they were free, from the mode in which the pilot addressed himself to me in regard to them.

Do you speak from conjecture?

Yes; I certainly do speak from conjecture, conveyed to me from the winking of the pilot, implying that it was an illicit thing,—a smuggled matter.

From what country did the boy come from that you purchased?

I think it was Mandingo.

By whom was the village attacked, and by what power was he taken?

I cannot exactly say, but he was brought to a place called Sicca, in the river Gambia.

Do you know who brought him?

No; I do not.

Was Ganna a Maraboo?

He was not, as I understood.

Did you enquire the condition of the person who was brought to you with his hands tied?

I was informed his brother was a great man in the village he was taken from.

Was any crime alledged against him?

I did not hear of any; I should apprehend not; because the next day he returned to his own village.

Did you make an acknowledgment to the king of Damel for the wood and water which your ship had?

We always did; there was a fixed price for every boat landing.

Of what nation were those ships that applied to you?
English.

Do you attribute the healthy state of your crew, whilst in Africa, to the climate, or to any particular medical precautions taken by you?

To medical precautions.—The bark which we were allowed,
with

with Madeira wine for that purpose was always given to them when they went on shore, and when they returned on board.

Are the natives of that part of Africa where you have been of an industrious or indolent disposition?

In the kindom of Damel they appear to be very lazy and idle; in the river Gambia I had no opportunity of landing to see their industry.

From those you did see, are you of opinion that they could be induced by any encouragement to such a course of industry as to manufacture articles of their own country produce, in such a way as to become articles of commerce?

I do not think very easily.

How long in the whole were you in Africa, from the time of your arrival till your quitting it?

Near six months.

How many men had you on board the Zephyr?

Ninety was our complement;—and we had about ninety on board on an average.

Whereabouts was the tonnage of your ship?

About 200 tons.

Supposing your ship to have had on board 300 or 400 persons, do you think similar precautions to those which you used for the preservation of the health of your crew would have been effectual to that purpose in their case?

The precautions which we used were to guard against the noxious vapours of the land;—and I conceive that to be more of a medical question than I am capable of judging.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 14^o die Maii 1790.

GEORGE BAILLIE, Esquire, called in; and examined.

Have you ever resided on the continent of North America?

I did, for twenty-five years.

3 A

In

In what part of that continent?

In South Carolina and Georgia.

In what way of life?

As a merchant for a considerable number of years; afterwards I commenced planter, and held an office as Commissary General of Georgia.

When you resided in America, did any vessels arrive with Slaves immediately from the Coast of Africa, at or near the place of your residence?

There did many vessels arrive, during my residence in America, at the places where I resided, which were Charles Town and Savannah, with cargoes of Slaves directly from the Coast of Africa.

Had you any opportunity of observing the general appearance of the crews of these ships, and so far as you had, were they healthy, or otherwise?

I had many opportunities of seeing the crews of those ships, and from the general appearance of the common seamen, they seemed to have received great injury in their health, as might be seen from their squalid countenances, and ulcerated limbs.

What was the ordinary mode of conducting the sales of the African cargoes in your time?

The common mode of conducting them was by giving public notice of the day appointed for the public sale, some days before its commencement, which generally brought together a considerable number of buyers; the Slaves were then placed in a close yard, ranged in order for sale; the gates being shut immediately before the sale commenced, a great gun was fired, and the purchasers with their adherents and assistants, rushed into the yard with great violence, and laid hold of the most healthy and good looking Slaves, which parcels they afterwards picked and culled to their mind; they were immediately purchased, and hurried out of the yard; so that in a few hours afterwards there remained none but those who were called the refuse Slaves; whose health had been injured in the voyage, generally, as I conceived, proceeding from too cramped a situation and confined air on board of the ships; those Slaves were afterwards sold at a very great under price.

For

For what number of hours in a day were the Slaves usually worked in the American plantations?

There were no fixed number of hours for their labour; they were always worked in what is called task work; the overseer upon the plantations had directions to rouse them early in the morning, and place them at their work; that work, I say, consisting of task work, was generally a quarter of an acre of land to each person, when it was in an easy state of cultivation; if otherwise, it was the overseers duty to appropriate the hardest part of the labour to the strongest people, and vice versa, to give the weaker hands a lighter work; and indeed, when the ground was uncommonly foul, it was common to lessen the piece of land considerably; it was a general practice amongst the Negroes themselves, when they found their companions could not finish their work, and they had compleated theirs, to give them aid in compleating what they could not so soon accomplish; by which means they generally were all able to leave the field at one time, and pretty early in the afternoon; at which time their labour ceased for the day.

Is it meant, that they were at liberty to use the rest of the day as they pleased?

They were at perfect liberty to dispose of the latter part of the day as they thought proper.

What other time had they for relaxation?

None other except Sunday and a few holidays at Christmas.

Was Sunday a day of entire recess from labour to the Slaves, or did they on that day cultivate provisions for their own subsistence?

Sunday was entirely at their own disposal; and they might make use of their time in any manner they thought proper.

How in general were the Slaves fed in the province before alluded to; describe the manner of feeding them, and specify the quantity of food?

Each grown person, male and female, received weekly either a peck of Indian corn, or a bushel of potatoes, or a peck of clean rice; and their children, a quantity of grain or potatoes, in proportion to their age.

What might be about the weight of a peck of Indian corn or of a bushel of potatoes respectively?

A peck

A peck of corn might be about 14lb.; a peck of rice much about the same weight, and a bushel of potatoes would weigh near 40 lb.

Besides this allowance, had the Slaves any ground which they were allowed to cultivate for themselves?

It was a general practice to allot them as much ground as they chose to cultivate for their own particular use, the product of which they had the entire disposal of themselves.

How were the Slaves in general clothed?

Each man received, at the commencement of winter, a coat, a waistcoat, a pair of breeches, and a pair of boots made of a cloth called white plains, which is manufactured at Shrewsbury; they also received a milled worsted cap, and a pair of strong shoes; in the summer it was common to give them a shirt, and a pair of trowsers, made of a linen called Osnaburg; the women were clothed much in the same manner, excepting the boots; and the children received each a long warm wrapper or gown, so as to cover them down to the heels; they had also allowed them every second year, a strong, warm, duffel blanket.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 15^o die Maii 1790.

GEORGE BAILLIE, Esquire, called in; and further examined.

Was it usual on every plantation to have a description of officers called overseers and drivers?

Yes; it was.

Will you describe the nature of their respective offices?

The overseer had a general superintendance of all matters upon the plantation; the driver being his deputy, of course acted under his direction.

What number of Negroes was commonly under the superintendence of one overseer, and one driver?

The number of Negroes generally placed under the superintendence of one overseer, and one driver, was from thirty-two to thirty-five working hands.

Have you ever seen Negroes in America with marks of violence on their persons?

I have undoubtedly seen them with marks upon their persons, but these instances were not very frequent, and when they were in the possession of an humane master seldom met with.

Was it usual for the drivers to whip the Slaves through their day's work in the field?

That was seldom or never done; because, as they worked them task work, it was impossible for an overseer to know until towards the close of the day, whether a Slave would finish his task or not; and it was always thought time enough to punish them when they deserved it from their neglect.

Have you frequently seen the Slaves in America, working with clogs on their legs, or in chains?

I have at times seen them with clogs on their legs, though these instances are very rare; but never with chains.

Was the supply of the gangs, by rearing children, much attended to in America?

Very much.

Were pregnant women exempted from the lash?

They were most certainly exempted from it; and had any man been known to whip a woman in that situation, he would hardly have ventured to shew his face in public again.

What care in general was taken of pregnant women, and of the new born infants?

Pregnant women were always exempted from labour a considerable length of time before their lying-in; child-bed linen of a coarse kind was provided for them, and sufficient care taken of them during their lying-in; and the child, when born, properly clothed and taken care of.

Were the children reared in as large a proportion as infants in other countries?

3 B

I believe

I believe upon the whole they are raised in as great a proportion as the children in Europe, when they are in healthy situations.

Was the tetanus, or locked jaw, often fatal to the infant children?

That is a disorder which I never saw or heard of amongst them in that country.

What were the principal productions of the countries you have been speaking of?

The principal productions of the countries I have been speaking of, were rice, indigo, and lumber.

Will you describe the mode of cultivating rice?

The mode of cultivating rice is, in the first instance, to drain swampy lands, and to bank them so as to prevent water from lodging upon them; when they are effectually drained, and perfectly dry, the rice land is then with a hoe formed into trenches from eighteen to twenty inches distance, in strait lines, in which trenches the rice is sowed, one bushel or five pecks to an acre; when the rice springs up it is carefully attended to, and the grass and weeds taken from it; when it arrives to the height of about three feet, and being perfectly clean, the flood-gates are opened, and water is suffered to pass upon it, which may generally be a foot in depth; it remains in that state until the rice becomes completely ripe, at which time the water is drawn from it, and after the ground becomes a little dry, the rice is cut down with a sickle, and cocked up in the field as corn in general is; after standing some little time there, it is carried into the barn yard, and formed into stacks, as corn is done in Europe.

At what part of the year is it that the rice is kept under water?

From about the 20th of June to the first week in September.

To follow the rice through the rest of its process, it is thrashed in the same manner as European grain, and after being winnowed, it is put through wooden mills that are cut into particular shapes, which take from it the rough or external coat, after which it is put into mortars, which are worked by a horse or water mill, and there pounded or beat, so as to divest it of an inner skin, and to leave it in that white state that you see it

when brought to Europe; and, upon being sifted, it is then put into casks, as fit for exportation.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

I have.

When did you go there, and to what island or islands?

I went there in October or November 1777, to the Island of Jamaica, and the Bahama Islands, having been obliged to leave the continent in consequence of the disputes that prevailed there. I first landed in Providence, and went from thence to Jamaica

How long did you stay in Jamaica?

Several months.

On your first opportunities of observing the state of the Slaves in Jamaica, and their general appearance, what were the impressions excited in your mind?

Having at that time very little to do, I went from curiosity to see various plantations, and to draw a kind of comparison between their mode of management and that of the Continent. I must confess, that I differed in opinion with several of the gentlemen who were planters, in their manner of working their Slaves, as I thought their method rather served to depress the spirits of the people, and their appearance in general was by no means favourable; I observed, that they worked with but very short intermissions throughout the whole day, from sun-rise to sun-set, I may say; and that they were constantly followed by drivers, who forced the weak to keep up with the strong, as far as possible; their labour, I say, never closing till the day ceased. I had an opportunity of being upon one estate in particular, which was under the direction of a particular friend of mine; by which means I had the privilege of looking at their books, and examining into any matter I thought proper, and to my utter surprize, I saw in their daily occurrences, that the Negroes were on a Sunday turned out as regularly as any other day in the week, to work in what was called their own grounds; but it appeared, that the products of those grounds were appropriated to the subsistence of the Negroes, and not to be applied to their own benefit or emolument, unless perhaps there might be a surplus of food; how far that surplus was applied to their benefit, I am not perfectly clear.

Was

Was there any remarkable difference in the general appearance of Field Negroes, and of the Slaves in the towns?

Yes; I think I could perceive a considerable difference; because the people of the towns were much better fed, and much better clothed, and did not undergo such hard labour; I believe that might be the reason of it.

Did you remark any difference in point of family comforts and attachments between the Field Slaves in the West Indies and in America? describe their situation in both places, in these respects.

The situation of the Slaves upon the Continent, where a man has taken to himself a wife, was generally very comfortable, as they had a house and ground to themselves, where they could raise many little necessaries; and they took great pleasure in raising their children, for whom they seemed to have the most sincere attachment. I must confess, that I did not think the Slaves in the West Indies seemed to enjoy the same degree of comfort that they did in that respect; as I apprehended it was not so much the wish of the planters of that country to increase the number of Slaves by births as it appeared to be upon the Continent.

Did you ever hear it argued in America, or the West Indies, whether it was more advantageous to recruit the gangs of Slaves by births, or by African Slaves to be worked out, and their loss supplied by fresh importations?

I do not think that, upon the Continent, any gentlemen would have suggested such a matter. I have in companies in the West Indies (I do not think they were very serious in the business neither—it is a very invidious thing) heard them say, that after giving a certain price for a Negro, if he worked a certain length of time, there would be no great loss sustained by his death with respect to property; but I believe they are too humane to wish a man to die.

Were the Slaves in America as much whipped as in the West Indies?

Excepting the circumstance of their not being driven so much through the day, I believe that the punishments on the Continent were as severe as those in the West Indies.

Were

Were the proprietors of estates in America, or in the West Indies, more generally resident on their own plantations?

The proprietors of estates upon the continent of America resided greatly upon their estates, almost entirely so; but in the West Indies, from what observation I could make, the gentlemen of considerable estates in Jamaica appeared mostly to live in Europe.

Did you observe any difference between the situation and comfort of the American and West Indian Slaves resulting from this circumstance?

It appeared to me, that where a proprietor lived upon his estates, the Slaves had a chance of meeting with better treatment by that means.

Did your own Slaves in America shew any great indisposition to moral instruction or improvement?

Very far from it; on the contrary, several of them took every step in their power to be taught to read; and on the Sundays many of them went regularly to church, which I always encouraged them to do; and on the evenings they very often assembled in a house amongst themselves, where they had a kind of regular worship.

What were the steps they took to be taught to read, alluded to in your last answer?

They, with their own money, purchased spelling books; and with the assistance of some of the other Negroes that could read, some of them came to read tolerably well.

How did the Slaves in America dispose of the produce of their own ground?

When they were any where near a town, they regularly carried it to market there; sometimes their master used to purchase it of them; or little huckstering vessels used to go through the rivers and creeks, carrying proper necessaries for the Slaves, which they used to barter for their produce, and poultry and pigs.

Were there frequent instances of their saving money enough to buy out their own freedom?

I did know several instances of that kind that occurred in the
3 C towns;

towns; but the Slaves in the country never did, or could come at so much property as to enable them to do so.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 17^o die Maii 1790.

GEORGE BAILLIE, Esquire, called in; and further examined.

Are free Negroes in America allowed to purchase and possess land?

Free Negroes in America are allowed to possess every species of personal property, but land I think they are not allowed to possess; I am not very clear, but I think not.

Did the health of the Negroes in America appear to be better in the summer or in the winter?

The Negroes during the summer enjoyed their healths much better than in the winter.

You have stated, "that on your first opportunities of observing the state of Slaves in Jamaica, their appearance in general was by no means favourable;" in what respects did their appearance strike you as unfavourable?

The field Negroes in Jamaica appeared to me to be worn down with extreme labour, and being constantly pressed upon through the day by the drivers.

Did you find that the Negroes in Jamaica suffered as much from diseases as in America?

I am of opinion that the climate of Jamaica, in every respect, was much more favourable to the constitutions of Negroes than the continent of America, and from thence they were subject to fewer disorders; I am also of opinion that many of their complaints proceeded from extreme fatigue, and that a little rest generally restored them, without any medicine being necessary.

What were the chief disorders to which the Negroes were subject in America?

The Negroes upon the continent, in the winter season, were extremely subject to pleurisies and peripneumonies, and sometimes the dysentery; in the summer they were rarely so, comparatively speaking to their complaints in winter.

Did you observe any thing remarkable concerning the number of domestics kept by persons resident in Jamaica?

The families in Jamaica generally had a very considerable number of domestic servants about them; when compared to the number generally employed in Europe, considerably more.

What opinion have you formed of the capacity and disposition of Negroes?

My opinion of their capacity is such, that I think them perfectly capable of being bred to any mechanical profession. I have known many instances, and amongst others some of my own Slaves, who almost naturally became, and without instruction, good common house carpenters and coopers.—I may mention one instance in particular of an African Negro lad whom I purchased; and he of himself without any instruction, but just seeing carpenters at work, and making use of tools at times himself, became so good a carpenter, that he could at any time, of his own accord, frame and build any kind of common house; and also build boats for the use of my plantation. I have known also many silversmiths, blacksmiths, taylor, and ship carpenters, and in short every other profession that was necessary.—A mercantile house, with whom I was particularly acquainted, were possessed of a number of Black ship carpenters and blacksmiths, who, by the superintendence of two or three White Men, built ships of 400 tons burthen, which ships, after being loaded with a cargo of rice, were sent to the River Thames, and sold for upwards of £. 3000.

Did you ever observe in Negroes any remarkable disinclination to labour?

By no means; there might be some few instances of a worthless fellow amongst them; but upon the whole they were always very willing to work.

Did Negroes appear to you to possess the social affections, in as strong a degree as the natives of other countries?

I have seen many instances of very tender and affectionate parents,

rents, and of their being possessed of every social idea; I may give an instance of one in particular, of a Slave of my own, who suddenly lost a son by being drowned; he was so much affected by it, that it was many months before he recovered his spirits in any tolerable degree.

When well treated by their masters, were they grateful and attached to them?

This I can speak to from experience, as every Slave that ever I was possessed of shewed to me a very firm and steady attachment, and were fully grateful for every favour shewn them.

Could you ever depend upon the American Negroes so much as to entrust them with arms?

During the memorable siege of Savannah, I and another gentleman were possessed of rice estates upon an Island called Hutchinson's Island, directly opposite the town of Savannah; at that time there was a considerable quantity of grain and forage upon the island; the commander in chief knowing how necessary it might be to protect that grain and forage for the use of the troops, gave directions to arm the Male Slaves upon the Island, and sent several White Men to lead them on, if found necessary; soon after that a French frigate of 34 guns came up the river, and anchored directly at the back of my estate, with an intention to batter the works of the town from thence, and landed some troops upon the Island, with the supposed intention of destroying the barns and their contents; my Slaves, amongst others, behaved with so much spirit, that they beat off the French troops; and they never attempted to land again, so far as I knew.

So far as you have had an opportunity of judging, is the cultivation of cotton and coffee much easier labour than that of sugar?

I am perfectly satisfied that the cultivation of either cotton or coffee, is in every respect much easier than that of sugar.

Did you ever know an instance in America of a Negroe's committing the act of suicide?

I have known an instance, and one in my own estate in particular, who (amongst a purchase of some others that I made) appeared to be a man of about 35 years of age, and of a very steady disposition apparently; he was brought into the field during the harvest, whilst the other Slaves were cheerfully at work in reaping, and I myself put a reaping hook into his hand, at the same time shewing

shewing him how to manage it; he soon afterwards disappeared, and was not to be heard of for several days, until at last the birds called turkey bustards were seen hovering about a thicket, and upon examination he was there found hanging to a tree; as this man had received no degree of harsh treatment, and did not see the Negroes employed at extreme hard work, I conceived that his reasons for being guilty of the act of suicide proceeded from a disposition of mind that could not brook the idea of slavery.

In the different estates in South Carolina and Georgia, which you have seen, was it usual to find a number of healthy thriving children?

Upon almost every estate it was common to see great numbers of very healthy thriving children, who very soon became useful in some shape or other, and always made the best and most valuable Slaves.

What was commonly esteemed the value of a new-born infant, in that part of America?

A child, soon after being born, was held in value equal to £. 5 sterling money of Great Britain.

Was field labour considered as degrading to free Negroes or Mulattoes in America and Jamaica?

Field labour upon the Continent of America was by no means held degrading to either the Mulatto or free Negro, nor do I think it would have been held as degrading in Jamaica.

Did free Negroes and Mulattoes work in the field in America and Jamaica?

Free Negroes and Mulattoes upon the Continent of America did most certainly work in the field for their own benefit; with respect to the other part of the question, I cannot answer positively.

Of what country are you a native?

Of Scotland.

To what business or profession were you bred?

I was bred a merchant.

In what year did you first go to North America?

In April 1756.

To what part of North America ?
South Carolina.

To what place in Carolina ?
Charles Town.

Upon your arrival there, did you immediately, or how soon afterwards, commence merchant ?

I commenced merchant from the moment of my arrival.

Did you carry on trade by yourself, or with a partner or partners ?

I carried on trade with a partner.

What was his name ?
Andrew Robertson.

To what country did you trade, and in what commodities ?

I traded to Great Britain and the West Indies ; I carried on a very considerable trade also to Mobile, and with the Creek, Cherokee, and Choctaw Indians.

What year did you first commence planter ?
In the beginning of the year 1767.

Did you continue to carry on trade after you commenced planter ?

I did for some time.

How long ?
Perhaps about 18 months.

In what part of the country did your plantation lay, and how many acres of land did it consist of ?

I was possessed of various tracts of land in the country, but I planted rice principally upon Hutchinson's Island, where I had a very valuable piece of ground, which consisted of betwixt 200 and 300 acres.

Was that land cultivated and worked by Negroes or free men ?
That land was cultivated with Negro Slaves.

What number of Slaves had you upon that plantation ?

The

The number was not always fixed, but there might be about 40 working hands.

Was the produce confined solely to rice?

It was not solely confined to rice, because the land was capable of producing any thing, and at times I planted indigo upon different parts of it, and Indian corn also.

What portion of the year were the Slaves employed in the cultivation of that land for rice?

It was common to commence the planting of rice about the 20th of March; towards the beginning of September it was fit to be reaped; after being reaped, it was carried into the barn yards; there ceased, I may say, the cultivation of the ground for the year.

How many acres were usually in culture in each year for rice?

Commonly from 120 to 130 acres of rice.

Was indigo cultivated in the same year that you did rice?

Yes; it was.

How many acres of that plant did you have in culture usually?

Perhaps forty acres; and the rest of the land employed in raising Indian corn, pease, and other fruits for the Negroes.

What was the duration of the winter in Georgia?

We commonly used to have light frosts set in about the 25th or 28th of October, which generally checked vegetation; the greatest severity of our winter seldom set in till about Christmas; and the commencement of our spring was generally about the 20th of March; the time I have mentioned when grain was sown.

What was the employment of your Negro Slaves on this plantation during these winter months?

The employment of the Negro Slaves during these winter months was to thresh out and prepare the rice for a market; and a little before the spring commenced to repair the banks of the plantation.

What was the usual employment of your Slaves in Carolina?

Whilst I lived in Charles Town as a merchant, I had no others but household Slaves, but as I was frequently in the country, I had every opportunity to become acquainted with the nature and culture of the produce.

Was the management and cultivation of your plantation upon Hutchinson's Island similar to the practice upon like plantations in South Carolina?

The management of my plantation upon Hutchinson's Island was precisely the same with those in the same situation in South Carolina.

What in general is the length of the winter in South Carolina?

The length of the winter in South Carolina is much the same as that in Georgia, there being but one degree of latitude distance from Charles Town to Savannah.

Was the provision which you usually allowed your Slaves of your own produce, or purchased by you?

The provision which I allowed my Slaves was of my own produce.

What was the average value to you in that country of a peck of Indian corn, a peck of clean rice, and a bushel of potatoes in the current money of Georgia?

A peck of Indian corn might be worth about seven pence halfpenny, a bushel of potatoes from eight pence to ten pence perhaps, and a peck of rice ten pence.

What was the current rate of exchange in Georgia, in proportion to sterling money of Great Britain?

The current rate of exchange was ten per cent. discount from the current money of Georgia, to bring it equal to sterling money in Great Britain, you give £. 110 in Georgia for a bill of exchange of £. 100 on Great Britain.

What was the current exchange in Jamaica upon Great Britain?

140 l. current money of Jamaica for 100 l. sterling.

Did you ever experience in any one year, a scarcity of all the articles of your Negro provisions, which might be ascribed to a failure in the seasons?

Prior

Prior to the unfortunate disputes in America, I never knew an instance of the least degree of scarcity; upon the commencement of those disputes, when people were driven from their possessions, and much disturbed in their planting, it certainly occasioned a considerable degree of scarcity.

Was the cloathing you usually gave your Negroes of the manufacture of North America, or of what other country?

The cloathing which we gave to our Negroes was the manufacture of Great Britain, except the shoes, which were made in America.

In what year did you settle in Georgia?

In the beginning of 1762.

Where was your principal residence there?

My principal residence was in the town of Savannah.

Was there in your time an establishment in Georgia called an Orphan House, a charitable establishment?

There was.

By whom was it founded?

By the late Mr. George Whitfield.

Did he endow it?

He obtained grants of land from the government for the purpose of erecting a house, and also grants of land for establishing a plantation; he did erect a house, I believe, from monies which he collected principally in this country, purchased Slaves, settled a plantation, and with the product of that plantation the Orphan House was supported.

You mentioned that your Slaves regularly went to church on Sundays, to what church did they go?

There were various meetings, and other places of worship, in the town, to which they went.

Do you recollect the exact time when you first went to Jamaica?

I think it was, to the best of my recollection, in December 1778.

Can you state the month and year when you left it?
About February or March 1779.

Where did you generally reside whilst there?
I could not be said to have had any fixed residence; I was principally in the town of Kingston.

Was you called to that island by any matter of business?
When I left the Continent of America, which I was obliged to do, I had some rice and indigo with me for my subsistence; that I carried with me to Jamaica to sell, and I sold it there.

Did you stay there any and what length of time after you had sold it?
I staid there some little time afterwards.

Had you leisure and opportunity of going into various parts, and how far, in the interior part of the country of Jamaica?
My curiosity led me to a good many of the different plantations, and I crossed the island for the same reason.

To what part did you go from Kingston across the island?
To Annotto Bay.

What distance might that be from Kingston?
I believe it to be about forty or fifty miles.

Did you return from thence to Kingston by the same rout that you went?
I do not know that I took the exact road upon my return.

How long was you upon that expedition from your setting out from, till your return to Kingston?
I cannot say the precise time.

Can you state the different plantations, and the names of the proprietors which you visited whilst at Jamaica?
I do not recollect the names of the whole; there was Mr. Gray's estate and Mr. Zachary Bayley's.

Were either of those gentlemen resident upon their estates?

Not at the time.

Were they in Europe ?

I am not sure but Mr. Bayley was dead at the time ; I knew Mr. Gray was in Europe particularly.

Whose plantation was that, the manager of which you said was your particular friend, and where you said you had the privilege of going where you pleased, and making your observations ?

I do not chuse to be making use of the gentleman's name in cases of this kind.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

And a motion being made, and the question being put, that the Witness be called in, and that he be directed by the Chairman to answer the question last put to him ;

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Then the Witness being again called in, the Chairman acquainted him with the said resolution.

Question repeated.

The gentleman that had the management of the estate where I was, was Mr. Hugh Polson ; he was rather attorney, I believe, than manager.

Who was the proprietor of that plantation ?
Mr. Gray.

Did you ever, in your enquiries upon other plantations, find that it was the custom in Jamaica, or at those plantations in particular, to work their Negroes on a Sunday ; and if so, to whom did those plantations belong ?

I cannot say that I am certain of its being a general practice throughout the island of working on Sunday ; but I understood that it was a good deal the case ;—I cannot name the plantations.

On Mr. Gray's estate that you have mentioned, did it appear to be their custom to work the Negroes in the cane land, or in the provision ground only on Sundays ?

On

On the provision ground only.

Had the Negroes in Jamaica any, and how much time allowed them for breakfast and dinner?

About an hour to breakfast, and nearly two hours for dinner.

How many hours in the twenty-four, in general, from December to March, was the sun above the horizon in Jamaica while you was there?

I believe it may be twelve hours and a half, as near as I can recollect.

Have the Negroes in Jamaica any portion of land allowed them for the cultivation of provisions, fruits, and other vegetables, the produce of which was entirely at their own disposal?

I did not understand that they had any other ground allotted them, but what was called in general the Negro grounds, which they planted with plantains and roots for their subsistence; and I believe if there was a surplus, after they had received their own provisions for their support, that the remainder might be appropriated to their own use.

Can you state the names of any proprietors or planters in Jamaica, from whom you ever heard that it was a prevailing wish and system among the planters, rather to keep up and increase their stock of Negroes by purchase of newly imported ones from Africa, than by births on their own estates?

I cannot say that I can fix upon any name, as these matters only passed in cursory conversation, probably at a table.

Are you sure that you ever heard a proprietor of plantations give that opinion in any conversation?

I think I may venture to say, I have heard a proprietor of an estate or planter say, in a mixture of gentlemen at a table, upon a calculation that it would be found that this might be the case.

Do you mean to say then, that you collected from the tenor of conversations, at which you were present, and where there was a mixture of planters and other persons, that the planters in general, in Jamaica, had rather keep up and increase their stock of Slaves by purchasing newly imported ones from Africa, than by the breeding of them upon their plantations?

No; I do not say that it would be general by any means.

Do

Do you, from your observation and experience of a residence of three or four months in Jamaica, think it possible that in the cultivation of a sugar plantation there could be such an intermission of the ordinary field labour upon it, as there was upon your rice plantation in Hutchinson's Island, from the month of October to March in each year?

My residence being but for a short time, I could not so well judge of these matters.

Do you think that your residence in Jamaica was long enough to afford you sufficient information, as to the general system which prevails in that island, with respect to the management and conduct of sugar estates and other plantations, and the treatment and conduct of owners and proprietors of estates in general towards their Slaves?

No; I do not think my residence was sufficiently long to give me a complete idea of the system by any means, I only speak of such things as I saw.

Do you know what number of working Negroes would be required in Jamaica to cultivate a crop of sugar of 170 or 180 acres of land annually?

I cannot say I do.

You have stated, that the largest number of working Negroes that you had upon your plantation in Hutchinson's Island (consisting of between 200 and 300 acres of land) did not exceed 40, and that the greater part, if not the whole, of that land was each year cultivated in rice, indigo, and Indian corn; which then do you apprehend to be the most laborious, the cultivation of such a plantation as your's in Hutchinson's Island, or of a sugar plantation in Jamaica, of which 170 or 180 acres were annually in culture for sugar?

I am really of opinion, that the culture of rice is as heavy labour as the culture of sugar, in a great measure, as there is a vast deal of labour necessary to be bestowed in supporting the dams, to defend it against the impression of the Water; and that altogether I conceive rice to be as laborious in cultivation as sugar.

Was the man who hanged himself upon your estate, a Creole of North America, or imported from Africa?

He was imported from Africa.

Did you never hear, that in some particular parts of Africa the natives are prone to suicide?

I have heard that the Negroes from the Ebo country (and indeed I know it in some measure) are remarkably high spirited, and do not brook slavery so well as those from several other countries,

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Martis, 18^o die Maii 1790.

GEORGE BAILLIE, Esquire, called in; and further examined.

Did you see on the various plantations you was upon, fields of corn cultivated by the gang of Negroes, as part of the labour on the estate, and which corn was for the general use of the Negroes on the plantation?

I did see corn on several plantations, and I believe it was commonly appropriated for the use of feeding horses, and perhaps Negroes also.

What sort of corn was it?

A small yellow Indian corn.

Did you see any plantain walks?

I did see some very extensive ones.

For whose use were they?

I believe them to be appropriated for the support of the Negroes in general.

You have said, "That you did not think field-labour would have been held as degrading to a Mulatto or Free Negro in Jamaica;" do you think that the Mulattoes or Free Negroes themselves would not think it degrading to work at the common labour of a plantation with the Slaves?

My meaning there was, that as it was customary on the Continent of America for Free Negroes and Mulattoes either to obtain a permission from proprietors of lands to plant upon parts of their estates, or perhaps to rent a piece of land which they planted for their own benefit; and as I can conceive that it might probably be the case in Jamaica, I do not apprehend that labour of this kind would be held degrading; at the same time it was not the practice with these people to hire themselves out to work in common amongst the field Slaves. I am clear it is not the practice on the Continent of America; but not so positive with respect to the people in Jamaica.

Do you think that you resided long enough in Jamaica, and that your opportunities of seeing the plantation Slaves there, were sufficiently frequent to enable you to perceive a very striking difference between their condition, and that of the generality of the Slaves in that part of the Continent of America with which you are acquainted?

To be sure my residence was not long; but I must confess, upon seeing the gangs of Negroes, I did not think them from their appearance so robust, or such good looking people, as they were in general on the Continent.

Do you think yourself sufficiently acquainted with the management of Negroes to assert with confidence, that the mode of employing them by task work is far more comfortable to them than that of keeping them at work throughout the day, as commonly practised in the West Indies?

I do think myself so far well acquainted with the management of Negroes as to be convinced, that the method of working them by task work is far preferable to the methods I saw adopted in the West Indies of working them constantly.

Is it your opinion that any considerable part of that superiority in appearance, which you have stated to exist in the American, over the West India Negro, may fairly be ascribed to this difference in the mode of their employment?

I really believe it may be so in some measure.

Did you ever hear that the experiment of working Negroes in the manner it is done in America, had been tried on a West India plantation?

I cannot say that ever I did.

Can

Can you speak with certainty, as to your own knowledge, that you ever saw either Free Negroes or Mullattoes working in the field in Jamaica for hire, with Negroes, or by themselves?

I cannot say that I can speak with certainty.

Did you ever hear it said by any planter, or other person in Jamaica, that it was usual for Free Negroes or Mulattoes to hire themselves out to work at field labour in the plantations?

No; I do not recollect that I ever heard it said.

Was it usual in your time, in Georgia, or South Carolina, for White Freemen to hire themselves out to till the earth, and work in the fields?

In the upper parts of the country, where the cultivation of grain or Indian corn was carried on by the plough, it was sometimes customary for White Men to hire themselves out as servants.

Do you apprehend yourself to be as good a judge of the easiest and best methods of working Negroes on a plantation in Jamaica as the planters in that island?

And the question being objected to;

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

And a motion being made, and the question being put, That the Witness be called in, and asked the said question;

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Then the Witness being again called in;

The question was repeated.

No, by no means; I would not presume to say any such thing.

Did any facts come to your observation or knowledge, whilst you was in Jamaica, to induce you to believe, that the planters in that island, as a body of men, are in general less susceptible of the dictates of humanity towards their Slaves, than the planters in Georgia or South Carolina?

And the question being objected to;

The

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

The question was repeated.

It is a very disagreeable thing to be drawing comparisons, with respect to gentlemen's opinions, or their conduct, in any manner whatsoever; I therefore would wish not to say any thing further upon that subject.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 19^o die Maii 1790.

SIR GEORGE YOUNG, captain in the Royal Navy,
called in; and examined.

Were you ever in Africa?

Yes; four voyages.

In what parts of Africa?

From Cape Blanco to Cape Lopas, which includes every English settlement, and some Dutch.

In what years?

In the years 1767 and 1768, and in the years 1771 and 1772.

What opinions did you form concerning the general modes of obtaining Slaves on the coast of Africa?

My opinion was founded upon the information of natives and settlers; which was, that the principal and greatest part were taken as prisoners of war; a second method was that of crimes, imputed or real; another by panyaring, which is what I understood to be kidnapping, but the term there is panyar; another mode I was informed they had, which was, one village that was stronger than another seizing that which was weaker, and disposing of the inhabitants to the ships.—Under those four heads were comprized all the modes that I ever could learn.

Did any thing fall within your own personal notice in proof of the opinion, that wars are sometimes made by one state on another for the purpose of procuring Slaves?

When at Annamaboe, at the house of Mr. Brew, a very great merchant there, he had two hostages, kings sons, for the purpose of payment for arms and military stores of all sorts, which he had supplied to the two kings, who were at war with each other, for the purpose of procuring Slaves, and for which the ships were then waiting in the road, six or seven at least; they were brought down prisoners on both sides to Mr. Brew, and sent on board those ships.

Did any thing fall within your observation which induced you to believe kidnapping to be frequently practised?

Two instances fell in my way; the one was a beautiful infant boy, brought along-side the ship in a canoe, for the purpose of sale; having been along-side of all the trading ships, and not able to sell it there, they brought it to the Phoenix, the ship I belonged to, and threatened to toss it overboard if no one purchased it; saying at the same time, they panyared that child, with many other people the night before, but they could not sell him, though they had sold the others.—I then purchased the infant for a quarter cask of Vidonia wine, and brought him to England, and gave him to Lord Shelburne; I do not know what is become of him now, but I believe he is alive;—that was the only instance I know, as coming under the transactions of the Blacks themselves.—The other was an instance of one of our Liverpool ships, where the captain had obtained a girl as a mistress for the time being from king Tom of Sierra Leone; and instead of returning her on shore when he went away, as is usually done, he took her away with him; and this the king complained of to me very heavily, and begged of me to apply to his brother George (meaning our king) to get her restored to him; I am sorry I cannot charge my memory with the name of the ship, nor of the captain; it was many years ago, in 1772; and this, king Tom called, buchra, or White man's panyaring.

Was the term panyaring which you mentioned generally used on the coast?

It seemed to be a word generally used all along the coast where I was, not only among the English, but the Portuguese and Dutch.

Does the sovereign or chief of a district generally derive a certain profit from the sale of such Slaves as are sold in his district?

I always

I always heard so, and I believe it to be the case in general.

Have you any reason to believe depredations were ever committed on the coast of Africa by European traders?

I have reason to believe so, having heard many instances of it; but I saw none.

Can you mention any particular circumstances in confirmation of this opinion?

Being obliged to go into the river St. Andrew for fresh water, on making a present to the king, as is usual, of a case of gin, for the privilege of watering, he obliged me to drink a dram out of every one of the bottles, to the amount of 12, for fear they should be poisoned; upon which I asked why he was so particular, and he said it was usual for traders (but he did not say whether Black or White) to make use of poison; but that he should not have obliged me to drink this, if he had known the ship had been a man of war, as he knew a man of war had no design of panyaring; the term was "no come for panyar."

Did the natives, when in the canoes, ever shew any apprehensions of approaching your ship, or any fear of coming on board?

All down that part of the coast, from the river Sherbro till we got to Appolonia, they were all equally fearful till we convinced them we were a "man war ship."

So soon as they found your ship was a man of war, did they dismiss their apprehensions?

Yes; they immediately came on board, and continued with us some time, begging pipes and tobacco, and drams, saying "man war ship always give dram:" that was their principal business; they brought off very little with them except a few fish.

What opinion did you form of the natural capacity of the Negroes, and of their temper and disposition?

Many I met with seemed to possess as strong natural sense as any set of people whatever; their temper seemed to be very good natured and civil to a degree, unless they suspected some injury was intended them; remove that, and they were as civil as any set of people could possibly be; they are, however, naturally vindictive, and it has been known they have revenged the injury done them by one White man upon the next that came; it is a kind of wild justice that they practise wherever they can; at Tatumquerry, one of their great men in-
vited

vited me to a dinner; and as he dressed himself in European clothes and spoke very good English, I asked him, in conversation, what he thought of White men in general: his answer was to this effect, "That God Almighty made White man after he had made Black man; that when he made Black man and White man, he put a great heap of gold upon table, and a great heap of bookee (by which he meant learning and knowledge), and when so done, God Almighty said, Black man, which you like—Black man very great fool come chuse gold; White man chuse bookee, and in so doing all one come, God himself."

There arose in another place a very great dispute between the Blacks and Whites, on which I asked the king the cause (for he was with me), and his answer was, "That there was muchee, too much palaver, but he could not see the reason."

Did you see any thing to induce you to believe, that the indolence of the natives is such, that they would not cultivate the soil for natural productions, provided they had no other means of obtaining European commodities?

I saw no reason why they should not, and I verily believe that they would; nay, I recollect some circumstances in which they did—A number of people from the Bullam shore came over to Sierra Leone, and offered their services to work, and that at a very low price—say three bars per month per man; and I accepted of a few; those worked very well, and if I had been so disposed, and had had time, I might have had thousands under the same description. Another instance was, whenever I stood in need of venison, or hog and wild fowl, they would promise to bring it the next day, for they must go to the bush for it (meaning to go into the wood); this they did frequently; and I always had plenty of venison, wild fowl, and fruits, all the time we were there; and that was a general practice all down the Coast.

To what natural productions have the soil and climate of Africa appeared to you best adapted?

It appeared to me, from the many places I stopped at, that it was capable of producing every thing of the East or West Indies, in equal perfection, had it equal advantages of cultivation.

Did you see or hear of the spices in Africa?

I saw two sorts of the cardamum, some black pepper, the same as in the East Indies, the bird pepper, Chili pepper, or Cayenne pepper, which is one and the same thing; I saw also a species
I of

of ginger. There is a great quantity of cinnamon at the island of Saint Thomas, several plants of which I brought to England.

What was the general state of the African forts when you were on the Coast?

Not one of them in a very good state, but many of them bad indeed; Secundee, Tantumquerry, and Winnebah, were in such a state as not to be able to fire a gun, lest the explosion should blow down the whole castle; and they apologized to us for not being able to salute us, under that description. Cape Coast castle and Annamaboe castle were under repair at the time, and the fort at Appolonia was not quite finished.

Were you ever on board of a Slave ship?

Yes; several times.

What remark did you make concerning its condition in point of cleanliness and sweetness?

They were all in a state of cleanliness—as clean indeed as their situation, with the number of men confined on board, would admit of; I attempted to go down the fore hatchway of one, but the stench was intolerable, and that deterred me; and at that time she had not more than 300 on board, and waited for 200 more; the men were all chained, which I considered as a necessary precaution, as there were not quite twenty seamen on board the ship at that time.

From what you have had an opportunity of remarking, do you conceive the African Slave Trade to be a nursery for seamen?

By no means a nursery, but rather a grave.

What was the appearance of the seamen whom you have seen on board the Slave ships?

Those I saw complained of their ill-treatment, bad feeding, and cruel usage; and wanted me to take them on board of my ship; they all of them wanted to enter; I asked some of them the reason why they were so treated; their answer was, that it was the practice of the owners and masters of the vessels to treat them so, in order to induce them to run away when they came to the West Indies, by which means they forfeited their wages; it was the custom likewise for the seamen of every ship we saw at a distance, with their boats to come on board of us; most of them quite naked; and threatening to turn pirates if we did not take

them; that they told us openly; I am persuaded, if I had given encouragement, and had had a ship of the line to have manned, I could have done it in a very short time, for they would all have left the ships; I must make another remark, that I took particular notice that I never saw a boy on board any of the Guinea ships I was on board of; in every other trade, there are always boys on board.

Did you ever know any instances of sailors escaping from their ships, and taking refuge in the woods?

Many I have heard, several I have seen, and received them on board my ship, in consequence of their being in the woods, and having no subsistence.

Did you see any timber in Africa, which you conceived might be useful for the supply of the navy?

I saw a great deal of very fine timber, useful in my opinion for ship building and house building, as well as for the purposes of furniture (likewise dying woods of great variety), some of which I brought home, and turned into furniture; and I have some specimens now; some of ebony, iron wood, and other sorts, all of them very hard; when I was at Sierra Leone, I saw a vessel belonging to Mr. Pintard, built upon the Rocks, of the woods of Sierra Leone.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

Yes; a great deal.

When, and in what parts?

I was at Barbadoes, at Antigua, St. Kitt's, Dominica, Grenada, Guadaloupe, Martinique, Porto Rico, and at length at Jamaica; the time must be from the year 1761 to 1763; but I have been since there several times in a man of war, as well as sometimes a passenger in a merchant ship; I was twice in the Phoenix at Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Kitt's, Dominica, and Jamaica, in the years 1767 and 1768.

Have you ever been used to farming, and the management of land?

Yes; in England it has been my amusement and pleasure ever since the last peace.

Did you remark any defects in the management of West India plantations?

I remarked

I remarked to the several gentlemen there, and indeed disputed with them upon the subject of the great want of the plough and spade ; and considered the hoe as an implement much more laborious, and requiring more exertion than the spade, considerably so.

Was task work ever practised in any of the islands in which you have been ?

I never saw or heard of any.

Did you remark any bad effects which might be ascribed to the proprietors of the plantations being absent, and to the estates and Slaves being under the direction of managers ?

Certainly very great ; and I am convinced the absence of the owners of the estates in the West Indies is a great means of rendering them of not near their value—I take upon me to say, at least a fifth of the whole—for the overseers or managers who had been but little time upon any of them always became rich, and frequently more so than their masters.

In what respect was the absence of the proprietors injurious, as to what regards the Slaves ?

In the first place the Slaves were made to work harder than I am sure their masters would have allowed of—their provisions were not so good—generally salt provisions—sometimes dried fish, or stinking salt meat, which their masters, I am sure, would not have allowed, for I have the honour to be acquainted with some of them : from the merchants of Kingston (Jamaica) I was informed, that it was not an uncommon practice for the overseers to buy sickly Slaves, and not at above half the price, and sometimes less, and charge them to their masters as prime and healthy Slaves ; those frequently died (a great many of them however), as it was said, in the seasoning of the climate, which I consider as a farce altogether.

Did you hear whether, as a general opinion, the system of purchasing and working out African Negroes, or that of keeping up the stock of Slaves by breeding, was deemed the most profitable plan ?

All I ever understood was, that purchasing Slaves was much the cheapest method of keeping up their numbers ; for that the mother of a bred Slave was taken from the field labour for three years, which labour was of more value than the cost of a prime Slave or new Negro.

What was the mode of working the Slaves in the field in the West Indies?

They were in gangs, and in regular rows, with hoes in their hands, and they kept regular time with their hoes in their work; the whole gang together.

Were the more weakly Negroes obliged to keep up with the more robust in this mode of working?

Certainly they were obliged to do it; for there were black fellows over them that they call drivers, with a whip called a cow skin in their hands, and I suppose if they had not they would have been punished.

Were you ever in the East Indies?

Yes; a great deal.

Did you ever see or hear of any labourers working in the field under the whip of a driver, in any other part of the world but the West Indies?

No, never—either in the East Indies or America.

Did any particular instance of the high spirit of the Negro come to your knowledge when on the Coast of Africa?

Yes; one instance, and that was at Accra; the governor there had purchased a Slave from a country where they are always known when they are taken as Slaves to put themselves to death, and in this instance was speaking to Commodore Collingwood and myself of having been cheated by the merchants who sold him this Slave, and that he was a very fine fellow, would we go and see him, for that he had mortally wounded himself in the night preceding. When the Commodore and I went to look at him, and upbraided him with his rash conduct, by the interpreter, his reply was, that no man of his country could live as a Slave, but that he was very well inclined to serve the Commodore in the man of war, but not as a Slave; he died the next night.

Did the Negro women on the Coast of Africa, so far as you had an opportunity of observing, appear a prolific race of people?

Yes, certainly so; as much so as in any part of the world that ever I was in.

Was the climate of the West Indies more unfavourable to them than that of Africa?

Certainly

Certainly not so much more favourable to them than their own.

How long were you on the Coast of Africa?

About six months each time.

What was the number of your crew?

In the ship I commanded it was one hundred.

What number did you lose in each of those voyages?

We lost two men by sickness, and a boy by accident; the two men were sickly when they went out.

From all your observations were you led to conclude, that if due attention were paid to the rearing of Negroes in the West India Islands, in all the several ways in which that attention might be exerted, the stock of Slaves might be kept up or increased, without importations from Africa?

I think it might; at first indeed the deficiencies would be felt for a few years, say for about 20 years; but after a while they would double their numbers; and I see no physical cause to prevent a black man and woman in the West Indies being equally prolific as they are in Africa.

Is the land in general cultivated by men or women in the part of Africa where you have been?

Mostly by the men; the women sometimes set fire to the grass, but that is very little; the men turn up the ground with pointed sticks, for they have no European implements there, at least none that I saw.

In which of the West India Islands did you reside for the greatest space of time?

In Jamaica.

How long might you have resided at Jamaica in the whole?

The longest time I was ever on shore at one time there was six weeks; I was stationed there in the time of the war before last.

Did you reside any considerable time on shore in any of the other British Islands that you have named?

No; not above a week or ten days at the most at any one time.

What might be the longest time together that you ever resided on a sugar plantation?

I was at Mr. Prevost's estate at Old Harbour in Jamaica for more than three weeks; and from thence went up to Mr. Thomas's at Sixteen-mile Walk, and was about three weeks there.

In the arguments which you have stated to have had with the planters respecting the superiority of the plough and spade over the hoe, did you gain any proselytes to your opinion?

No, none indeed; I had the same prejudices to encounter as with the farmers in England, that their fathers did so before them; there was not another reason given.

Have you sufficient data to form an opinion upon, whether the African Slave Trade is or is not necessary to the cultivation of the West India Islands?

If the present system is to prevail, it certainly is necessary; but if any regulation was to take place to promote the breed of the Negroes in the West India Islands, it would be totally unnecessary.

How do you know that due attention is not paid by the planters to the rearing of children?

When I was there on those estates I have mentioned, and on some others, I found no encouragement given to the Blacks to marry; that they promiscuously cohabited with each other, and that the women generally miscarried, as I was told by Mr. Prevost and Mr. Thomas, from their hard field labour and that it was a rare thing for a Negress to have a live child, who was employed in field labour: another remark I must make, that after taking the Havannah, and being associated with the Spanish planters on the Isle of Cuba, I found they made it a serious point to marry them wherever they could, and to make them Christians, and to keep them regularly together; they had them christened, and gave them little rewards and encouragements, according to the number of children they produced and reared; and the men used to boast of their being Christians, and value themselves not a little upon it, and wear a cross about their necks; that led me to remark of nothing of the kind being done in Jamaica, and I enquired all I could.

Was polygamy a prevailing custom among the Negroes in Jamaica whilst you was there?

Yes;

Yes; from every information I could learn; very promiscuous indeed.

Did Mr. Prevost and Mr. Thomas, and the other planters whom you conversed with on the subject of agriculture, appear to you to be men of so little education and information as to be able to give you no other reason for rejecting the plough, and the spade, than because their fathers had done so before them?

I do not admit of the idea of their being deficient in education, or indeed observation; their reasons with many others were, that the ground was so hard the plough could not go through it; that the Negroes knew nothing of the plough, nor had they any one to teach them; and that it had ever been the practice to make use of the hoe;—and that was the substance of their arguments in favour of it, which I think was saying nothing.

Did you ever hear from either of those gentlemen, or any other planters, that it was the system prevailing in Jamaica, rather to supply their estates with the Negroes by purchases of newly imported Africans, than by being at the trouble of breeding of children on their estates?

Yes;—from their conversation, and that of other planters, it seemed to be the universal system every where.—I do not confine myself particularly to them.

If the abolition of the Slave Trade was to take place, by what means do you apprehend that those parts of Dominica, and the other Islands in the West Indies, ceded by France to Great Britain by the peace of 1763, which are yet in woods and uncleared, can be cleared and cultivated, according to the tenor of the grants from the Crown?

I conceive that they cannot be cleared without the purchase of Negroes from some part or other; but I know nothing of the conditions of those grants.

In your judgment, will or will not the cultivation of the West India Islands with which you are acquainted to the extent of which they are capable increase the trade and navigation of Great Britain?

Certainly they will.

Is there any part of the Island of Jamaica, to your knowledge,
I or

or best information, and which is still fit for cultivation, yet in an unsettled and uncleared state?

I am informed there is a great deal uncleared.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances which you have stated to attend the seamen in the African Slave Trade, yet as long as in your opinion it may be necessary, from the defects you have supposed to exist in the present mode of keeping up the stock of Slaves in Jamaica, that the Slave Trade should be continued; can the loss of seamen, by the unfavourable circumstances of the Slave Trade, be put in competition with the increased number of seamen that must necessarily be consequent upon the increased cultivation of the Islands?

Upon my word I think not;—but at the same time I must observe, that the loss of seamen in the African Slave Trade, as now carried on, is annually greater than the increase of seamen in the West India Trade.

You have stated, “That you have been informed by the merchants of Kingston, that it was not an uncommon practice for the overseers on plantations to buy sickly Negro Slaves at half price, and to charge them to their masters as prime ones;” did you, or did you not, understand it to be the general custom, that absent proprietors of estates in Jamaica had generally some friend or other person of character to act for them as attorney or agent in the business of their estates?

Not generally; I have known one or two instances only; but I have understood it was not so generally; that goes beyond my knowledge of the matter.

Did you understand that Negroes upon a plantation were or were not generally divided in gangs or classes, according to their age and strength, and the various work upon a plantation distributed amongst them accordingly?

The observations I was able to make at Mr. Prevost’s estate at Old Harbour, led me not to discover any distinction between the weak and the strong; but they were in gangs most certainly.

You have stated as a general observation in the Privy Council report, “That you could not get the men to work for you;” did you mean to assert that only of some particular parts of the coast, or of the whole with which you are acquainted?

Only of some particular parts; it was not meant to be given there as general.

It

It appears that you have also stated in the Privy Council Report; "That the field labours are usually performed by women," to what part of the coast is that assertion meant to refer?

To no part whatever; for I never saw the women do any thing but carry the corn home, and set fire to the stubble of the last year.

Is it, or is it not, your opinion, that if the Slave Trade were abolished, other branches of Trade might be cultivated less destructive to the seamen, and in which such a number might be employed as would more than counterbalance those numbers which the increase of the West India produce may reasonably be expected to employ?

My opinion of that is, that by shewing the natives how to cultivate the land, it would call for the labour of ten times the number that are now transported to the West Indies as Slaves, and require a greater number of shipping and seamen in the commerce for the natural productions of that country, without any greater inconvenience in point of health to the seamen than in the present West India trade.

If the Slave Trade were to be abolished, and every proper regulation adopted, to encourage the breeding of Negroes in the West Indies, do you or do you not apprehend that the stock of Negroes at present there would gradually increase, so as to be adequate to the clearing and cultivation of all the islands to the full extent of which they are capable?

Yes; I believe they would.

What are those proper regulations that are still wanting?

I only can conceive that the women there on the spot should be married; that the man and woman should have a little hut to themselves; the woman should be taken wholly from the field labour, and only put to such labour as she is capable of, as a woman bearing children: the man should be allowed one day in a week to work for himself and family; a reward should be given to the woman who had the greatest number of children, and who should rear them. Under these regulations, I conceive, in the course of twenty years, their present numbers may be doubled, and the trade in Slaves from Africa totally unnecessary.

How many additional Negroes do you imagine are now wanted

to clear and cultivate all the land at present uncleared and uncultivated in Jamaica, and the other British islands?

I am not competent to judge of that.

Do you know the specific number of Negroes in each of the British islands?

No; I do not.

Do you know the specific quantity of lands that are now uncleared and uncultivated?

No, I do not: I have not been in the West Indies since 1772; and I should suppose a great deal had been cleared since; but I cannot speak to that.

Upon what principles of calculation then do you fix the period of twenty years for the purpose you have mentioned?

From the circumstance of the Americans doubling their numbers in less than twenty years.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

That the Examination of Isaac Parker, the Reverend John Newton, Mr. Morley, Captain Thompson, Captain Hills, Mr. Baillie, and Sir George Young, be reported to the House.

N° 3.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 21st MAY 1790.

Witnesses Examined,

ISAAC PARKER,
The Rev. JOHN NEWTON,
Mr. MORLEY,
Captain THOMPSON,
Captain HILLS,
Mr. BAILLIE,
Sir GEORGE YOUNG.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Lunæ, 7^o die Junii 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to take
the Examination of Witnesses on the Slave Trade.

Martis, 18^o die Maii 1790.

ANTHONY PANTALEO HOW, Esquire, called in;
and examined.

Were you ever in Africa?
Yes.

When; in what situation; and to what parts?

I was there in 1785 and 1786, in the *Grampus* man of war, on the Coast of Guinea (from Goree as far as Saint Thomas, chiefly on the Gold Coast), employed by Government in the capacity of a botanist.

Did any thing come within your notice which led you to form any opinions respecting the mode of obtaining Slaves on any part of the Gold Coast?

When I was at Secundee, an order came from Cape Coast Castle, but for what purpose I cannot tell; however, the same
3 L afternoon,

afternoon, between 4 and 5 o'clock, several parties went out armed, and returned the same night with a quantity of Slaves, which were put in the repository belonging to the factory. The following morning I saw several women and men coming to see their friends who were imprisoned, and requested of Mr. Marsh, the resident at Secundee, to release some of their children and relations; some were released, and a part of them sent off to Cape Coast Castle—but on what terms they were released I cannot say.

Had you any reason to believe they were any of them obtained by unfair means?

Yes; as they came at such an unreasonable time of the night, and seeing their parents and friends crying, and petitioning Mr. Marsh for their release, I had every reason to suppose that they were obtained by unfair means; and I have been told as much from Mr. Marsh, who said, he did not mind how they got them, for he purchased them fairly from the inhabitants.

Had you reason to believe this practice had subsisted before?

No; I cannot tell; when I have gone into the woods I have met some inhabitants, 30 or 40 in number, who fled always from me at my appearance although they were armed; and, upon asking Mr. Marsh's man the reason of it, he told me that they were afraid of my taking them as prisoners.

Can you inform the Committee, how the parents and relations of the captives before spoken of, knew where they should find them, in order to come and endeavour to effect their release?

No; I cannot tell positively.

Did any thing fall within your notice, when on the Gold Coast, which led you to conclude that the Slave Trade obstructs the industry and civilization of the natives of Africa?

Yes; I have been almost upon every settlement that belonged to the English on that coast, and I found the culture always in a higher degree where there was but little of the Slave Trade, and just the reverse when the Slave Trade was carried on more at large.

Did you ever go into the interior country of the Gold Coast?

Yes; I have been about five days journey inland at Secundee, about 50 miles; and about 15 or 16 miles at Appolonia, accompanied by Lieutenant Williams of the Grampus.

What

What did you remark as to the state of cultivation and industry of the natives inland, compared with what they were on the coast?

I found the inland every where well cultivated, whereas it is hardly any where cultivated on the sea shore.

On what parts of the sea shore is there most cultivation?

At Winnebah and Accra, as likewise at Goree; there are very beautiful cotton and indigo plantations at Goree.

In those parts of the interior country, which you said you found well cultivated, were there many European commodities to be met with?

No; I did not see any.

In particular, can you positively say that European spirits could not be had?

Yes; I can positively say they could not, for I wished very often to have some myself, and I could not get any, which convinced me that there were not any.

What were the temper and disposition of the inhabitants in the interior country before spoken of?

By what I have seen of them they were remarkably industrious, and on the lake of Appolonia they have built a whole village, consisting of several hundred houses, supported by poles, where they settled for the sake of the fine ground and palm wine, palm trees growing in that neighbourhood, and from thence they supply in the rainy season the inhabitants of the sea coast with different vegetables and grain, palm wine, &c.

Were they hospitable and obliging, or the contrary?

They were hospitable and obliging both to me and to my canoe people, which were blacks.

What opinion did you form of the understandings of the Negroes?

They had but little capacity in regard to manufactures; but were quick in learning languages.

On what grounds did you think they had little capacity in regard to manufactures?

They had none amongst them of any kind, except at Goree, where they begin to weave cloth, and have almost abolished the Slave Trade; I mean in the part now belonging to the French.

Did

Did any thing fall within your notice on any part of the coast, which led you to conclude that depredations are sometimes committed on the natives by the European traders?

Yes; on our being abreast of Cape La Hou, several canoes came alongside of the *Grampus*, and desired that the colours might be hoisted; finding that it was an English man of war, they then made not the least hesitation to come on board. Commodore Thompson enquiring the reason, was told by them, in my presence, and that of the whole ship's company, that an English Guinea trader had taken up, a fortnight previous to our arrival, six canoes with men, which came to trade with provisions. The following day, about ten leagues from this very place, several canoes approached us, but finding it was a man of war, they immediately retreated, for which we could not account; however, on our coming to Appolonia, I and Commodore Thompson (then Captain Thompson) were told by Mr. Buchanan, the resident at that place, that a Guinea-man was taken hold of in that latitude, the captain of the vessel brought on shore, tied to a tree, and flogged severely for four days, in revenge for the depredation the captain of a former vessel was guilty of, which belonged, as I understood from Mr. Buchanan, to a notorious kidnapper of the name of Griffiths. This at once accounted for the inhabitants flying from us on finding us a man of war, thinking that we were acquainted with their revenge on that captain, and were therefore afraid that we might take our revenge on them.

Did you, whilst at Secundee or Appolonia, see any children among the captives that had been brought in?

Yes, I did; there were four of them sent in the same canoe with me to Cape Coast Castle, accompanied by Messieurs Marsh and Roberts, residents at that coast.

Did you observe any thing concerning the treatment of the Slaves that were kept in the factories?

They were chained day and night, and drove down to the seaside twice a day to be washed.

Did you see the stores of the factory, and did any thing particularly attract your notice?

Yes, I did; they were shewn me by Mr. Marsh, who made no scruple of shewing them to me; they consisted of different kinds of chains made of iron, as likewise an instrument made of wood, about five inches long, and an inch in diameter, or less, which I

was told by Mr. Marsh was thrust into a man's mouth horizontally, and tied behind to prevent him from crying out, when transported at night along the country.

Have they any domestic Slaves in that part of the country?

I have observed none in the inland country, for they behaved very mildly to their attendants; however, on the sea-side there was a great difference.

Do you mean, that you understood from the natives they had no Slaves, or only that there were no persons you could distinguish to be such by their being ill treated?

I concluded only from their mild behaviour to their servants that they had none, but I cannot tell whether they had or had not.

Did you learn any thing concerning the way in which such Slaves are disposed of at the factories on the Gold Coast as were refused by the European traders?

They were purchased for a trivial value, I mean of liquor, &c. and kept in the factory for mean employments.

Can you give any information respecting the natural productions of Africa?

Yes; they consist of various articles, as follows; cotton in abundance every where, of which I have got specimens, indigo likewise, wild, dye roots of various kinds, a root called fooden; this root dyes scarlet, and the stalks of it dye a beautiful yellow; several woods, with which the inhabitants dye their trinkets or fetichs, (a sort of sacred trinket they have;) yams are cultivated and sweet potatoes, rice at Appolonia, millet of several sorts, and pulse likewise of various sorts, oranges at Appolonia, both sweet, and some tending to acidity, but not the Seville orange of Portugal, limes, bananas, plantains, cocoa nuts, palm trees, from which they tap the palm wine, and from the fruits of which they extract the oil, which bears an immense price, both at Winnebah and Accra, black pepper, three species of grains of paradise, drawings of which Sir Joseph Banks has got in his possession, cinnamon of two sorts on the island of St. Thomas, the one is not inferior to that imported from the East Indies, and was sold in England for a higher price, on account of being fresh, the second is coarse, and seemed to be only a specie of the Malabar cassia, cabinet wood in plenty, as likewise timber trees, especially one, a species of the ticktonia grandis, which is con-

sidered in India as the most eligible timber for ship building, the property of which is, that neither the worm touches it, nor is the iron corroded by it, for you find in all timbers the iron corrodes easily, but in this it does not corrode for a length of time; I have seen iron which had been for 20 years in a vessel, which was as found as if just put in.

Is the timber tree you have just mentioned in any considerable quantity?

Yes, it is; at Appolonia and Secundee in plenty, as likewise in every place where I have been; but being but a very short time at any other place but Secundee and Appolonia, I had not time to examine the woods.

Did you bring away any specimens of the several articles you have mentioned?

Yes, I did.

Have they any cardamums?

Yes, they have; I have seen them at Dixcove in pretty large quantities; but I was not far up the country in that place: I have not seen them any where else.

Is *assa foetida* the produce of that country?

Yes; I have some specimens of the stalks now in my possession.

You have mentioned indigo; is the African indigo of a fine quality?

Yes, it is; I have likewise some specimens of it.

From your botanical experience, and from what you saw of the natural products of the soil of Africa, is it your opinion that the species in general, and also all other tropical productions, might be cultivated with success in that part of the world?

I have not the least doubt of it; for the soil and the produce of the country, beginning from Goree to St. Thomas, varies but little, as likewise the climate and the periodical seasons are the same.

Are the soil and climate adapted for the produce of sandal-wood?

There are many parts in Africa where the soil is the same as that where I have found the real sandal-wood, in the province of Guzzerat in the East Indies.

Were

Were the instances frequent of the natives shewing an unwillingness to come on board your ship, until they found she was a man of war?

They were unwilling to come on board, till they saw that we were a man of war.

Did you see any indigo manufactured in Africa?

I have seen manufactured indigo, but not indigo manufacturing.

Where did you see it?

At Appolonia.

Did you see any quantity manufactured?

Yes, I did—as likewise in a raw state.

Is there any quantity of it exported manufactured?

Not that I know of.

Have you seen a great abundance of cotton growing?

Yes, I have.

Do you know whether any great quantity has been exported?

I do not know that there is any exported.

Can you say that the manufactured indigo which you saw was manufactured in the country?

As I did not see it myself manufacturing, I took it for granted, from what I had heard from the inhabitants of Appolonia, who gave the indigo to me.

At what season of the year was you upon the coast?

Shortly after the rains, when the indigo began to decay; it was in November, December, and January.

Does the surf run high upon the coast at that time of the year?

At some places; at Appolonia and Winnebah.

Is it easy then to land heavy goods?

A ton or two; and that is only performed by the inhabitants in canoes built for that purpose.

Are the canoes often overset?

At Appolonia pretty frequently, but seldom any thing lost in the surf.

To

To whom was the cinnamon sold that you speak of?
It was sold at Portsmouth.

What quantity of it was there?
A small bundle.

What weight?
That I cannot remember; but I suppose about four pounds.

What size were the cinnamon plants that you speak of at the Island of Saint Thomas?

They grow inland to a higher size, from what I heard from the inhabitants; but those at the sea-side were about 20 feet high, and I consider them only as shrubs.

Do they grow in any quantity?
By the appearance of the bark which was brought down to sell, I conclude that there must be a great quantity in the inland.

Did you see any number of them?
Yes; I saw a quantity of them.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 21^o die Maii 1790.

ANTHONY PANTALEO HOW, Esquire, called in; and further examined.

What is the difference between the cinnamon tree and the cassia tree?

They are quite of different genera; the one belongs to the class laurus, the other the cassia; of those two trees the genera are not quite established.

What is the difference between the leaves of the two plants?
Of the laurus the leaf is oblong, nerved, and shining, simple; of the cassia the leaves are bipennate.

Is the leaf of the cassia equally broad with the leaf of the laurus?
No; it is quite a different leaf from the laurus; it is not unlike the Mimosa or sensitive plant.

Will you, as a botanist, say, that the cinnamon tree grows at St. Thomas?

Whether it is the same cinnamon which grows on the coast of India I cannot positively determine; but the bark, leaves, and the whole structure of the tree is the same as those brought from the East Indies to Kew Gardens; the cassia is not unlike that which I have seen in the East Indies.

Have you seen the cinnamon tree growing in the East Indies?

Yes, I have, at private gardens, both at Bombay and Cambay, brought by merchants as presents from Ceylon.

Did you ever see it at Ceylon?

No; I have not been there.

How is the soil on the Gold Coast near the sea?

Within the reach of the surf it is every where sandy; the Gorée islands are likewise sandy; but all the rest of the settlements where I have been at, the ground consists of a heavy loam or clay.

What does it produce, as far as eight or ten miles inland from the sea?

Various woods which are used in dyes; and several of them are exported; but for what purpose I cannot positively tell.

Is that country stony or rocky?

About Appolonia it is rocky, as likewise at Winnebah and Accra; but the rest of the country where I have been in is every where fertile.

Do you apprehend that the want of fertility about Appolonia is owing to the rockiness of the country, or to their carrying on the Slave Trade?

It is naturally rocky within three miles of the coast; but the inland about ten or twelve miles from the sea-side are very well cultivated, both with rice, yams, sweet potatoes, indigo, and cotton.

Is the country there that produces these articles naturally fertile?

Yes; it is both fertile and water in plenty.

When you said you went up fifty miles in the country from Secundee, what sort of a road was there?

Within five miles of the coast the country is mountainous and uncultivated, therefore the roads are very bad.

Are there any roads at all?

In parts, about five feet broad; but where the country is cultivated, the roads are at some parts from fifteen to twenty feet broad; I mean cut through the woods.

In what manner is the produce of the country brought down to the sea?

I understood from Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Marsh it was brought down in the rainy season in canoes; I was not there at that season.

Are there any navigable rivers on the Gold Coast?

None that I know of; there is one at Accra, but not navigable except for small boats and canoes; there are two lakes, one at Secundee, and one at Appolonia; the last runs inland about twenty miles, but as to the other, it is not known to any European.

On the Gold Coast, have the natives any other method of bringing down the produce of the country, than on their heads?

I have seen them bring their produce as far as the lake extends at Appolonia every morning, in small canoes, rowed by a single woman; but never saw them carry any thing in a basket.

How were articles of produce brought down to Cape Coast Castle from the inland country?

I cannot tell.

You mentioned a notorious kidnapper of the name of Griffiths; who was that man?

He was a trader on that coast.

On what part of the coast?

Between Cape La Hou and Appolonia.

Was he a Black man or a White man?

A White.

Of what country?

I understood from Captain Thompson, who offered me a reward of £. 100 if I could catch him, that he was a native of England.

What was his situation at Cape La Hou?

A Slave Trader.

Do

Do you know any thing of him of your own knowledge?
No; I do not.

What nations trade chiefly at La Hou?
The English.

You mentioned a captain who was taken and flogged for four days by the natives; what was the name of that captain, and the name of the ship he belonged to?

His name, and the ship, I do not know; but what I understood from Mr. Buchanan (who told it likewise to Captain Thompson) was, that he was an English Slave Trader, and belonged to Liverpool.

Do you know the circumstance from your own knowledge?
No; I do not.

Of what country are you a native?
I am a Polander.

When did you last leave Africa?
The 15th of February 1786.

Where have you resided since?
I went with Captain Thompson in the Nautilus, commissioned by this government upon a private expedition.—On my return to England, and after a stay of several months in London, I was commissioned again by this government to go to the inland countries of the East Indies.—I returned from thence the 19th of August last, and have been in England ever since.

On what parts of the Gold Coast is the Slave Trade mostly carried on?

In the neighbourhood of Cape La Hou, Secundee, Commenda, and Annamaboe.

How came you to the knowledge of the village on the lake of Appolonia, and that it had been built and settled for the purposes you have mentioned?

I went there myself by the order of Commodore Thompson to ascertain the fact, whether the neighbourhood of that lake is so fertile, and abounds with palm wine trees, as he had been told by the factor resident at Appolonia.—It was built by the inhabitants, as I was told by the chief of the village, whom I conversed with by an interpreter.

Did

Did you never hear that that village was built by the late king Anni Mon-er, for protection and security against the people of Axim, and Cape Three Points, with whom he was at war?

Yes, I have; Captain Thompson informed me, that he was told so by a late resident of that settlement in his first voyage to Africa in the Hyæna; but in the second voyage he made particular inquiries at the fort, and was told by Mr. Buchanan, that it was built on account of the fertility of the country; therefore I was sent there by him to examine the produce—and I found it as Mr. Buchanan had told him.

Do you know whether indigo is or is not manufactured in Africa?

I have got a quantity of it given to me by the chief of that village, who told me it was manufactured there; but I have never seen it manufacturing myself.

Do you know whether indigo in its manufactured state is or is not imported into that country as an article of trade?

I never understood so.

Do the Portuguese set any value upon the cinnamon which you say is produced at the island of Saint Thomas?

I never purchased it from the Portuguese, but from the inhabitants, the Blacks, by giving them a few old cloaths and some trinkets.

Does not the island of Saint Thomas belong to the Portuguese?

I understand so.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 20^o die Maii 1790.

MR. NINIAN JEFFERYS, Master in the Royal Navy, superintending ships in ordinary at Portsmouth, called in; and examined.

Have you ever been in the West Indies, and when?

I was at Jamaica in 1773, Tobago in 1774, Jamaica in 1775, Grenada in 1776, Tortola in 1779, Barbadoes and Saint Lucia (in

(in the Navy) in 1782, Antigua and Saint Christopher's in 1783, and at Jamaica for a few days in January 1784.

When you was at those islands, what opportunities had you of making observations on the situation of the Slaves?

In Jamaica in 1773, in Tobago in 1774, and at Jamaica in 1775, I had several opportunities (those were my first three voyages), being employed as second mate in landing goods and taking off sugars from the different estates of those islands, chiefly at Tobago.

Have you ever seen Field Negroes at work in the island of Tobago?

Yes; frequently.

Will you describe the manner in which they worked, as far as fell under your observation?

I did not particularly attend to the mode of cultivating the land, but I observed the Negroes at work in the field, with one or two White men looking after them, and a Black man or two, called a driver, keeping the whip constantly cracking over their heads while at work, and sometimes lashing them with it; which I thought a very oppressive situation; sometimes a White man whipping them.

Had you opportunities of observing great numbers of the Plantation Slaves during your different visits to the Island of Jamaica?

I have had frequent opportunities.

Have you seen marks of severe whipping on the bodies of many of those Negroes?

The greater part of what I ever saw had marks of that kind, particularly on the back.

Did you take so much notice of those marks, or scars, as to be able to say, whether they must have been the effect of severer punishments than you ever saw inflicted on board a man of war?

Yes; I can draw no comparison of that—for the punishments on board a man of war are not in the least to be compared with them.

What is your reason for so thinking?

From what I have seen of the marks that have been left on
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their bodies—that there are wheals upon their backs that no time can erase.—I never saw any thing of the kind at a man of war's gangway.

Have you ever seen Slaves bearing any other marks of severity or cruelty?

Yes; I have seen them with their ears cut off, and understood at the time it was done by, or by the order of their masters; I never saw it done; I have also seen men with one of their hands cut off, and have understood it was for lifting it against, or striking a White man.

Have you ever seen any Negro or Negroes sick, or past their labour, apparently neglected and destitute of nourishment or support?

Yes; I have more than once seen them at an out-house or watch-house, some distance from the Negro towns, in a very miserable situation; I wanted some refreshment myself, but was not able to get any thing more than a little water to drink, and that was brackish. I speak in this particular instance as to Tobago.

Have you ever seen Negroes who appeared to be past their labour in a diseased condition lying about in the streets and roads in Jamaica?

Yes, frequently; and in the vicinity of Kingston.

Have you ever observed any, and what difference between the domestic and plantation Slaves in the islands of which you have been speaking?

Yes, a very great difference; I have considered the former as a nuisance from their numbers; the domestic Slaves are generally over-well fed, and in consequence saucy and impertinent; the plantation Slaves are a poor depressed part of the human species.

Have you ever seen women with sucking infants working with the rest of the field gang?

Yes; frequently.

Do you know any thing of the manner in which the field Negroes are lodged?

What I have seen is, they are lodged in little huts with clayed walls, and the roof covered with cane trash.

Have

Have you ever observed bedding of any, and what kinds in these huts?

I do not recollect to have seen any.

Did the Black tradesmen, fishermen, boatmen, free Negroes, and Mulattoes, seem in general in a better or worse condition than the plantation Negroes?

In a much better.

From what you saw of the plantation Slaves, did it appear to you that any fair comparison could be formed between their situation and that of the labouring poor of this country?

No comparison between a set of free men in a land of liberty and protection, and a set of people who were treated in many respects like cattle.

Have you ever seen Slaves branded with the owner's marks?

I have seen Slaves branded; which I believed to be the initials of the owner's name, or that of the estate.

Have you ever heard the picking of grass spoken of in Tobago, or any of the other islands in which you have been, and how did you understand it was regarded?

In common conversation I have ever understood it to be oppressive, for this reason, that it encroached on the hours of rest.

What have you understood to be the most common cause for which Negroes desert from the plantations to which they belong?

Ill treatment.

Do you know what punishment is inflicted on such Negroes when retaken?

I have seen Negroes at work with logs of wood fastened to their legs; I have seen them in the stocks, and I have also seen them with an iron collar about their necks, with two perpendicular hooks, one on each side, which projected out from the upper part of the head, and I have ever understood those punishments were inflicted on them for having run away.

Can you speak as to the weight of such collars or logs?

No; but I should suppose the collars, to the best of my recollection, an inch in circumference; I cannot speak to the weight of the logs;

logs; perhaps ten or fifteen pounds; but that must depend on the kind of wood.

Have you ever heard any conversations respecting what were deemed the most desirable qualifications of the manager or overseer of a plantation?

Yes; I always understood that he was considered the best manager who could send home the greatest quantity of sugar; and I have heard it mentioned, time after time, that such people must be good managers for having sent home more sugars than the estate formerly had done.

Have you ever been present at such conversations, when managers and overseers have themselves formed a part of the company?

Yes; I have been present when White persons from the estates have been present; whether they were positively the managers, I do not immediately recollect.

What opinion have you formed, from your observations of the Negroes, as to their feelings and capacities?

As to their feelings, I always considered them as good mothers; as to their capacities, I never seriously considered that, being a young man when among them.

Have you known any instance or instances of high spirit and greatness of mind among the Negroes?

Yes; astonishingly so. I was present at the execution of seven in Tobago, in the year 1774, whose right arms were chopped off; they were then dragged to seven stakes, and a fire, consisting of trash and dry wood, was lighted about them; they were there burnt to death; I do not remember hearing one of them murmur, complain, cry, or do any thing that indicated fear: one of them, named Chubb, in particular, was taken in the woods that morning, was tried about noon with the rest, and was thus executed with the rest in the evening. I stood close by the aforesaid Chubb when his arm was cut off; he stretched his arm out, and laid it upon the block, pulled up the sleeve of his shirt with more coolness than I myself should have done if I had been to be let blood; he afterwards would not suffer himself to be dragged to the stake, as the others had been, but got upon his feet, and walked to it; as he was going to the stake, he turned about, and addressed himself to me, who was standing within two or three yards of him, and said, "Buchra, you see me now,
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" but

"but to-morrow I shall be like that," kicking up the dust with his foot (so help me God—that is not what he said, but what I now say); the impression this made upon my mind no time can ever erase; Sampson, who made the eighth, and a Negro whose name I do not recollect, was present at this execution. Sampson next morning was hung in chains alive, and there he hung till he was dead, which, to the best of my recollection, was seven days; the other Negro was sentenced to be sent to the Mines in South America, and I believe was sent accordingly; neither of those two, during the time of the execution, shewed any marks of concern or dismay that I could observe; a stronger instance of human fortitude I never saw.

Have you known any instance of newly-imported African Negroes being disordered in their minds?

Yes; I knew one particular instance: Being at Jamaica in January 1784, my brother, who then resided at Kingston, purchased a new Negro Girl; he had no sooner brought her to his house, where I then was, than his wife and I perceived she was insane; I afterwards returned with him to the vendue master, with whom my brother remonstrated, and desired to have his money returned; but he was informed that could not be.

Was your brother able to prevail on the importers of that Slave to take her back?

No.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

He was asked,

Do you know that your brother had any conversation respecting this woman, with the mate of the vessel in which she was imported from Africa?

Yes.

Did your brother inform you that he had any such conversation?

And the question being objected to;

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

And a motion being made, and the question being put,
That the Witness be called in, and asked the said
question ;

It passed in the negative.

And the Witness being again called in ;

He was asked,

Did you hear the conversation between your brother and the mate
of the vessel ?

I was present in the room, and heard them conversing ; and my
brother informed me of the substance of the conversation.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

And a motion being made, and the question being put,
That the Witness be not permitted to give evidence of
that conversation, he not having heard it ;

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Then the Witness being again called in ;

He was asked,

Did you observe, when in the Islands of which you have spoken,
any apparent difference between the number of children among
the domestic and Free Negroes, and among the Plantation
Slaves ?

Yes ; I always observed a much greater number of children
among the domestic and Free Negroes, in proportion, than among
the Field Negroes.

Do you know any thing, and what, of the condition of seamen
who come on shore from the Guinea ships in the West Indies ?

Yes ; I have seen numbers of them in a very distressed situation
in and about Kingston.

What do you mean by a distressed situation ?

Ulcerated, and apparently in want ; and lying about on the
wharfs ; they are known by the name of wharfingers ; nay, I have
even seen them in a dying situation.

Is

Is it usual for king's ships to take such seamen on board?
I believe not, especially in time of peace.

Why will they not do it?

From a regard to their ship's company, that they should not bring any contagious distemper into the ship.

Are you of opinion that such seamen as you have been speaking of were able to do the duty of a merchantman?

I am of opinion they were not.

How do you know that these seamen came out of Guinea ships?

I have known it from themselves; from their own information to me.

Did you ever see instances of seamen discharged from other trades lying about in a similar situation?

No; I never did.

From your knowledge of these and similar circumstances, are you of opinion that the Slave Trade is a nursery for seamen?

I am of opinion that it is not by any means.

From your experience of the West India Trade, do you or do you not think that that is a nursery for seamen?

Yes, in some measure, but not so much as other trades I have been in.

Do you think that the West India Trade is in any degree so destructive to the lives and health of the seamen employed in it as the Slave Trade?

No; by no means.

What situation are you in now?

A master in the navy.

How long have you been in your present situation?

Ten years and upwards.

How long was you in Jamaica in 1773?

About four months.

Of what age was you at that time ?

About 19.

Where did you reside when you was in Jamaica ?

On board the ship I then belonged to.

On how many plantations were you, and how long a time did you continue upon them ?

On three or four ; I resided not above a day and a night at a time.

How long were you in Tobago in 1774 ?

To the best of my recollection, about four months.

Where did you reside then chiefly ?

My chief residence was on board the ship I then belonged to, but I resided some time at a friend's house in the country.

Was that on a Sugar plantation ?

No.

How long were you in Jamaica in 1775 ?

About four months, to the best of my recollection.

Where did you reside ?

My chief residence was on board the ship I belonged to, and sometimes ashore at Kingston, for a day or two together.

What situation were you in at that time ?

Second mate.

Did your ship load at Kingston ?

Yes.

Were you in that year on many plantations ; and for how long at any one time ?

I was not on above two or three at that time ; and I never resided there above a night or two at a time.

Were they sugar plantations on which you resided ?

Yes.

Did not you receive the sugars at the water-side, to be put on board the ship ;

Yes ; they were brought down in wains.

Does

Does what you have said respecting the mode of working the Negroes relate to Tobago only, or to the other Islands?

To Tobago only.

Do you mean to say, that the greater part of the plantation Negroes that you saw in Tobago were marked with the whip?

Yes.

On how many plantations were you on the Island of Tobago?

I travelled through a great part of the Island; there I made my observations; I never continued but two or three nights on one estate, besides that house of my friend's, which was not a sugar estate.

For the commission of what crime was the punishment inflicted on the Negro, of having his hand cut off?

I was informed that it was for striking a White person; I did not see it; I can only speak from information.

Was it inflicted by the laws of the Island, or by the will of the owner?

I did not know; but I believe by the laws of the Island.

You have stated, "That you reckoned the domestic Slaves a nuisance from their number, and that they were so well fed as to be saucy, and that the Field Slaves were depressed;" which do you apprehend to be more useful to the owner, the domestic Slaves, or the Field Slaves on the plantation?

The Field Slaves.

Can you then account for the planters keeping Slaves to be a nuisance from their numbers, and feeding them to that excess, and treating their Field Slaves in a different manner, when the latter are so much more advantageous to their owners?

I cannot account for it.

When you stated the conversation wherein the merits of a manager were canvassed, where was that conversation held?

In Kingston; and one or two instances on board the ship I belonged to.

Was that doctrine supported by planters, or by those who had the immediate care of sugar plantations?

I heard it supported by gentlemen about Kingston, and by

White men from the estates, but I did not conceive them to be planters.

What was the crime for which the men were burnt in Tobago in the year 1774?

Murder, and destroying the property on the estate.

Do you not know that there is an hospital in Kingston, Jamaica, for the reception of sailors and transient poor?

There may—I never saw it.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 21^o die Maii 1790.

MR. NINIAN JEFFERYS called in; and further examined.

Of what country are you a native?

Of the town of Berwick upon Tweed.

Of what age are you?

Between thirty-six and thirty-seven.

On board what ship or ships did you make your three first voyages to the West Indies?

In the Dawkins, the Resolution, and the Dawkins.

In what capacities did you serve on board those ships?

My first voyage I was before the mast, but considered as an officer, from the strong recommendations I had to the captain; the second and third voyages I was second mate.

To what Islands did you go in those three voyages?

To Jamaica, Tobago, and Jamaica.

How long were you at Jamaica in your first voyage to that island in 1773?

About four months.

How

How long were you in Jamaica in your second voyage there in 1775?

About four months.

How long were you at Tobago in 1774?

Near four months, to the best of my recollection.

At what port in Jamaica did your ship load in each of her voyages?

At Kingston.

What port at Tobago?

We went all round the island to the different bays.

Had you frequent opportunities, when at Jamaica in 1773 and 1775, of making observations upon the sugar plantations in that island, with respect to the manner of cultivation, and of the management and œconomy towards the Slaves on those estates?

No; my observations with respect to the management of Field Negroes, chiefly related to Tobago.

Had you, at Tobago, frequent opportunities of making the observations above mentioned upon the sugar plantations in that island?

The observations I made in Tobago were chiefly relative to the manner of treating the Slaves; I never made any particular observations as to the manner of cultivating the land.

Can you state the names of the owners of any estates in Tobago, upon which you actually made any of those observations?

I never attended to the names of the estates, nor the proprietors; I made my observations in travelling from Sandy Point to Queen's Bay, and from Sandy Point again to Granby Fort, two or three times, on my way to the house of my friend, who was surgeon-general to the garrison.

What was the name of that gentleman?

Dr. Hawkins.

How far did he live from the town, and from where your ship usually lay at that part of the island?

I do not particularly recollect the distance, but believe it was more than ten miles from Sandy Point to Dr. Hawkins's house, at a Mountain (as they called it, that is a place in the mountains) near Granby

Granby Fort; it was a little property he had there, but not a sugar estate.

What was the greatest space of time you ever actually spent upon a sugar plantation in Tobago, and upon whose estate was it?

I have been near a week at a time on the estate of Little Courland, the proprietor, or chief gentleman upon the estate (I do not know whether he was the proprietor or no) was Stuart Macvie, Esquire; I have frequently spent a night at a time in the boiling-house of different estates, whose names I do not immediately recollect; I was then waiting for sugars being carted down.

How many plantations in the whole have you ever visited and resided upon for any time at Tobago?

I cannot recollect at this distance of time.

How far from the sea was Little Courland estate?

Not more than a quarter of a mile.

How many punishments did you see inflicted upon the Negroes, while you were at Mr. Macvie's?

I never saw any.

How many Negroes were there upon that estate?

I do not know particularly; but I believe there were at that time about 200.

How many punishments did you ever actually see inflicted upon Negroes on any plantation in Tobago?

I do not recollect any regular punishments, except those men who were punished by death.

Did those men suffer by a sentence of the public law of the island, or by the arbitrary will of their masters?

I believe by the sentence of the law.

Do you know what was the offence of the Negro, who, instead of suffering death, was banished to the mines in South America; or, upon what account, if his crime was equal to that of the others, his sentence was changed from death to banishment?

I do not know; but I believed at the time it was his years, being very young.

Was it upon plantations, or where else, that you saw Negroes with their ears cut off?

It was in Kingston market in Jamaica.

How

How do you know it was done by their masters, or by their orders ?

I understood so at the time from general report.

Did you hear to whom those Negroes belonged respectively ?

I did not ; I never asked.

Who were the owners of the ship Dawkins, and who commanded her when you went to Jamaica ?

I believe she was chiefly owned by tradesmen in London ; the master's name was Alexander Stupart, a brother officer of mine.

When did you quit the merchants' service, and enter into the navy ?

My last voyage in the merchants' service was in the year 1779 ; I became a master in the navy in January 1780.

Are you a master and commander in the navy, or only a master ?

Only a master.

When you were at Jamaica in the year 1784, what ship were you on board of as master ?

The Iphigenia frigate.

Had you frequent opportunities, whilst there in that year, of visiting and making observations upon the conduct and management of estates and Slaves in that island ?

I had not.

Can you speak from your own personal knowledge and observation, as to the conduct of planters, and the Slaves belonging to them, in the islands of Barbadoes, Grenada, Antigua, and Saint Christopher's, and the other islands you have mentioned ?

No ; I cannot.

Did, or did not, the Negroes on the estate over which Mr. Macvie presided, and on which you were during your stay at Tobago, appear to be in a far more comfortable situation than the generality of the Slaves you saw in that island ?

Much more so than any Negroes I ever saw in the course of my being in the West Indies ; Mr. Macvie appeared to me to be a father to his Slaves.

When you were in Jamaica, did you ever see Negroes whipped ?

Yes.

Will you specify the place, and describe the mode of inflicting the whipping?

On my first voyage to Jamaica, being a young man, I used to get up early on Monday morning to see the Negroes flogged on the wharfs, which I saw from the ship, we being then not more than 200 or 300 yards from the wharf at Kingston; the mode of punishing them was, their hands were made fast to the hook of the crane, and their feet fastened to a weight or two; the crane was then hove up to stretch their hands, and prevent them from moving about while they are flogged; in this manner I saw them flogged, and afterwards their backs prickled with a small bush, which was the manner I ever saw them flogged there, to the best of my recollection.

Were they always brought to one particular place on the wharf; or were the whippings inflicted, sometimes on one part of the wharf, and sometimes on another?

They were brought to the crane on the wharf; there is only one crane generally on a wharf.

By whose hands was this punishment inflicted?

By a Black man; but I do not know who he was.

Do you know whether this punishment was the consequence of a judicial sentence, or inflicted by the private order of their masters?

I really did not know.

Do you recollect the number of lashes that were received?

I do not.

At the time the Slaves were whipped, did you see round them any officers of justice, such as beadles or constables?

No; not to my knowledge.

You have mentioned seeing at Jamaica seamen lying about the wharfs in great distress; did you ever see in the same island any seamen carried to be interred, and under what circumstances?

Yes; I have seen the Blacks carrying one or two of those people that I described as wharfingers, to a burying-place near Spring Path; the Blacks themselves told me, "It was poor Buchra man."

Did

Did they do this at their own suggestion, or was it by the direction of their masters?

I do not know ; but I believe of their own accord.

What reason have you for believing so ?

I do not recollect to have enquired at the time ; but it struck me so ; I have no particular reason.

At this place where you have said you saw the Negroes whipped, did you ever see any other sort of punishment inflicted ?

I do not recollect to have seen any.

At the island of Tobago did you ever know the surf run so high as to prevent your landing ?

Yes ; I have known it to have run so high for two or three days together that we could not land or take off goods.

What was the instrument with which the Negroes were whipped ?

I generally observed what they there call a cow-skin.

Will you describe it ?

It is a piece of cow or bullock's hide twisted or plaited together, and when dry it becomes exceeding hard.

What is the greatest number of lashes you have ever known or heard of a seaman in his Majesty's service receiving on board, or from ship to ship ?

I recollect seeing a seaman receive three dozen of lashes, with the boatswain's cat, at the gangway—their floggings from ship to ship I never attended to—indeed I do not recollect being upon deck more than once when a man was flogged along-side, or from ship to ship—and then I recollect no particulars of the flogging, except this, that the man fainted.

Are not all hands turned upon deck to see the punishment inflicted from ship to ship, as the man comes along-side ?

Yes ; I believe they are.

When a seaman is flogged from ship to ship, are not his hands and person so confined as to prevent his moving—and describe the manner and position in which he receives his punishment ?

His hands and feet are tied to prevent his moving—but other particulars of the manner I cannot justly describe.

On what part of his body does he receive the punishment ?

On his back.

Did you, or did you not, understand that these usual punishments of Negroes on Mondays, which you speak of to have seen on the wharfs at Kingston in Jamaica, were inflicted by order of the magistrates, for irregularities and offences committed the preceding day ?

I always understood they were inflicted for crimes committed on the preceding week—but never knew by whose order.

Question repeated.

I did not understand that it was by order of the magistrates.

Did you, or did you not, understand and believe that these punishments on Mondays, from their being so periodical and stated, were for public offences ?

No—I was rather led to believe it was by the order of their masters or mistresses, but I do not recollect ever making any particular enquiries on that head.

Was it then a custom for masters or mistresses of Slaves in Kingston, collectively, to defer the punishments of their Slaves for offences committed in a week, to one day in the week only ?

I did not know.

Did you ever see any Negroes punished upon the plantations in Jamaica ?

No ; I never did.

Do you, or do you not, know, that there is a description of person in Jamaica, who is called a Jumper ?

I have heard that there is at Kingston—but I have never heard that there was such a person on the estates—a man that punishes the Negroes, and has so much for his trouble.

Do you mean, that this Jumper is a public officer, who executes the sentence of the law, or that he is employed by the masters of Negroes to whip Slaves according to their particular orders ?

I never knew how, or by whom, he was employed in particular—but only in a general sense, that he was employed to whip the Negroes.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

The

The Reverend THOMAS GWYNN REES called in, and examined.

Have you ever been in the West Indies, when, and in what capacity?

I went to the West Indies as Chaplain in the Princess Amelia; we arrived at Barbadoes the latter end of December 1782.

Did you make any observations on the situation of the Slaves in the island of Barbadoes?

I did; in consequence of being informed in England how they were treated in the West Indies.

What opportunities had you of making those observations?

By going ashore almost every day, and walking about part of the island.

Did you visit a considerable part of the island of Barbadoes, for the express purpose of making observations of the kind alluded to?

I did; in those parts of the island within four or five miles of Bridge Town; I went to the plantations that we could go to in the morning and return in the evening to the ship.

What was the general appearance of the Negroes whom you saw on the different plantations which you visited?

They appeared to me to be in a very bad situation.

Did you make any enquiries respecting their food?

I did; but I cannot particularly speak to the quantity.

What led you to make those enquiries?

From the appearance of the Negroes.

What was there in the appearance of the Negroes which led you to make those enquiries?

The state they appeared in struck me with the impression that they were not in general well fed.

What observations did you make respecting their clothing and lodging?

The Negro Slaves in general have a small rag to cover their nakedness; some had breeches or trowsers; as to their lodging,

they had small huts covered with cane leaves, as far as I could judge from their appearance; their furniture consisted of stools or benches; beds or bedding I saw none in those houses I was at; they slept on a kind of board a little raised from the ground, and some on the ground.

Had you frequent opportunities of seeing gangs of Negroes working on the plantations?

I saw three or four gangs, or more, at different times.

In what manner was the work conducted?

The first gang that I saw were working with hoes in their hands, or mattocks, with a Negro driver after them with a whip in his hand; they worked all in a row, making of small holes to put corn in, as far as I recollect.

Was there a driver attending every gang whom you saw at work?

Yes, there was.

Did you observe him making any use of his whip on the Negroes while at work?

Yes, more than once; particularly in the first gang I saw; one of the women appeared to be with child, and rather behind the rest when at work; he called to her to come on, or to work on, or something to that purpose, and in a few minutes afterwards went back to her with the whip, and struck her up towards her shoulders.

Did you observe any Negroes working in the fields with iron collars or chains?

I did; I saw three with iron collars in one gang, and one with a piece of a chain to his leg.

Did you understand, or were you informed, and by whom, whether pregnant women were obliged to work equally with the other Negroes in the gang?

I asked one of the Negroes who was with child herself, whether she was forced to work as much as the rest, and she said yes.

Did you observe women with sucking infants working in the field?

I saw children just by where they were working in baskets,
and

and some on the ground, of from half a year to three or four years of age, and saw the mother giving suck to one of them.

Do you recollect any instance of a woman chained to a block, and working in that situation?

I do: in my walk out one morning I went into a sugar mill; the first object that struck me was a young girl from between twenty to thirty (as far as I could judge) chained to a large block within reach of the mill, which she was obliged to feed with sugar cane. I asked her how long she was to suffer that punishment; she said for a twelvemonth. I then asked her the occasion of her punishment; she said it was because she ran away from her master, and that he had used her badly. I then asked her how long she had been chained there; she said two months already. I farther asked her where she slept; she said, she could go no where from where she was, and that she was forced to lie on the ground. I enquired what sustenance she had; she said she lived on the cane juice; she had very little besides, which was confirmed by one of the Slaves in the same mill.

Do you recollect any instance, in which you found a Negro with marks of punishment of extraordinary severity?

I was walking out about half a mile or a mile from Bridge Town in Barbadoes, and I heard the groans of a person at a little distance from me. I went up to her, and enquired what was the matter with her; she told me she had been flogged for running away from her master; that she was flogged to such a degree that she could hardly move from where she was. I desired her to let me see the marks where she was flogged (she was lying before, I should have said, on her left side)—she turned on her right side; the left side, that was down before, appeared in a mortifying state, and almost covered with worms. I then asked her if she could eat any thing, and she said she could if she had any victuals. I called to a Negro that was going by, and begged of him to take some money, and go into the town and fetch her what he could get to eat; I promised him at the same time to pay him for his trouble, which I did before he fetched the provisions. I then left her for a few hours, and went farther into the island. On my return, I saw her again, and asked her if the man had brought her any thing from Bridge Town, and she said yes, and appeared very thankful for it. In a day or two after (I am not sure which) I went to the place where I had left her, in hopes to have heard that she had been taken care of by the master; there were some Negroes coming by, of whom I enquired if they had seen or heard any thing of the Negro that was there in so much distress

distress the day before; they told me she was dead, and carried away to be buried.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 22^o die Maii 1790.

THE Reverend THOMAS GWYNN REES called in.

Upon the Resumption of the Examination, the last Question and Answer being read over;

Mr. Rees proceeded:

There is one circumstance, in addition to what I said yesterday, which is—The observation that a gentleman (who was in company with me) and myself made, that whoever inflicted that punishment upon her would have done a deed of charity to have put her out of the world at once, instead of leaving her in the situation we found her.

Who was the person that was with you?

A gentleman of the name of Vivian, the Purser of the Princess Amelia, the ship to which I belonged.

Where did you find this woman lying, and how came she there?

We found her behind some bushes, a few yards from the roadside; she was endeavouring, as she told us, to go into Bridge Town, but could go no farther than where we found her.

Did you very particularly observe the state of her side?

From the view I took of it, it appeared to be mortified—There were stripes and wounds besides.

Did it appear to you, and your companion, that she was likely to die in consequence of the ill-treatment she appeared to have received?

From the view we took of her it appeared impossible for her to recover without immediate medical assistance.

How

How long did you stay with her?

About, I suppose, three quarters of an hour.

How long did you remain on your station after this circumstance happened?

I suppose about a fortnight or three weeks, but I am not positive.

Were you frequently on shore afterwards?

I suppose every day, at some time of the day.

Did you ever hear of any public enquiry being made respecting this transaction?

I did not.

You said yesterday, "That you saw three or four gangs of Negroes, or more, at different times." Did you mean in that answer, that you only saw three or four gangs of Negroes at work during the whole time that you staid at Barbadoes, or that you saw about that number every time you went on shore?

About that number every time I went on shore;—a great many more in the whole.

Have you ever seen Negroes returning from their work with bundles of grass?

I have many times in the evenings; I asked one of them in particular what it was for? He told me it was for his master's cattle, and that if he did not procure it he should be flogged. The bundles appeared to me to be a kind of coarse grass.

Did you understand that the picking of grass made any considerable addition either to their labour or to the length of time they were employed?

I think it must from the appearance of the part of the island that I saw, as the grass did not appear to be in plenty.

You have said, "That you more than once observed the driver " whipping the Negroes while at work;" do you or do you not mean to say that the practice was common as far as your observation went?

It was a common practice as far as I saw, and indeed as I heard too.

Did you observe, in the streets and roads about Bridge Town,

any instances of superannuated or disabled Negroes lying about apparently deserted and begging; were those instances frequent, and what was the appearance of such persons?

I think it impossible to walk about any length of time without seeing some of the Negroes either sitting or walking about apparently in great distress, some with the leprosy, or something like the leprosy, some enfeebled through age, and others who have lost their limbs, begging about the streets.

Did you observe, that the marks of former whippings were frequently to be seen on the backs of the plantation Slaves, and were they such as indicated the punishment had been inflicted with any great severity?

Yes; very frequently to be seen; the scars or the wheals upon their backs appearing to us the remains of a very severe flogging.

Have you ever seen seamen flogged on board a man of war?

A great number of times, particularly in running the gauntlet, which is a violent flogging.

Did you ever observe marks of equal severity on their bodies?
I did not.

Did you ever observe any marks of former floggings on the backs of seamen?

I have; but the wounds did not appear near so deep, nor the wheals rise so high above the skin, nor were the scars so long.

Have you seen any Negro dances?

I went one Sunday after service on shore, purposely to see them dance, but I found a difference in those that were dancing; some appearing better dressed than others.—On enquiring the reason of it, they told me that those that were well dressed were domestic servants, and the others the field Slaves.

Do you mean that they danced in the same, or in different companies?

They danced in different companies at the time that I observed them.

Did you observe any other difference between them, besides that of their dress?

Those that were well dressed appeared better in their countenances, and in spirits.

From

From your observation of, and intercourse with the Negroes, have you any reason to think that they are naturally deficient either in feelings or in capacity?

They appeared to me to be as reasonable as any other being whatever (considering their education), and seemed not to be destitute of feeling.

Do you know of any instances which induced you to believe that the Negroes had less feeling than White persons in a similar state of society?

I do not know of any.

From the general appearance of the Plantation Slaves, and the knowledge you obtained of their condition, do you think that any fair comparison can be drawn between their situation and that of the labouring poor of this country?

No; I think there is no comparison to be drawn between them; but the labouring poor are happier here in England, and better provided for.

Do you mean that they are so much happier and better provided for, that there is no comparison to be drawn between them?

I think they are.

Have you been in any other island in the West Indies besides Barbadoes?

Yes; St. Lucia.

How long were you there?

Between two and three months.

Had you any opportunities of observing the condition of the Plantation Slaves on that island?

I had—they appeared to me to be very much in the same situation as those at Barbadoes.

You have said, “That you made observations upon the situation of the Slaves in the island of Barbadoes, in consequence of having been informed in England how they were treated in the West Indies.” From what you observed when you were yourself in the West Indies, did you form a more or a less favourable opinion of the situation of the Slaves than you had done from the information you received before you left this country?

I had no idea, from what I heard while in England, that their situation was so bad as I found it to be.

Did you ever hear any conversation while at Barbadoes respecting the difference between breeding and buying Slaves?

I remember a conversation that passed at Mr. Prettyjohn's on that subject; I asked him, whether they had not Negroes enough born on the Island without sending to Africa for them, and whether population was encouraged? Mr. Prettyjohn answered, That they could not encourage them more than they did, as it was not worth the while.

Did Mr. Prettyjohn mention any particular means that had been used to encourage population?

I do not recollect that he did.

Did you ever hear, when at Saint Lucia, any opinion given respecting the comparative advantage of living under the French or the English government?

I did by four or five of the French planters; they expressed themselves, that they should have been very happy if the Island was continued in the hands of the English, and they wished that it never might be restored.

How long was you at Barbadoes in the whole?

I do not recollect exactly, but I believe about five or six weeks.

Who commanded the Princess Amelia?

Admiral Sir Richard Hughes, and under him Captain Reynolds.

Can you state the names of the proprietors of any of the sugar plantations which you visited at Barbadoes?

I really do not recollect them, it is so many years since.

Did you ever lodge a night with any planter upon his estate?

We slept one or two times on shore about four miles from Bridge Town, but the person's name I do not recollect.

Was it a sugar estate that you lodged at?

As far as I recollect it was.

Did you see a boiling house or mill upon it?

There was a boiling house, which was the first I saw.

How

How many of those estates do you recollect to have seen?
I did not charge my memory with them.

Do you think you were upon a score?
No; I suppose not.

Are there many sugar estates within four or five miles of Bridge Town?
I cannot tell how many.

From the daily walks you took in the vicinity of Bridge Town, can you say, whether from the culture and produce of the lands, mostly within the distance you have mentioned from Bridge Town, the property did or did not seem to belong to a variety of proprietors in tenements and small quantities of land, and to be mostly cultivated in potatoes, cassada, Guinea corn, and other provisions?

How it was divided I know nothing about, as I made no enquiry into it; the chief produce that I saw was the corn and cane plots; I saw but very little potatoes or cassada.

As you seemed to be so anxious to be informed of the situation of the plantation Slaves, of whom did you make your inquiries concerning the food, raiment, lodging, and other necessaries they were furnished with?

I made but little inquiry respecting their food, only I was told by one of the Negroes, that their chief food was from the corn and cane juice—respecting their clothing, their huts, and their manner of rest, or sleeping, I got all the knowledge from my own observation.

Did it never occur to you to gain as authentic information as you could upon this subject from Mr. Prettyjohn, whom you have mentioned, or from any other gentleman whom you might judge able to give you the most disinterested account of these matters?

It was my intention, after seeing all that I could about the island, to be better informed by Mr. Prettyjohn, but our sudden departure from the island debarred me from it.

Was Mr. Prettyjohn a merchant or a planter?
I think he was both merchant and planter, as far as I recollect.

Was Bridge Town his usual place of residence?
I think he was generally at Bridge Town while we were there.

Did you visit him frequently?

I cannot tell how often; but I dined there twice or thrice, or oftener.

Was the subject of the population of Slaves in Barbadoes the only matter concerning the conduct of sugar plantations in that Island that you had an opportunity of conversing with him upon, in the several visits you made him?

We had some conversation respecting ploughing the ground too.

Will you state all that you recollect to have passed?

I asked Mr. Prettyjohn, Whether they could not plough the ground? and whether it would not answer better for their corn, than employing so many Negroes? Mr. Prettyjohn answered, that ploughing the ground had been tried, but it would not answer the end.

Did you ever talk to him of the use of the plough in the cultivation of the land for sugar?

I did not, as I thought it was not practicable. My reason for not asking that was, that I found the canes were put down in holes.

Did Mr. Prettyjohn appear to you to be a rational and ingenuous man, whose accounts of things you could depend upon?

He appeared to me to be a very ingenuous man, and a man of sense, and whose opinion would be taken as soon as any body's.

How long after your arrival in Barbadoes was it before you became acquainted with him?

Soon after our arrival there; I think the first time Admiral Hughes dined with him; it might be a week or nine days.

Was you acquainted at all with the Reverend Doctor Warton (the rector of the parish in which Bridge Town lays), or any other clergyman in Barbadoes, and who by name?

No farther acquainted with him than dining in company with him and some other clergymen (by appointment) at a public house; all the chaplains in the navy dined there once a week; I am not sure whether the doctor was or was not there, but one or two of the clergy of Barbadoes were present.

Did you never visit doctor Warton at his own house?

I did not.

Whose

Whose plantation was that where you saw a woman chained to a large block feeding the mill with canes?

I never asked, as it was no consequence to me.

Had you not the curiosity to inform yourself of the name of a man who could be guilty of so much cruelty as you found that woman suffering under?

I did not wish to know, as it might prejudice me against a man who in many other respects might be a valuable man.

In your opinion as a clergyman, ought not the perpetrator of so much cruelty to be known and published to the world?

If it could answer the end of deterring others from committing the same crime, I think it should.

Did you never mention the circumstances of this poor Negro's situation to Mr. Prettyjohn, or any one else?

I never did to Mr. Prettyjohn, but I mentioned it when I went on board the ship; we were three or four of us together when that happened.

Do you know to whom the woman belonged whose groans attracted your notice, and whom you found had been so unmercifully punished as you mentioned?

I do not know to whom she belonged, though she told us, but I do not recollect.

How far might the place be, where you found her in that situation, from Bridge Town?

From half a mile to a mile; but I do not recollect exactly.

Did you ever mention the circumstances of this woman's case to Mr. Prettyjohn, or any other inhabitant of Barbadoes?

I do not think I ever told Mr. Prettyjohn of it; whether I told others of it I do not recollect.

You say, "That from the view you took of her it appeared impossible to you for her to live without immediate medical assistance;" how do you reconcile to yourself not to have afforded her that medical assistance, or to have given such information of her situation to Mr. Prettyjohn, or some other person in Bridge Town, who might be the means of its being administered to her?

The only reason that we did not do it was from the hopes that

that her master would soon take care of her, and we did not chuse to interfere about his Slaves.

Where is your usual place of residence?

At Ilchester, in Somersetshire.

Are you a beneficed clergyman?

I am not.

Did you ever hear of any person or persons in England being hanged, or suffering other punishment for the death of a servant or apprentice by cruel usage of them?

I have.

Did you ever observe, in the towns or roads of Somersetshire, or any other part of Great Britain, any instance or instances of miserable diseased white persons lying about apparently neglected, with their sores or ulcers exposed to naked view, begging relief and charity, and in fact a nuisance to the public?

I have.

Did you ever see a Negro Slave punished upon a plantation in the West Indies?

Never, but by two or three licks of the driver.

You have said, "That there can be no manner of comparison drawn between the situation of the plantation Slaves in general in the West Indies, and the poor labouring people of this country;" from your observation of the state and condition of the latter, are all the poor cottagers and labouring poor in Somersetshire, and other parts of England, who are not supported by their respective parishes, always provided with food, raiment, lodging, fuel, medicines, and the other necessaries of life, sufficient for themselves and their families?

All the poor of England have a parish to go to, which is obliged to maintain them upon their being rendered incapable of work, as far as ever I learnt.

Question repeated.

They are supported by medicine whenever they are sick by the parish, and their own labour would always keep them from starving.

What might be the usual wages per week in the country where you

you live given to labouring men in agriculture, and other work, in common.

And the question being objected to ;

The Witness was directed to withdraw.

And a motion being made, and the question being put,
That the Witness be called in, and asked the said question ;

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Then the Witness being again called in ;

The question was repeated.

Generally six shillings a-week ; some not so much in the winter.

From your knowledge of the price of the provisions with which that class of men support themselves and their families in Somersetshire, are you of opinion that a labouring man, with a wife and two or three children, unassisted by the parish, can support himself with all the necessaries of life for himself and family suited to their condition ?

He can, with the assistance of his wife and children, support himself with the necessaries of life.

What time of the year was it that you saw the woman chained to a block in the mill ?

Sometime in January, as far as I recollect.

What is the crop time at Barbadoes ?

I think they were cutting the canes when I was there, because I saw some brought to the mills on the backs of the Negroes.

What time did the crop begin at ?

I do not know ; I never enquired.

Do you know how long the crop time lasts?
I do not.

Do you, or do you not, know that the crop time is only a certain portion of the year?
I have heard it mentioned.

Do you not know that the crop does not last the whole of the year?

I have been told there is a certain time for them to set the canes; how long that time lasts I do not know.

When the woman told you that she was to continue in the mill in that situation, feeding the mill a twelve month, does it not appear to you that the woman must be mistaken in what she said, or you not correct in the information you have given?

I thought that she must be mistaken in what she said, from this circumstance in particular, that she could have no canes all the year round to feed the mill.

In what year was the hurricane at Barbadoes?
I think it was about the year 1780.

Was there any hurricane there in the year 1782?
I do not know that I heard it noticed.

Of what depth and size were the holes that were made for the reception of the corn?

Small holes made with the hoe, not very deep.

Was the work as laborious as the reaping of corn in England?
Not much difference I think as far as I could judge.

What was the work that you saw the woman engaged in, whom you mentioned being pregnant?
She was with a hoe in her hand.

Was she making holes for the corn?
They told me she was as far as I recollect.

Have you ever seen pregnant women reaping corn in England?
I do not know that I have in England; but I have seen them in Wales.

What

What was the food that you sent for from town for the woman you found in the situation you have mentioned?

The man was not returned when we left her; I told him to bring whatever he could for her; whatever she could eat.

Was she a Plantation Slave?

She was one of a gang of thirty or forty, or more, for what I know.

To what estate did she belong?

That I cannot tell.

Do you not think it would have been more advantageous to the safety of the woman to have communicated her situation to the owner or overseer of the estate she belonged to, where she might have procured food as well as medical assistance?

I certainly did think so.

Why did you not do it?

I was a stranger in the place, and did not chuse to interfere with other people's business.

Do you not think that it was your duty to have communicated that information?

I did not know how far she lived in the country, nor where to go; and as a number of other people must have seen her there besides myself, I did not know but her master had been informed of it.

You said, "You saw the marks of frequent whipping on the Negroes;" are the Negroes commonly naked?

They had most of them a little rag to cover their nakedness; some of them breeches, and some of them trousers; I could see evident marks of whipping they had on their backs, and some on their breech; those who had only the rags to cover them.

Do you mean to say, that the Negroes in Barbadoes go naked, with the exception of the cloathing just alluded to?

The women have short coats, but in general, those that I saw at work in the field had nothing more to cover them than I mentioned before.

Is the Committee to understand, that your being suddenly
called

called away prevented your obtaining that accurate and complete information respecting the condition and treatment of the Slaves which you meant to do?

Yes, certainly; I should have made more enquiry, as I thought that those I saw who had been punished were guilty of worse crimes than those they told us of.

Did you make any remarks concerning the condition of the Slaves in respect to morals and religion?

I asked two or three that I casually met with, whether they ever went to church? and they, as far as I recollect, said, No; or very seldom.

Did you ever, when you were in Barbadoes, observe or hear of any attempts being made by their masters to promote their religious and moral improvement?

I do not recollect that I ever heard or had any conversation about it.

Did you ever see any marks of attempts of this kind being made?

No, I did not.

Did you ever converse with any of the drivers you have seen exercising the whip?

I remember asking one of them that I saw, how he could have the heart to strike a person so hard as he did? he said, if he did not beat him he would not work, or something to that purpose.

What were the particular objections which you understood were made to the use of the plough in cultivating the ground for corn in Barbadoes?

I do not recollect that there was ever any reason given for it in the conversation that passed between Mr. Prettyjohn and me, but I thought myself that there was not grass enough on the island to maintain the cattle, as those that I saw were very poor in general.

What is the nature of the soil in Barbadoes, as far as you saw?

I really do not recollect—I cannot be certain.

Have you ever known the plough used in a soil wherein there was abundance of large stones, and where the surface has been extremely uneven?

I

Many

Many times, at a number of places in Dorsetshire, where there are flints, and in Wales, where there are a number of stones out of sight under ground, and the plough can scarce go its length without meeting with a stone ; I mean in the whole of the parishes of Stapleton, Winterborn, Long Brady, and the neighbourhood in Dorsetshire, and in Newport in Pembrokehire.

Did you ever see labourers in any part of Great Britain or Wales working in the fields under the whip of a driver ?

No ; but I have seen labourers beat in the field for not working.

Did you, when you were in Barbadoes, observe whether attempts were made to produce regular marriages among the Slaves, and to give them ideas of domestic happiness ?

There might, or might not ; I cannot undertake to say.

By the impression that was made on your mind from what you saw in Barbadoes, did you think, that if you had made any complaints of the ill treatment of the Slaves whom you saw suffering in the way you have mentioned, these complaints would have been favourably received, and you yourself lived afterwards on as comfortable terms in the island as before ?

I do not know as to that ; but I think a great deal of the punishments were inflicted on the Negroes by the drivers, unknown to their masters.

Why then did you not make known to the masters this misconduct of their drivers, the knowledge of which might have enabled them to provide against it in future ?

As I said before, I did not chuse to interfere, as they knew their business better than I could direct them.

You say, " That you thought there was not grass enough in the island of Barbadoes to feed their cattle ;" is grass the only green provender they have for cattle ?

I think they give the tops of the canes to cattle as well as grass.

Did you never understand that they have potatoe vines, and Indian and Guinea corn with which cattle are fed ?

I do not know, really ; but we used to give Guinea corn leaves to the cattle on board, brought for fodder or food ; I cannot tell which.

During the six weeks you were at Barbadoes, how many times were you on shore?

I suppose a score.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 26^o die Maii 1790.

MR. THOMAS WOOLRICH called in; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

Yes.

When, in what situation, on what island or islands, and for how long a time?

From the year 1753 to the year 1773; but in the intermediate time I took two or three trips to England, and two to North America; I was in mercantile business chiefly; in the island of Tortola: I was also occasionally at the Windward Islands of Barbadoes, Antigua, and St. Christopher's.

What was the impression excited in your mind respecting the Slaves situation in general on your first coming to Tortola?

At my first arrival in that island I saw many instances of great severity used upon the Negro Slaves; yet the situation in general was more tolerable than it became afterwards.

In what particulars do you mean that it was more tolerable at the period of your first arrival than it became afterwards?

The number of Slaves at that time in Tortola was not near so great as they became afterwards; they were allowed sufficiency of ground to plant provisions upon for their own use, which some years afterwards was more abridged, and which had a tendency to a scarcity, and want of food for their support.

To what purposes were these lands diverted, which had been originally cultivated for provisions?

As the island became more and more cleared, divers of these lands were converted by the owners into cane land; and the number

ber of Negroes in a course of years being greater, the Negro ground became more divided, or given them in smaller lots.

In the article of punishment, was there any difference between the former and the latter period?

As the quantity of Negroes increased on the island, the punishment of the Slaves in general, in my opinion (and I am certain of it), became more and more severe.

During your stay at Tortola, as you were in the mercantile line yourself, had you much opportunity of seeing the treatment and situation of Field Slaves?

I had multitudes of opportunities of seeing the Field Slaves at their work, or otherways; I lived in a planter's house (he was reckoned one of the principal planters in the island) for the space of six or seven years, and had the opportunity of seeing the Slaves, as well as the plantations of many others in the island.

When, as you have mentioned above, the Slaves provision ground was lessened in Tortola, was or was not the deficiency made good by imported food?

The food imported from abroad was very seldom imported at that time; there was no certainty or dependence on the importation of foreign food.

About the time of your first going to the island of Tortola, were the flocks of Negroes kept up pretty well by the births without importations from Africa?

I have heard the planters comparing the number of Negroes at prior dates, some years before, with the then present number, and they have also signified their increase by the births without any importation, and there was reckoned a general increase upon the whole through the island.

Had you a competent knowledge of the circumstances of the planters then in the island to enable you to say whether they were in general thriving or otherwise?

I know at that time that the planters were altogether in good credit with the merchants; there were none known to be involved in debts, either to the merchants in the island or to the merchants in England, and I have reason to believe there was not any one planter indebted in England.

Were

Were you in a situation to form a competent judgment of it?

My situation was this; I was a merchant that kept a store there, and had many opportunities from that cause to know their situations.

In what respects did your situation as a merchant enable you to form a judgment of the circumstances of the planters?

By dealing with them, and giving them considerable credits; their payments were very punctual, and they were able to fulfil their engagements.

Were you able in any degree to know the produce of each estate, and its general expences?

I had a great opportunity of knowing the quantity of produce made upon most of the estates; the matter of their expences I am not so well acquainted with, but they were moderate at that time; they were very seldom under the necessity of purchasing provisions for their Slaves.

Were the planters in general resident at that time upon their own plantations?

I think they were wholly so in that island.

What were then the chief articles of produce?

The chief articles were sugar, cotton, and rum, as a consequence of the sugar; but the cotton planting diminishing as the planting of sugar increased, there was not near so much cotton made in the latter part of my time there.

Was this change of system of which you have spoken attended with profit to the planters themselves in general?

The planting of sugars is more laborious to the Slaves, and in some instances proved more profitable to the owners, but in general it proved otherwise.

Can you particularize the circumstances wherein this change of system proved unprofitable?

About three or four years after my arrival there, some Guinea ships came down with cargoes of Slaves, and the planters in a general way bought; this induced many of the planters to turn out their cotton and plant canes, which is more laborious work than that of the cotton plantations; many of their new Negroes often die in what they call the seasoning, and as Guinea ships came down time after time, the planters bought to fill up the numbers

numbers that died; and this way continuing for a course of years, many of the planters got much involved in debts by purchasing Slaves upon credit; which induced many to apply to the merchants in England for loans, and they became necessitated to mortgage their estates and Slaves to them; I have never known a planter, who has thus mortgaged his estate, to clear or pay off the debt; some planters have been under the necessity of having their estates sold by public auction in consequence of these mortgages, when they have been sold much under value, and the English merchant has suffered in his debt; I have known some of these estates sold, where the owners have become overseers upon the same estates.

During the latter part of your stay in Tortola, had the Slaves provision grounds for their subsistence?

Many of the field Negroes had some small lots of land to plant provision upon, where it could be afforded; but I suppose it was not general; some planters allowed them Saturdays in the afternoon, excepting in crop time, to cultivate and plant provisions for their own use; many of them also worked on the Sundays that had land; they were obliged to do it by the direction of the owner or overseer.

In the latter period of your stay in Tortola, did the Negroes increase from the births?

That is very difficult for me to judge of; but they did not increase in that period in proportion to what they did at my first coming there, when the number of Slaves was fewer, and their usage more moderate.

Were droughts not uncommon in the island of Tortola?

Droughts are common in all those islands; but at sometimes there has been very great and long ones.

Did the Slaves suffer materially in consequence of them?

These droughts are a cause of a great scarcity of provisions, whereby the Negroes suffer greatly for want of food; I have known it near unto a famine, and Slaves have pined away and died for want of sustenance or food, when it could not any way be procured.

Do you think that the Slaves were at other times sufficiently fed?

I never saw a gang of Negroes that appeared to me any thing like

like sufficiently fed; their appearance to the eye fully proves their want and hardships; a sight of a few gangs of the field Negroes would convince a man more fully than I can describe it by any number of words.

Do Slaves frequently run away from their masters?
Some or other frequently run away from their masters.

To what causes are such runnings away to be attributed in general?

It is to be attributed to hard or severe usage received from the master or overseer for trivial faults, which they judge did not deserve any such correction.

In speaking of the emaciated appearance of the Slaves, do you confine yourself to the island of Tortola only, or do you speak of such field Negroes as you have seen in the other islands?

I do not confine myself in this respect at all to the Island of Tortola, but speak as to every other island that I have been in; I have seen this in Antigua to a greater extent than ever I did in Tortola.

How were the field Negroes in general clothed, during the whole of your stay at Tortola?

The cloathing of the field Negroes is very trifling; the men have generally a pair of trowsers, the women a petticoat made of coarse osnaburghs; those are given to them once a year in general by their owners; some do not give them so much; the field Negroes in general, I apprehend, do not cost their masters half a crown per head per annum in cloathing.

Describe to the Committee the houses of the field Negroes, and their beds and bedding?

Their houses are small square huts, built with poles and thatched at the top and the sides with a kind of bamboo, which the Negroes build for themselves; the field Negroes lie upon the ground in the middle of their huts, with a small fire generally before them; they have no bedding; but some of them obtain a board, or a mat, to lie upon before the fire; some few of the head Negroes have cabins raised from the floor, made of boards, but no bedding, except some of them, who have a coarse blanket.

What

What are the usual punishments of plantation Slaves?

That must be according to the nature of their crimes; if a runaway Negro is taken and brought home, his punishment is exceeding severe; in that case the usual way is for four able Negroes to take hold of each arm and leg, and lay him down upon the ground, when the chief whipper lays upon their bare back the number of lashes that are ordered by the owner or the overseer; it may be forty, fifty, sixty, or more, just at their pleasure; I have seen Negroes thus whipped, when the first stroke has cut them in the flesh so as to make the blood spout out immediately; there are some other ways of correction very barbarous, such as setting a Negro upon a picket; that is, standing on one foot upon a sharp stick; as also, what are called thumb-screws, which give an intolerable pain.

Is it usual to see marks of whippings on the persons of the Slaves?

That is very common, and some appeared to have been whipped to a desperate degree; their backs appearing in an undistinguished mass of lumps, holes, and furrows, by frequent whippings.

Are the bodies of the generality of field Slaves marked by the whip?

There are a great deal more marked by the whip than are free of it.

Do the field Slaves work under the whip of a driver?

Always that ever I have seen; the drivers carry a whip for the correction of the Negroes; and they were continually under the dread of correction.

Describe the nature of this instrument?

The drivers whips are generally made of plaited cow-skin, and the lashes are thick and strong.

Is it a formidable instrument?

I have seen them such in one of the overseers hands, who would take the skin off a horse's back with one of them: I have heard them boast that they can lay the marks into a deal board, which I have seen them try, and they have done it.

Were the persons of Slaves, in your time at Tortola, sufficiently protected from ill usage, either on the part of their masters, or of any other persons?

I do not know of any protection they had from the severity or ill usage of their masters. A neighbouring planter, that I was well acquainted with, had one of his Negroes run away from him; he gave his overseer orders to take him if he could, dead or alive. A little while after that, the overseer, finding the Negro in one of his master's Negro huts fast asleep in the daytime, shot the Negro through the body; the Negro jumping up, said, "What you kill me asleep," and fell down dead immediately; the overseer took off his head, and carried it immediately to his owner. I knew another similar instance to that in the same island—A planter taking some offence at his waiting-man, who was a Mulatto, stepped suddenly to his gun in his house, which his waiting-man perceiving, ran hastily from his master, but he levelling at him, shot him through the head with a single ball. I will mention one other instance—A manager of an estate in Tortola, whose owner did not reside upon the island, sitting at dinner, in a sudden resentment to his cook, went directly to his sword, and run the Negro woman through the body, and she died upon the floor immediately; and the Negroes were called in to take her away and bury her.

How did these facts come to your knowledge?

All the White people in the island were acquainted with the circumstances, and I have repeated them, as I have been informed,—they were notorious facts, and none doubted of the truth of them—they happened when I was upon the island.

In any of these instances, were the offending parties punished, or called to any account?

They were never any of them called in question on that account.

Were they shunned, and considered as in a state of disgrace?

Not at all; they went to all public places as usual before this happened.

Did you ever see Slaves working in the fields in chains?

I have seen it several times; but the most striking instance of it was in Antigua, where I have seen a considerable gang working in the field locked in one chain; I have seen another gang or two carrying down sugars from the mountainous parts of that island upon their heads in tubs, baskets, or bags, heavy laden; they

they had no cloathing upon their bodies but what was sufficient to cover their nakedness; the appearance they made in that state was very shocking to behold; the appearance of their bodies shewed the great want of food, and other instances of severe usage. Some gentlemen, seeing these Negroes in this plight, I heard them ask one another, "Whose Slaves are these?" and "whose are yonder others in a like situation?" One of the gentlemen answered, "Lord bless us." These questions were asked, to shew some resentment at the severity they were treated with, as I apprehended; but such treatment is too common.

What were the ordinary hours of labour and rest of the Field Negroes?

It is customary to turn the Field Negroes out to their work as soon as the light well appears, in all the Islands where I have been, as far as I have seen; they are not discharged from their drivers, or overseers, until the close of evening or dark. Their usual times of rest I cannot particularly speak to; they have time to eat their food in the morning, and also at noon; any other particulars of rest I am not particular in.

After their day's labour in the field, is there any other work to be performed?

When the Field Negroes are discharged from that labour, they have generally grass to pull for the use of their masters horses and cattle; by the time that they have done that business it is dark.

Is this picking of grass a hardship on the Slaves?

If it be reckoned as part of their day labour, it lengthens the day; if it be reckoned as an addition to their day's work, it is a great hardship, otherwise in general it is no harder work than the field labour, when the grass is plenty; but in droughts it is scarce, and hard to be got; and if the Negroes fail in their quantities, they are often punished by the overseer with the whip.

Did grass picking form in general a part of the day's field labour, or was it added to it?

The Negroes were compelled to do that business as duly and certainly as any other part of their day's labour.

Were they excused any part of their field labour in consideration of this task of grass picking?

It was not customary in Tortola for the Negroes to work
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by limitation, but only according to the length of the days, as is before mentioned.

How were the pregnant women in general treated (speaking of Field Slaves); did they work in the field gangs till near the time of their being brought to bed?

The pregnant women, I think, had some little indulgencies; but it is customary for them to work in the field until they are near their time.

Was the whip ever applied to them to urge them forward in case they were backward in working?

The whip was occasionally used upon them, but not in so severe a manner as the men Slaves, that I ever observed.

What, in your time, was understood by the term, "seasoning of Negroes," that you have mentioned?

I never understood that it was any disease or distemper, yet it is a very common word among the planters and others, and it is what they say the Negroes that are newly-imported from Africa, many of them die of.

What then was meant by the term?

I always understood, that the new Negroes deaths are occasioned by the sudden hardships that are brought upon them by being put to hard labour soon after they are landed out of the ships, and from the scarcity of food, and the want of almost every other necessary; this, I apprehend, is the cause of many of the new imported Negroes dying before the end of the first year.

Were these causes, or this seasoning, as it is termed, extremely fatal to Slaves in any instances that fell within your notice?

I have known many instances of that.—Some planters have bought lots of new Negroes, who have told me that they have lost one-third of the number, or more, in the first year of the seasoning.

Did a cargo of Slaves usually contain some who, from sickness, were sold at a price below the general average?

I never saw a cargo of Slaves but what had sick or refuse Negroes, more or less, which were sold at an inferior price, probably to the cotton planters.

Why were they sold to the cotton planters?

The

The planting of cotton is an easier business than that of the sugar cane, therefore the weakest Negroes are the most likely to be put to that business.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 27^o die Maii 1790.

MR. THOMAS WOOLRICH called in; and further examined.

What other descriptions of Negro Slaves are there attached to plantations besides field Slaves?

There are house carpenters, coopers, and masons; those are the principal of the mechanic trades.

What, in general, is their treatment compared with that of the field Slaves?

The treatment of those, generally, is better than that of field Slaves by reason that they have a more certain allowance of provisions.

What, in general, is the situation of domestic Slaves, compared with that of field Slaves?

The female domestic Slaves, many of them, are in a pretty good situation; their labour is more moderate, they are better provided for in food and cloathing, but there are various capacities amongst them where it is a large estate.

Do the Slaves ever commit suicide?

I think I know but few instances of that amongst the Creole Slaves; I have heard of a good many amongst the African Slaves, hanging themselves in the woods.

Do you know of any particular instances?

I recollect one very particular;—a planter purchased six men Slaves out of a Guinea ship, and put them upon a small island called a Key, for the purpose of planting cotton; they had a White man with them as overseer, who left them of a Saturday night (there were no White inhabitants on that island)—on the
Monday

Monday following the overseer returned to the island to put them to their work again, when he found them, all six, hanging near together in the woods; this is one of the principal circumstances that I recollect at this time.

Did you ever enquire into the reason of the Slaves committing suicide?

When I have heard of these instances I have often enquired of some of the most sensible Negroes what could be the cause of their thus taking away their own lives; the answer they have given me was, "That they would rather lose their lives than live in the situation they were in."

How much do you think a field Slave and a tradesman's Slave could be expected to earn for themselves in the course of the year, in the Island of Tortola?

I am not able to give any particular answer to that question. There are many field Negroes that have it not in their power to earn any thing for themselves, exclusive of their master's work; there are some few field Negroes that raise fowls at times, and there are some few raise pigs and sell them, but their number is very few; the Black tradesmen in Tortola have very seldom any jobs to do on a Sunday, which is the only day allowed for themselves.

What opinion did you form of the intellects or capacity of the Negroes?

Their intellects are of various qualities, as among other people; some of them, that are brought up amongst the White people, I have known of as good abilities as are common amongst mankind, considering their situation and want of education.

Are they ever ingenious artificers?

I observed that the young Negroes learn the trades and occupations as readily as the White people, and many of them are ingenious workmen, such as carpenters, coopers, masons, and blacksmiths.

Do they seem to possess the social affections in as strong a degree as the natives of other countries?

I know of no exceptions to the contrary, more particularly among the Creole Negroes; their natural affection for their children and relatives, I apprehend, is as great as amongst any other people.

Did they appear to you susceptible of religious impressions?

There was no profession of any kind of religion amongst the Negroes in Tortola.

Did the Negroes, particularly the African Negroes, appear to have any idea of a Supreme Being?

The Creoles have a certain belief in a Supreme Being; the Africans, when they first come over, cannot speak any language but their own; but I never knew one of them that could express himself, but always allowed of a Supreme Being; I have often seen the Slaves, when they have been brought to the test or trial before their masters for any charge of misdemeanors one against another, if their word is disputed or doubted of by their master, they will frequently lift up their hands, and say, "God above knows what they assert is true."

How long was it after the arrival of African Negroes, that they were commonly put to field work, in your time, in the island of Tortola?

They are generally kept a few days before they are put to the field; I never knew any that remained a week from being put to work after they were purchased.

Were Negroes ever branded in your time?

There was but one planter or two that ever I knew to brand their Negroes; and that was done with the initial letters of their name with a hot instrument; but I never saw the operation.

Were there any species of ground provisions which were not materially affected by the droughts of which you have before spoken?

The droughts generally affect all kinds of vegetation, and that is a great hurt to the provisions; there may be some kinds that stand the drought better than others, particularly yams, which it is said stand the drought the best; I cannot be particular about the other kinds of provisions.

What is your opinion of the situation of field Slaves in point of comfort, compared with that of the lower orders of people in this country?

The lowest orders of people in this country can by no means be compared with the general condition of Slaves; their general situation is very lamentable (I would not wish to use any word to

exaggerate), but it cannot be described to the full to the understanding of those who have never seen it.

Did any one, or at least did the generality, in your time, treat their Slaves as well as a good master treats his servants in this country?

By no means; I never knew any planter or owner of a gang of Negroes that used them as well as either a good master or a bad one uses his servants in England.

To what do you ascribe this general want of good treatment?

The labour of the Slaves is known to be hard; they are not provided with the necessaries of life; they neither receive wages or cloathing, and that is sufficient to make their state and condition much harder than the lowest degree of servants in England.

Is it not for the master's interest that the Slaves should be well treated, and if so, why are they not so?

It is certainly the master's interest to treat his Slaves well; the contrary usage never fails to bring their owners into considerable losses and embarrassing circumstances; I believe it is for want of wisdom that they are treated ill.

What, from your observations, was the general effect produced on the minds of those who had the command of Slaves?

I apprehend the masters or owners of Slaves became morose and cruel by being practised and used to that kind of business; I believe it has a great effect upon the morals of the White people, and greatly to their hurt.

You stated some time ago, "That from the time at which the planters of Tortola began to make considerable purchases of Negroes, they declined in their affairs;" do you know, without specifying particular instances, what in general has been since the state of their affairs?

Since I left that Island I have been advised of the state of it from year to year by my correspondents; I have also seen some person from that Island generally every year, who has given me the state of the planters to this present year; their situation upon the last information I had from thence was, that they were in very distressed circumstances; divers of their estates that were mortgaged in England to the merchants have been sold at public vendue, upon very low terms, by reason that there were few able to buy and pay for them; the general credit is so low with the
planters,

planters, that there are few that can obtain the necessaries they want from the stores that are kept there, by reason of the debts to English merchants.

To what causes do you chiefly ascribe this unprosperous state of affairs?

It has been my opinion for many years, that the unnecessary purchasing of African Slaves has been the main cause of their embarrassments, and the accumulation of their debts; many new Negroes dying soon after imported, and still they are induced to buy again from time to time upon credit, by which their debts have been increased with the English merchants.

Did you ever make any enquiry amongst any African Slaves how they had been brought into that situation?

I have asked many of them at different times that question; I had a waiting boy among that number, who told me, he and his sister were caught in the field together, where they were put to tend some corn; they were both carried away, and never saw their parents any more. Men Slaves have told me, they have been surprized in the night by a number of the enemy, who have taken them prisoners in their own houses, or in the village where they have resided; some have told me, that they have been taken prisoners of war.

Have you observed the situation of the Slaves, as to food and other particulars, to vary accordingly as the owners affairs have been prosperous or embarrassed?

Amongst different planters there are different usages to their Slaves; some feed them better and take more care of them than others do; I fully believe that the circumstances of their owners have a great effect in that case; those planters who are considerably in debt, their Slaves are generally under more severe usage, worse fed, and more severity is used upon them than the Slaves of those who are in easy circumstances.

What was the planter's name with whom you resided six or seven years?

John Pickering.

Did you reside with him that space of time upon his plantation, or at his house in town?

His house was upon his plantation; he had no house in town.

Do

Do you mean to say, that you resided constantly with him during that period at bed and board, or were your visits only occasionally there?

I lodged that space of time under his own roof; I never was so long as six or seven years altogether at one time in Tortola; but I was more than that space of time at two different periods.

Where did you keep your shop?

The store that I kept then was about fifty yards from his dwelling house, and was his own property.

How far was that from the town in Tortola?

It was six miles.

Was it usual for the merchants in Tortola to keep their shops so far in the country?

It was at that time that I first went to the Island; I afterwards went to settle at the Road Town, and built a store for my own use. This first store that I lived at was near the sea, and a harbour, where two vessels generally were loaded at. Since that time the stores have all centered in the Road Town, where the shipping lies.

Are there more towns than one in Tortola?

None but one.

How many houses were at that town, do you think, when you first went to live at Tortola?

The houses at that time were very few; the Liverpool stores were principally at that time in the Road; the planters lived altogether, or nearly altogether, on their own estates.

How many established merchants had their constant residence at the Road Town at that time?

At that time it was customary to hold the stores about six months in the year at the crop time, for the selling of their goods and loading the ships; and the merchants frequently returned to Liverpool in the ships they brought their cargoes in, and shut up their stores the remainder part of the year.

Then is the Committee to understand, that there were at that time no other storekeepers in the Road Town than those that came out from Liverpool, and returned back in the ships?

There were two or three that constantly resided in the Road Town.

Do you recollect how many other merchants there were in the Island of Tortola, at your first going there, that kept their stores in the country as you did?

There was one kept at the west end of the Island, and several other small ones; but the number I do not exactly know.

At that time was there any considerable trade between North America and Tortola?

There was but little trade between that Island and North America at that time, and that was mostly in lumber.

How many London ships used to trade to that Island when you first went there?

None at all.

What year did you remove, and settle yourself as a merchant at the Road Town?

It was in 1764 or 1765.

How many hogsheds of sugar, per annum, do you think the Island of Tortola made when you first went there?

There were few sugar-works at that time; I do not suppose there were above ten or a dozen that I recollect.

What do you apprehend may be the length and breadth of the Island of Tortola?

It is generally reckoned to be about twenty miles long; it is narrow in proportion; we had no draughts or measurement.

How many London ships were there traded to the Island when you quitted it?

To the best of my recollection there were three, some years but two, sometimes there were three.

Do you recollect how many sugar estates there were in that Island at the time you left it?

I never took any account, or ever heard the number of them; there might be sixty, or more.

Could the lands in Tortola that were used to be planted in cotton have been cultivated for sugar, without the importation of Slaves from Africa?

In so short a time it could not have been done.

Do not sugar estates, as the labour upon them is more constant and severe than upon cotton plantations, require a larger number of Negroes accordingly?

I never was any planter, neither can I be particular in the answer to that question; the planting of sugar I apprehend would require a larger body of Negroes than the cotton planters generally are master of.

Is there the same necessity for an equal number of Negroes to cultivate a cotton plantation of 100 acres of land as to cultivate a sugar plantation of the same extent?

I cannot resolve that question; the planting of sugar and cotton are very different labour, as cotton plantations appear much lighter work, which the women and children can perform, that would not be fit to work in the sugar works.

Wherein consists that difference in the labour upon the two plantations?

I have mentioned before that the planting of cotton is light work, in comparison to that of planting and making of sugar.

Is there then a necessity to have as great a number of efficient and able Negroes upon a cotton plantation as upon a sugar estate of equal extent?

There never has been any cotton planted in those parts of the Island where the sugar cane is planted; as to comparing the planting of cotton and sugar by acres or equal quantities of land, I am not a judge of the difference of the labour; the cotton is all planted upon the poorest parts of the Island, upon rocky and steep places, most of it where canes are not planted; I cannot be more particular; there are no regular plantations of cotton but upon the keys and rocky hills.

As you say then, that when you first went to Tortola there were not above 10 or 12 sugar estates upon that Island, for what other purpose was the land cultivated, the cotton, as you say, not growing in regular plantations, and only upon the barren and poor spots you have mentioned?

A great part of that Island, more than one-half I think, was in its native woods; but the best part of the land was in the hands of different proprietors, who cleared out small parts of it from year to year, whereby they enlarged their sugar plantations, and made new ones also.

During the whole, or any part of the time, of your residence at Tortola (from your first going there to your finally leaving it) was there any regular courts of justice and form of government established there, similar to that which prevailed in the other West India Islands that you say you visited?

During the whole time of my residence there, there was a court of justice held the first Monday in three or four months of the year.

Who were the judges of that court?

The court was held by six magistrates and the governor of the Island.

Was there any assembly at that time in the Island?

There was not.

Was the Island of Tortola then, during that period, under the same settled administration of justice that prevailed in the other Islands above mentioned?

No.

Under these circumstances of incomplete cultivation, and want of the same mode of administering justice, was it to be expected that the same good order and government could prevail in that Island that did in the others?

Justice was administered in the Island, during the whole time of my residence there, in as good and regular order as I judge it was in any of the other Islands.

Were there a great part of the lands in Tortola, that were in woods when you first went there, cleared and converted into sugar estates?

Some part of the wood-lands were cleared out every year, which enlarged the plantations.

In what period of years do you then believe that those lands could have been cleared, and the sugar estates in that Island increased, from 10 or 12, to 50 or 60, by the stock of Negroes which the proprietors then had, and without any addition of Slaves from Africa?

It could not have been cleared in so short a time if there had been no importation of African Slaves; but I never made any computation or estimation of what length of time the Negroes that then were upon the Island would have made the like clearance.

Were

Were not the proprietors then justified in the purchases they made of African Slaves for that purpose, notwithstanding the subsequent misfortunes that attended them?

I am very certain the event has been greatly to the loss and embarrassment of the planters, which I judge to be in a great measure owing to the bad management and hard usage of the Slaves; and that seven-eighths of the planters would have been in much better circumstances, if they had not bought any Negroes during the time of my residence there, but had used those that they then had with humanity and care, and given them proper necessaries, in respect to food and cloathing, and their labour had been in proper moderation.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 28^o die Maii 1790.

MR. THOMAS WOOLRICH called in; and further examined.

How were the White inhabitants and Negroes in Tortola supplied with fresh water for drinking, and other uses?

In the time of great droughts, water is generally very scarce; divers of the gentlemen planters have large cisterns to preserve the rain water in; the wells that the Negroes get the water from, many of them are brackish and hard, that few White people can use.

Are there any natural springs of fresh water in that island?

The greatest well that is in Tortola is in the Road Town, within 100 yards of the sea; at some times in the year it produces plenty of water, but something brackish; in great droughts the well is frequently drawn dry.—I am not certain whether it can be deemed a spring or only a soakage.

Are not the other wells in the island of which you speak frequently dry also?

I think there are no wells but what are at times, or frequently, dry.

In

In a scarcity of that article of life, do not the Whites suffer from that scarcity as well as the Slaves?

I think that it is very seldom that the Whites suffer much; the lowest degree of the people generally preserve rain water in one kind of cask or another for the use of drinking.

Have you never known the cisterns and casks, which you say the Whites make use of for preserving rain water, to be emptied of their stores from a continuance of drought?

I remember, in one very great drought, that the rain waters generally appeared to be exhausted, and the people were in some degree of necessity obliged to use well water, which some filtered through filtering stones.

Did you ever know or hear of rain-water to be so scarce in Tortola and Antigua as to be sold?

I never knew rain-water to be sold in Tortola; I was once at Saint John's in Antigua at a time of drought, when those people who had not cisterns sufficient for their own supply bought water at a certain price per pail; the common water of the ponds was wholly dried up, and I was informed that many cattle died there for want of water.

In great droughts do not the White inhabitants of Tortola also suffer as well as the Slaves from the failure of the fruits of the earth?

I very well remember a time when the provisions for the White people were as scarce as what they were for rain-water, and they were in considerable difficulties for want of supplies of food.

When the wells are dry, and the water which the Slaves are obliged to drink in times of drought is brackish, may not the scarcity, or the nature of that water, have been the occasion of the death of many Slaves?

The Negroes are wholly accustomed in that Island to drink a water that is brackish; they will not drink rain-water if they have their choice, so that I do not know it has any particular effect upon them; but those who are not used to drink of that water, it would very likely have an ill effect upon.

What may the effect of a scarcity of brackish water be upon those Slaves that prefer that brackish water, if they have not a sufficient quantity of it?

When brackish water is scarce, or the wells become dry,
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which is sometimes the case, the Negroes frequently dig new wells upon the bottom ground near the sea; I do not know that it is ever the case that the Negroes have not a sufficiency of that brackish water.

What resource have the Negroes in case of droughts, even of brackish water, who live in the country, and at a distance from the sea?

In that Island there are two small brooks of running water that issue from a very high mountain; they run in one part or other the whole year round, but do not empty into the sea, but soak into the ground again before they come near it; there are some wells upon the tops of the mountains, whether they are supplied by springs, or are only soakage out of the earth, I cannot determine; that running water is brackish, and I have frequently enquired into the cause of it; the answer was, that it run through an earth that contained saltpetre.

How many fathoms deep in general are those wells at the tops of the mountains, and are they ever dry?

There are some wells near the tops of the mountains that are not a fathom deep; they generally contain water all, or most of, the year, to the best of my knowledge; but I am not particular in that, as I never saw them all parts of the year; the owners called them springs.

Were those wells brackish water?

I cannot say they were; they were the best water that came out of the earth in that island; soon after I built a store in the Road Town, which was not above thirty yards from the sea, a spring came out from the very foundation of it, that sprung up water all the year round without ceasing; this water was reckoned the best spring water in the island; I have allowed some ships to fill their water casks at it; and many people were also furnished with it in the Road Town.

Did you reside any time, and for how long together, on any other sugar plantation than Mr. Pickering's?

I never resided upon any other sugar plantation.

When Negroes are at work in the field in Tortola, does the climate make it necessary that they should have any other cloathing upon them than decency merely requires?

I think that a pair of trowsers and a shirt are quite sufficient for

for a working Negro in the field, and a petticoat and jacket for the women is an equivalent.

Do you think that a shirt is absolutely necessary for a Negro man while he is at work?

I cannot say it is absolutely necessary; yet it appears to be beneficial, and what they would chuse.

Do you mean to say that a Negro man would rather have his shirt on than off while he is at work?

Those that work out in the field, that have a shirt on, I have never known pull it off upon that occasion.

When you removed to, and settled in the Road Town, what family had you?

I had a clerk and two apprentices in my store, and some few Black domestics; I had no standing number, sometimes three, four, or five.

Did you ever use to buy any vegetables, poultry, or other fresh meat, for the use of yourself and family, from Negroes?

Sometimes there were vegetables or fowls to be bought from the Negroes, but it was very rare, and very few that we could get in that way.

How did you generally supply your family with those articles?

Our supply in the stores is very small; we generally use salt provisions, such as beef or pork, and sometimes dried pease from America; fresh meat is both dear and scarce through the whole island, but there is both beef and mutton at times to be bought, which are killed by the planters; we have a good supply at times of fish, which are always sold very reasonable.

Do you ever remember, while you were at Tortola, the wreck of any ship or ships upon that island, or any of its neighbouring keys?

I have heard of a great number of wrecks of ships that have been cast away upon the island or reefs of Annigado, but I never was at that reef.

Do you in particular remember the wreck of a Spanish ship, out of which a great number of dollars were taken or saved by the people of Tortola?

I have heard many accounts of it; it happened a year or two before I went to Tortola.

Do

Do you remember to have heard also of lieutenant-general Fleming, who was commander in chief of the Leeward Islands, and of which Tortola is a part, coming down to that Island from St. Christopher's to demand the money so saved from that wreck, and to secure it for the right owners?

I have heard that he came down for that very purpose, but it was before the time of my arrival there.

Did you hear that he was able to succeed, and to bring those persons who had taken that money to justice?

I have been told that some persons who got the money gave it up to him; and I have been informed that several delivered none up; I never heard of any being brought to justice upon that account.

How long may you at any time have been upon the island of Barbadoes?

I have been two or three times; but I never staid above two weeks at one time.

While you were there, did you reside upon any sugar plantations?

I did not.

How often, and what was the greatest length of time that you have been at Antigua?

I do not exactly recollect the number of times, whether it was four, five, or six; the greatest length was, I believe, three or four weeks at a time; but I cannot be particular.

Did you ever reside upon any sugar plantations at that island?

No.

How often, and for what space of time, may you have been in St. Christopher's?

I was never upon that island but once, and that was for a very short time.

Was you ever upon any sugar estates in that island?

No.

When you resided in the Road Town at Tortola did you keep any horses?

I kept one horse.

How did you supply that horse with grafs?

The grafs that I was supplied with was bought from Negroes, which they sometimes brought down to the Road in the evening to dispose of; during crop-time we generally fed our horses from cane-tops; I never bought any, but I sent for them; we had them for fetching.

Was the money that the Negroes received for the grafs considered by you as their own property, and at their own disposal?

Yes, surely;—but the young men of our store generally paid them in tobacco, or salt herrings. Sometimes they were paid in Osnaburghs or coarse linens.

Did not other merchants who resided in the Road Town, and who had no estates of their own, supply their horses in the same way?

I apprehend so; several of the merchants in the Road had estates.

What do you compute that it cost you, per day, to feed your horse with grafs, turning the money, or the goods which you had given the Negroes in exchange for it, into the value of sterling money?

The grafs they bought every night when the Negroes came was two bits worth, which is about 11d. sterling; we generally gave our horses a good deal of oats, or two bits worth of grafs would not have been sufficient, I think.

Does the practice of picking grafs on plantations every evening, as you have mentioned, continue all the year, or only out of crop-time?

It continues all the year.

Do they pick grafs upon plantations, notwithstanding they have cane tops to feed their cattle with, in crop time?

They do.

Does not the giving away of cane tops, as in your case, presuppose that the planters have a sufficiency of that kind of provender for their stock, without taking off their Negroes from the business of making sugar, and attending the mill, to go in search of grafs?

I never saw any cane tops carried home for the use of the planters

ters horses or stock; the draft mules at the mill live entirely upon them during crop-time.

Are not cane tops reckoned the most nourishing green food that can be given to a horse, or cattle of any kind?

They are a nourishing food to the mules, who altogether live upon them, and to horses also; I do not know whether the horned cattle, sheep, and goats, do eat them or not.

Are not hogs generally fattened with them by those who can get them?

Those Negroes in a plantation who have a hog to feed have what quantity they please to carry off for that purpose; and it is reckoned to make the best pork that are fed upon them; but they had generally, I think, the scum or skimmings of the boiling of sugar.

Was that skimming allowed them by their masters along with the cane tops?

I am not able to say whether it was allowed or otherwise, but some of the prime Negroes, I think, would not be debarred of it, as it seems not fit for any other use that I know of.

Did you ever know a Negro flogged for using the skimmings in feeding his hogs?

I never did that I remember.

Had Mr. Pickering a distillery for rum upon his plantation? He had.

You are asked then, as you resided with him so long upon his plantation, whether those skimmings of the sugar coppers are not a main ingredient used in the distil-house, in setting of liquor (as it is called) in the liquor casks of the distil-house for the making of rum?

They are not a main ingredient as I apprehend; it is the molasses that is the main and principal ingredient; skimmings I think are also used in setting their casks for distilling.

But are they not used along with the molasses?

They are always, I apprehend, used with the molasses.

In what imported articles did you trade when you lived at Tortola?

In

In a general assortment of most kinds of manufactured goods, as also in Irish provisions; sometimes in American cargoes of flour, bread, and various other articles, but no corn.

Did you ever sell any of your dry goods, such as Osnaburghs, checks, and other coarse linens, and other articles, to the Negroes?

I have.

Did you ever sell any herrings, dry salt fish, or pickled mackerel?

I have frequently imported and sold salt herrings from Ireland; I never imported or sold any cod fish, or mackerel, that I recollect.

For whose use were those herrings bought by the persons to whom you sold them?

I sold them to the planters, which they generally made use of in crop time to give to the Slaves that were generally employed at hard work the whole six days of the week.

Are herrings a perishable commodity, or will they keep the year round in the West Indies?

They are a perishable commodity; I do not think that we ever kept any the year round in my store.

Can they keep the year round?

I think they will not keep a whole year good in that Island.

Have you ever known a scarcity to prevail in the Island of Tortola, while you were there, either in your own store, or in those of the other merchants in the Island, in the articles of provision usually imported by merchants there?

I do not know any instances of great scarcity, since I kept a store in the Road at Tortola, of Irish salt provisions; I have known a scarcity of flour and bread, but not to any great distress, amongst the White people.

Was there always a constant supply of such articles of imported provisions as were generally given to the Negroes, equal to the consumption of the Island at all times of the year?

There was never to my knowledge any certain supply of provisions suitable for the Negroes at all times of the year; there was
more

more frequently no necessary food for the Negroes to be bought at the merchants stores.

Was you proprietor of any sugar plantation at Tortola, or elsewhere, in the West Indies?

I never had any concern in any degree in planting, or as proprietor of any plantation.

Did you deal in articles of iron ware?

In some few articles, but in no great way.

Did you ever sell any Negro chains to the planters?

I never sold any.

How many Slaves was you ever owner of at any one time?

I never had more than four or five at one time.

When you came to England, did you bring them with you?

One of them came with me, the others I left at the store with a partner that I then had, who staid in the island some time after I quitted it last.

What became of those Slaves that you left behind you at Tortola?

They were sold or disposed of by my partner, I believe, as our joint property; I think it was three or four years after I left the island.

You have said, you never sold any Negro chains to the planters; had you ever any to sell?

I never had.

During your stay in Tortola, was there any complaint that White people could not obtain redress by law for any injuries which they might have received?

We had no complaint of that sort in the island amongst the White people; if one committed a capital offence, as murder, the inhabitants were sensible that there was not a sufficient authority in that island to bring them to trial and punishment, without a special commission first had from the governor general.

Did any instance occur, during your stay there, of a murder committed by one White person upon another?

There was one instance while I was there.

Do

Do you know what became of the person who committed that crime?

He was tried in consequence of a commission sent down by the governor-general; he was tried by a jury, and he was acquitted by them.

Do you know whether redress was to be had, on application to the justices, on complaints being made of smaller offences committed by one White man against another?

Redress was to be had upon every occasion before the governor and council, when the court sat, and application was made to them.

Did White mechanics or tradesmen pursue their occupations in Tortola throughout the day, as is usual in other countries?

Yes; in like manner.

Did you serve on the jury who tried and acquitted the man for murder?

I did not.

Did your religious profession exempt you from it?

It does exempt us from it.

Of what profession are you?

Of the people called Quakers.

The Witness then said, I must here observe, that in speaking of Tortola, I also include the islands commonly called the Virgin Islands.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Martis, 27^o die Aprilis 1790.

HENRY HEW DALRYMPLE, Esquire, called in;
and examined.

Were you ever on the Coast of Africa?

Yes.

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When, .

When, for how long, in what situation, and on what part or parts of the coast?

I was on the coast in the year 1779, from May to the end of September; I was then a lieutenant in the army, in the 75th regiment; I was in garrison at Goree, but I was on different parts of the coast.

Did you obtain any information, when on the coast of Africa, respecting the modes of obtaining Slaves?

I did; I made it my business to enquire particularly into that circumstance.

Whence did you obtain any intelligence on this head?

From the merchants who carried on that trade at Goree, the French Mulattoes, and from the natives of the coast opposite to the island, particularly from the Maraboo or chief of Dacard, who spoke French remarkably well, and was a very sensible and intelligent man.

Were the inhabitants of Goree, whom you have just mentioned, respectable and intelligent persons?

As much so as people in that situation generally are.

Were you often on shore?

Very frequently; I was at Goree some months, and I do not recollect a week ever passed without my being on the continent more than once; my intention in going to the continent was to inform myself of the situation of the country, particularly to enquire into the manner in which Slaves are made, because having Slaves myself in the West Indies, I wished to know how they were procured; having heard so many different reports with regard to the manner of procuring them, I wished to ascertain the matter beyond a doubt, if possible.

What then was the issue of these enquiries into the modes of making Slaves?

I was informed by the Mulatto merchants of Goree, and by the natives of the continent opposite to the island, that the great droves (called, Caffillas or Caravans) of Slaves which are brought from the interior parts of Africa, by the way of Galam, to Senegal and Gambia, were prisoners of war; but the greater part, if not all of the Slaves which were sold to the vessels at Goree, and at the ports in that neighbourhood, were procured either by what they called the grande pillage (as I received the information in French),

French), or by the lesser pillage, or by individuals seizing such people as they could make themselves masters of, and selling them for Slaves. What is meant by the grande pillage is this; the king sends a number of soldiers, sometimes 300 or 400, and sometimes, I have been informed, 2 or 3000 men, who attack a village, sometimes by setting fire to it, and seizing as many of the inhabitants as they can, and selling them to the Europeans as Slaves; the smaller parties generally lay in wait about the villages (always I believe), and take such people as they can surprize, who are likewise sold as Slaves; individuals, often two or three men, who do not belong to the king, but are private robbers of men, when they can surprize any man, woman, or child, bring them down to the coast and sell them, where it is well known no questions are asked concerning the means by which they get possession of them.

You have spoken of prisoners of war; did you hear any thing particular concerning the nature of those wars?

I have heard, and it seemed to be a matter of sufficient notoriety, and to be universally believed on the coast, that these wars were undertaken solely for the purpose of procuring Slaves; whenever I have met any of the Negroes in the West Indies, who had been brought to the coast in these cassillas or droves from the interior parts of the country, I have made it my business to learn of them in what manner they had been made prisoners, and on almost every occasion the result of my enquiries was, that they had been taken by surprize, either at night in their villages, or had been surprized straggling at a distance from their huts (the women particularly), or sometimes attacked in cultivating their fields. I do not mean to say that there are no wars in Africa but what arise from a desire of making Slaves, but from the almost invariable answers that have been made to my enquiries, the greater part, or almost all of them proceed from this cause.

Is there any peculiarity in the mode of African wars, tending to confirm your opinion of the motive with which they are carried on?

Upon the coast the wars are of such short continuance, that they seldom last above eight or ten days, as I was informed by every body on the coast, the natives as well as others; and it seldom happens that many prisoners, even in the most decisive actions, are made, the number seldom amounting to above twenty or thirty. When I mentioned to the Maraboo of Dacard, who

was

was one of those from whom I obtained this information, and who was himself the third in command, the strength of our armies, and the numbers that are killed and made prisoners in our wars, he did not believe what I told him, as there had been no instance of any action in his country, where more than the number that I have already mentioned were either made prisoners or killed.

Did you hear of marauding expeditions, as being common in the interior country?

I did not; I understood that it is principally on the coast that these marauding parties are formed.

What grounds have you for supposing that kidnapping is practised?

The general report and instances that I myself have known—the thing is so notorious that I have never heard any person, French or native, who denied it; but I have known instances myself of this practice. Soon after my arrival at Goree, a man was brought to the garrison for sale, who said he was a Free Man, who was a messenger from Senegal, I think to Rufisco;—the two men who offered him for sale did not deny that he was a Free Man, but rather boasted of what they had done in having made themselves masters of him.

Here the Witnesses, being indisposed, desired to have leave to withdraw.

And the Committee agreeing thereto,

He withdrew accordingly.

Lunæ, 24^o die Maii 1790.

HENRY HEW DALRYMPLE, Esquire, called in.

Mr. Dalrymple requested to have his former examination read over to him, as he was so ill at the time he gave his evidence, that he apprehends he may not have been perfectly accurate.

And

And the same being read accordingly ;

Mr. Dalrymple requested to know whether he might be permitted by the Committee to explain his examination in a few particulars.

And leave being given accordingly, Mr. Dalrymple proceeded as follows :

When I was asked the following question, “ Did you hear of “ marauding expeditions as being common in the interior country ? ” I did not know how far the meaning of the word “ interior ” extended ; for I supposed that it applied to the interior parts of the country where I was at the time ; all the information that I received from the Slaves themselves whom I saw in the West Indies tended to convince me, that they were procured in that manner in the interior parts of Africa.

Were many Slaves brought to that part of the Coast which borders on Goree during your stay there ?

A considerable number were brought.

How many were generally brought at a time ?

They were brought in small numbers ; I mean seldom more than three or four together, but oftener only by a single Slave.

Did you learn any thing respecting a practice of European traders advancing goods to the kings or chiefs of the country to induce them to seize on their subjects, or commit depredations in the neighbouring districts ?

I did ; I always understood that it was a common practice, and I was confirmed in this by the Mulatto Traders at Goree, not one of whom ever thought of denying it.

Whilst you were at Goree, did you see or hear any thing of depredations committed by the Moors for the purpose of obtaining Slaves ?

I did ; it was a notorious practice, and I myself have seen several Slaves in Africa, who assured me they were taken by the Moors ; one of these was in the Island of Goree, and three others on board a Slave ship ; one of the women whom I saw on board of ship cried very much, and seemed to be in very great distress ; she told me she had been taken not long before by the Moors ;

the other two seemed to be more reconciled to their fate, but assured me they had been made prisoners in the same manner.

What was the general punishment of crimes, so far as came to your knowledge, in the part of Africa you visited?

All crimes were punished by Slavery.

Have any of the natives of that country Slaves of their own, whom they keep for domestic purposes?

In the Island of Goree, of which the greater part of the inhabitants are Mulattoes, Slaves are common, but on the Continent they are in very small numbers indeed among the natives, and treated so well, eating with their masters, working along with them, and being as well clothed (which they generally are, I think), that it is impossible to distinguish them from free men, unless the circumstance of their being Slaves is mentioned; I never saw any whip or instrument of torture used on that part of the Coast, nor do I believe, from the enquiries I made, that Slaves are treated with severity.

Do the natives at that part of the Coast believe in forcery or witchcraft?

I understand they do.

Do you know whether frauds are ever committed by the European merchants in conducting their trade with the natives?

I know they are frequent, because I have heard the Mulatto merchants boast of it; I have heard likewise that captains of European ships boast of deceiving them, by giving them less goods than they promised, and of worse quality.

Did any instances come to your knowledge of depredations being committed on the Coast by European traders?

There was a ship, while I was at Goree, which attempted to sail out of the bay with Negroes on board (I cannot ascertain the number, but there were a good many) without paying for them;—I was on the hill when we received orders to fire at the ship to bring her to; and this was the reason given for stopping her;—it was besides talked of there as a practice not uncommon, and from circumstances which came to my knowledge while I was at Goree, as well as from what I heard, I have no doubt but the thing is common.

What were the chief productions of the part of Africa which you visited?

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Cotton

Cotton of three different kinds, indigo, dyes of different kinds, spices, sugar-canes, tobacco, millet of two different kinds, ebony, and different kinds of cabinet woods.—The sugar-canes were remarkably fine, and by those who saw them, and were judges, reckoned better than any produced in the West Indies.—The cotton likewise was of a remarkably fine staple; and I was informed by Mr. Oswald, an African merchant, that this cotton, of which he had had many samples sent him from the Coast of Africa, was considered by the English merchants as far superior to any that came from the West Indies; it grows spontaneously almost every where, though it is sometimes cultivated.—The indigo is likewise of a better quality than what grows in our Islands; it is reckoned equal to the indigo of Guatimala.—I have myself specimens of these different things.—They have besides at Goree a root which dyes a beautiful scarlet, and the leaves of which dye a bright yellow, or orange colour.

Do the soil and climate seem favourable for the growth of spices?

I believe they are both extremely so. The cardamums are found in great perfection near Cape Verd.

From what you saw in Africa, what opinion did you form of the capacity of the Negroes?

As far as I was able to judge, they had as much natural capacity as any other people whatever.

What opinion did you form of their temper and disposition?

They appeared to me (and I believe I had as many, or more, opportunities of knowing them than any Englishman on the Coast, for I was constantly among them) to be an humane, hospitable, well-disposed people.

Did you see any thing to induce you to believe their indisposition to labour was such that they would not cultivate the soil for the natural productions of their country, if they were encouraged so to do?

I did not; on the contrary, the part of the country where I was, was remarkably well cultivated, and from their general disposition to labour, I am convinced, that had they a proper market for the produce of their country, they would be as industrious as any people in Europe; I have remarked, that in those parts of the Coast where there is little or no trade for Slaves, they are more industrious than in those places where that trade is carried on.

Have

Have they any manufactures on that part of the Coast?

They have cotton cloths, which are almost equal in quality, for the workmanship, to any made in Europe; they likewise work, in gold, silver, and iron, and their workmanship is remarkably neat; they work likewise in wood. As a proof of their industry, a great part of the canoes which are used upon the Coast near Goree are made from trees which are cut down at the distance of some leagues from the Coast; they are shaped upon the spot where they are cut down, but not hollowed, and are dragged over land to the shore, where the work is completed. The people who live in the woods, in the inland parts of the country, make mortars, which are used in pounding the millet, and which, though very heavy, they carry over the country on their heads.

Do they work in leather?

They do; they make saddles, bow-cases, scabbards, gris-gris, and many other things, which are finished with great neatness.

Were you much and often in the country, and amongst the natives, during your stay at Goree?

I was; few days passed without my being on the Continent.

Were you led by any particular circumstance to prosecute any enquiry into the situation of the natives of the country, and into the modes of obtaining Slaves?

Before I left England, I purchased all the histories of the Coast which I could procure, in order to inform myself of the situation of the country; from those books (from La Brue particularly) I learned that it was a common practice for the kings of the country to seize their subjects when they wanted European goods, and to sell them for Slaves, and therefore I wished to know whether their report was founded in fact.

Did any incident ever fall within your notice respecting the loss of seamen on board a Slave vessel?

I was on board the Atalanta sloop of war, when we fell in with a ship from the river Gambia, on board of which all the crew had died but two, (the captain, whose name was Heatly, and the mate); I went on board this vessel; the captain was laying on deck on a mattrafs, and the mate had all the appearance of being in bad health.

Were you ever on board any other Slave vessel?

I have.

When,

When, and upon what occasion, and what did you remark concerning the situation of the Slaves on board ?

I was on board a Slave vessel for two months, on my passage from Africa to the West Indies ; the Slaves were exceedingly unhappy on board, and made many attempts to rise ; when they found they could not succeed in their attempts, they begged that we would allow them to throw themselves overboard ; they were perpetually regretting their own country.

Were you ever in the West Indies ?

I have been there at three different times.

When, and on what islands ?

In the year 1773, at Grenada only, where I remained for six months ; in the years 1779 and 1780, in the islands of Antigua, Barbadoes, Tobago, St. Lucia, and St. Christopher's ; and in the years 1788 and 1789, at the islands of Grenada, Carriacou, St. Vincent's, and Tobago.

On your first visit to the West Indies, what impression was excited in your mind respecting the general treatment of the Negro Slaves ?

That they were treated very cruelly. I lived near the market-place of Saint George's at Grenada, where Negroes were flogged every day ; I saw many of them flogged ; they were tied down upon the ground, and whipped with such severity, that every stroke brought blood, and very often took out a piece of the flesh ; I likewise saw them often in chains, marked in the manner mentioned above. I know other instances of severity. It was notorious in the island, that a French planter sent for a surgeon to cut off the leg of a Negro who was in perfect health, as a punishment for having run away ; the surgeon refused to perform the operation, as the leg was sound ; the planter then took up an iron bar, with which he broke the leg in pieces, and then desired the surgeon to cut it off, which he did. This was only one of many acts of cruelty performed by this man.

In the cases of the whippings you have mentioned, do you know whether they were inflicted by order of the particular masters of the Slaves who were whipped, or in the execution of judicial sentences ?

I understood by the particular orders of their masters.

Was any, and what punishment inflicted on the perpetrator of the barbarous action you have lately specified ?

No punishment was inflicted upon him ; nor did I understand that it was the public opinion that any ought to have been inflicted, for he was equally well received in society after this action as before.

Are you certain that this man was well received by any persons who admitted the facts, in the manner you have stated them, and that ignorance of these facts might not have been the explanation of his continuing to be well received ?

He was received by people from whom I had the information myself of his conduct ; and I believe that there was not an inhabitant of Grenada who was not well acquainted with the circumstance.

During your stay at Grenada in 1773, did you often go into the country ?

I did frequently ; almost every day.

Did, or did not, a considerable number of the Field Negroes bear on their bodies the marks of the whip ?

Yes ; a great many did.

Did you ever see them working in the fields in chains ?

I have.

What was the nature of the instrument with which the Slaves were whipped ?

It is a thong of cow's hide, about half an inch in breadth, with large knots upon it in several places.

Did any remarkable occurrence happen to you on your first arrival in Antigua, in your second visit to the West Indies ?

The day after I arrived in the island, I saw three or four old Negroes, who were reduced to skin and bone, digging in the dung-hills in the streets for food ; I enquired how they came to be in that situation, and was informed, that they had been turned off by their owners, who could not afford to keep them ; this they told me themselves, and it was confirmed by White people who were with me at the time I saw them ; I likewise understood at the same time that it was not an uncommon practice.

Had you an opportunity of making much observation upon the situation of the Negroes, when you were in the West Indies, in the years 1779 and 1780 ?

As

As I was perpetually removing from place to place with the fleet and army, I had very little opportunity of seeing how the Negroes were treated in the plantations.

Speaking now of your last visit to the West Indies, in 1788 and 1789, can you say what was the number of hours the plantation Slaves in Grenada generally worked in a day out of crop time?

I believe in general from day-light till it was dark; on some plantations I have known them called out long before day-light; they are allowed in general an hour for breakfast and two hours for dinner.

How long did you reside in Grenada when you were last in the West Indies, and were you much, and often in the country?

I was there about fifteen or sixteen months, and resided always in the country.

After sun-set, do the Slaves consider the time as their own, to be spent altogether according to their inclinations?

They are generally sent to pick grass after the field-labour is over, which field-labour generally lasts till sun-set.

Does this occupation of picking grass sometimes take up much time?

It depends upon whether the grass is found easily, but they are obliged to bring a certain quantity at all times, which is sometimes attended with great difficulty, when it is scarce, or to be brought from a great distance, which is frequently the case; if they do not bring the quantity they are ordered, they are generally punished.

What may be the number of hours per day you have known Slaves to work in crop time?

I believe there is no stated time for them to work in crop time, but they are obliged to work as long as they are able, which is as long as they can keep awake, or stand upon their legs.—It sometimes happens, that falling asleep through excess of fatigue, their arms are caught in the mill, and they are torn off.—I myself have seen several who had lost their arms in this way.

What stated days of relaxation were the Slaves allowed in the island of Grenada?

Except one or two holidays in the year, I never understood or knew

knew that they had any time allotted them for their own amusement or repose. All the days of the week they labour in their masters grounds, and on Sunday they labour to supply themselves with food for the rest of the week, and on this day, instead of amusing themselves, they do more work than on any other day of the week —It is true, that on this day they are not attended by the driver of the plantation, as without working hard on this day they could not have subsistence for the rest of the week.

Do the Slaves work in the fields under the lash of a driver?

I never saw a gang in the field but it was attended by one or more drivers, who have made frequent use of their whips.

Have you seen women in these gangs, and are they also subjected to the whip?

I have seen women in these gangs, and they are whipped as much as the men; there is no distinction made in that respect.

From what you saw and learned, do you believe the Slaves in general were fed sufficiently, and with food of a good quality?

From what I saw and heard, I believe that they neither receive a sufficient quantity of food, nor is that food often of a good quality.—I made it my business to enquire of most of the Negroes I saw the last time I was in the West Indies, whether they were well fed, and all the Field Negroes, without exception, declared, that they were not—their appearance confirmed it.

Do you make any distinction between the Field Negroes, and the domestic?

The domestic Negroes are in general better fed than the Field Negroes: the quantity of food allowed a Negro employed in the fortifications, where the labour is of the most severe kind, was only, per week, seven pounds of bread, and four pounds of salt fish; and I think it probable they would be allowed as much provisions by government as by their masters.—Their employment was in carrying materials for the fortifications from the shore to the top of Richmond Hill, which was at least a mile and an half from the shore.—These materials consisted of bricks, lime, and large planks.—I have seen them often carrying burthens, under which they were scarcely able to move.

Were

Were these Slaves the property of government?
They were not.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Martis, 25^o die Maii 1790.

HENRY HEW DALRYMPLE, Esquire, called in; and
further examined.

To whom then did they belong, or how were they supplied?
They belonged to planters in the island, and were supplied by
them.

In what manner were the planters paid for this service, or was
it in the nature of a tax like statute labour?

The planters were paid so much a day for all the Slaves that
were employed in the works; I am not positive whether they
were paid by government or by the Island, but they did receive
pay for their Negroes, and they must have conceived them to be
well used, as they were very solicitous to get them employed on
the works.

Did any thing fall within your notice, which induced you to
believe, that the Slaves being supplied with sufficient food or not,
must depend on the master's disposition?

I believe that it depends entirely on the disposition and ability
of their masters, whether they are ill or well fed; I know at
different plantations they are differently fed at different times; I
am speaking of Grenada.

Did you know any instances of Slaves robbing the provision
grounds of neighbouring plantations?

I did; I dined at the house of a gentleman, who told me that
his grass field had been plundered the night before by the
Negroes of a neighbouring plantation; some of whom he could
have taken and punished; his reason for not taking them was,
that he knew that their allowance from their master was so small
that without robbing others they could not have existed: I do
not pretend to say that they are generally so ill fed as to be

obliged to rob for their subsistence; I only speak to this particular instance, though I understood that there are other planters that treat their Negroes in this manner; the place was near town, and grass sells at a great price.

Is grass at times sold at a high price?

It is.

Whilst in the West Indies did you ever hear an argument maintained respecting the comparative profitableness of keeping up the stocks of Slaves by the births, and the contrary system of working them out, and depending for supply on imported Africans?

I have heard that subject often discussed; and the general opinion was, that it answered their purpose better to import the Slave.

Were Negro Slaves, during your residence in the West Indies, considered as being, and as having always been, under the protection of law?

I do not believe that they were considered as under the protection of the law. My reasons for being of this opinion are, that in many instances Negroes have been treated in a cruel manner, without the person who committed this cruelty being punished for it; and in more instances than one, murders have been committed, not only with impunity, but without its being supposed that they were subject to punishment on this account. In the town of St. George, in the Island of Grenada, a mason, whose name was Chambers, killed a Negro in the middle of the day (I think in the church-yard), and no notice was taken of this. I had often heard this circumstance when I was first in the West Indies, and made it my business, when last in Grenada, to know whether the report was true. I met many people who had heard and believed this report; but the present chief judge of Grenada (who has permitted me to use his name on this occasion) assured me that it was true, and that he himself was in the town of Saint George when the murder was committed, but he was not then judge. Another instance of a planter who flogged his driver to death; this fact was notorious in Grenada. Amongst many who mentioned the circumstance to me, one gentleman told me that this very person had boasted of it to him: he was not punished for this, and by his mentioning it himself, it would appear that he was not apprehensive of being punished. The circumstance which I have already mentioned of a French planter

ter having broke the leg of his Negro, to oblige the surgeon to cut it off, who was not punished, I consider as another proof that acts of cruelty were committed with impunity. In June last, in the town of Saint George, in Grenada, I saw a Negress who was brought there to have her fingers cut off: this girl had committed a fault, and run away to avoid punishment. After being absent two days, she was brought to her master, who suspended her by the hands, and in that situation she was flogged in so cruel a manner that her back, breast, belly, and thighs, were cut in many places; she was left suspended by the hands till her fingers mortified, and in this situation I saw her at Dr. Gilpin's: no notice was taken of the man who had treated her in this manner, though this happened several months after the new act for the protection of Slaves was passed. I saw a Negress who had no teeth, though a young woman, and she informed me that her mistress had with her own hands pulled out her teeth, and besides given her a severe flogging, the marks of which she bore upon her body at that time, though she had been flogged three years before. I enquired of several people whether this story that she told me was true, and they confirmed what she said; in short, the fact was notorious in the town of Saint George.

Though in your opinion the Slaves do not enjoy the protection of law, yet does not the master's attention to his own interest guard them against ill usage, and secure to them a sufficiency of food and other necessaries?

Surely the master may protect them, and feed them, but the instances I have mentioned of bad usage and under-feeding are proofs that he does not always either protect or feed them as he ought.

Were there many estates in Grenada, whilst you were there, on which the masters were not resident?

There were many.

Were you in Grenada at the time of passing the act of the assembly of Grenada in the year 1788, intituled "An Act for the better Protection, and promoting the Increase and Population of Slaves?"

I was.

Were any objections made against the provisions of that act, either by any members of the legislative assembly, or in other places?

The

The principal objection which I heard used against the passing of the act was, the fear the planters had that the passing of this act might make the Slaves believe that the authority of their masters over them would be lessened; for many were of opinion that this act when passed would be of very little consequence in any other respect, as this law was made by themselves against themselves, and to be carried into execution by themselves;—they said besides, that such laws were unnecessary for the protection of the Negro where he was treated well; and that those who treated them ill had so many opportunities of evading the laws, that they apprehended they would be of no use, as Negro evidence was not admitted.

Can you take upon you to say positively, that these arguments respecting this law were held at the time of the act's passing in the island of Grenada?

I can; I have heard them repeatedly.

Were all the members of the legislature planters?

They were not; several were Slave merchants and store keepers in the town of St. George.

At the time of the passing of the act just mentioned, was the proposal in the British parliament respecting the abolition of the Slave Trade a matter of notoriety and general discussion in the island?

It was.

Did any thing fall within your notice, which induced you to believe that the passing of the act just mentioned might in some degree be owing to the knowledge of what was going forward in Great Britain?

From what I have frequently heard, I believe that was one of the principal reasons for passing the bill; it was reported, that the Agent for the island had mentioned in a letter to the island, that unless they made laws for the protection of the Slave, the British parliament would; but this letter I never saw, though I did every thing in my power to procure a reading of the Agent's letters, to which, as a proprietor in the island, I thought I had a right.

Though you did not see this letter, can you take upon you to say, that it was currently urged as an argument for the passing of the law before mentioned, that such a letter had been written?

I have often heard it urged as an argument that the act ought to pass.

From

From all that you have seen and known of the state of Grenada, is it your opinion that this law will be effectual for the personal protection of the Slave, and for securing his comfort in other respect?

I believe it will not. As Negro evidence is not admitted, it is in the power of those who use their Negroes ill to do it with impunity; and besides, those who before the making of the law did not use their Negroes well, cannot be supposed to use them better since the law was made, from the difficulty of proving such bad usage, either in feeding or any thing else.

Have you any other reason, besides those you have given, for thinking this law will be ineffectual?

I believe that in a small society, such as that of Grenada, people who live in terms of intimacy and friendship with each other would dislike the idea of becoming spies on each other's actions, and of consequence would not inform, in all probability, against their neighbours; but this is matter of opinion.

When you were in the West Indies, was the chastity of the wives of Slaves sufficiently protected by law?

I believe it was not protected by law, and I myself have known instances where it has been violated.

Did any punishment follow on such violations?

I never heard or understood that there was any punishment for it.

Was it, or was it not, commonly understood, when a visitor went on a plantation, that he was offered by the master one of the master's female Slaves?

That is certainly sometimes the case.

Did you ever know any instances wherein compulsion was used towards the female Slave to oblige her to consent to prostitution?

I have known such.

Do field Slaves often become possessed of considerable property?

I do not pretend to say they do not, but I never knew an instance myself; and when I consider that the greater part of their time is employed for their masters, I cannot conceive how they should have time to acquire considerable property.

Did instances of expensive feasts among the Field Slaves frequently, or ever, fall under your personal notice?

Never.

Did you ever know any instances of Slaves, when grown unable to work, being turned off to provide for themselves, either with or without the form of manumission?

I have; a Negro woman who had been my father's property, on becoming unfit for labour by disease, was turned off by the trustees for the estate, and subsisted on charity in the town of Saint George.

Was the tetanus or locked-jaw very fatal to the Negro infants in the island of Grenada, so far as you had an opportunity of knowing?

It was very fatal to them; but there are means of treating the mothers and children, which renders this disease less fatal. Mr. William Bruce, a planter in Tobago, informed me, that for many years he lost almost as many children as were born on his estate by this disease; but from the time he adopted a mode of treatment which was recommended to him by a neighbouring planter, he had not lost one child by that disease; this he informed me of a few months ago in this town; he is lately gone to the West Indies.

Did the Field Slaves appear to you to be in general chearful and happy?

They did not.

Did you ever know any instances of Slaves destroying themselves?

I have not immediately seen any Slave destroy himself, but I know that the practice is not uncommon.

Have you yourself any property in Grenada?

I have land in Grenada.

Is it in cultivation?

It is not in cultivation.

Was it ever in cultivation?

A part of it has been cultivated.

To what parts of Africa did your personal observations extend?

To

To the part of the kingdom of Cajore, which is opposite to Go ee, and to the country to the north and south for some leagues.

How many leagues of coast did that comprehend?
I cannot exactly say; not a great many.

How far have you been in the interior part of that continent?

Not more than eight or ten miles inland from the shore.

Is the Committee to understand, that your observations, as to the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and the manner of carrying on the Slave Trade, the natural productions of Africa and its manufactures, extend to no other part of Africa?

My personal observations do not extend beyond the country I have mentioned.

Do you know whether indigo is not manufactured in that part of Africa?

It is manufactured there fit for use; they dye cloths with it; I never saw it in the process of manufacturing, but I have seen it after it has been manufactured.

When you speak of their manufactures and workmanship in gold, silver, iron, and other materials, do you mean that those manufactures are the work of the Negroes, or by the Moors in that country?

Of both.

What proportion, in point of number, do the Moors bear to the Negroes in those parts where you have been, to the best of your information and judgment?

There are very few Moors in the country about Cape Verd; I never saw more than five or six of them together, and these were strangers; I do not know that any Moors are settled at Cape Verd and that country.

Are there none at Goree, or any other parts where you have been?

None settled at Goree or any other parts; at least there were none when I was there.

Are you sufficiently acquainted with the different species and quantity

quantity of African dye woods, spices, gums, and other natural productions of that country usually imported into Great Britain, as to say whether the quantities of each so imported are likely to be increased with any advantage to the persons who deal in those articles?

I do not pretend to say what the demand for them in this country may be, but certainly with proper encouragement the Negroes might be brought to cultivate the different productions of that part of the coast to a much greater extent than they do at present, were there a demand for them, as I observed them to be remarkably industrious wherever there has been a demand for the article or produce which they cultivated or manufactured.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 28^o die Maii 1790.

HENRY HEW DALRYMPLE, Esquire, called in;
and further examined.

In what capacity or station did you go to Grenada in the year 1773?

I went on a visit to my father, who was settled on the island.

How old was you at that time?

I suppose about twenty-one or twenty-two.

Who was then governor of the Island of Grenada?
Mr. Leybourne.

During the six month's stay you say you that year made in Grenada, did you chiefly reside in town or in the country?

Chiefly in town, though sometimes in the country.

Did you, during that period, make visits to many of the plantations of the British settlers, and were your visits of duration enough to enable you to observe their system for the management of their estates, and treatment of their Slaves?

I made frequent visits to the different plantations, but did not pay attention at that time to the mode of cultivating the estates;
but

but both in town and country, saw many instances of cruel treatment of the Negroes—I mean to distinguish, that in town I saw the operation performed frequently of flogging them; in the country I had few opportunities of seeing them flogged, but saw many that bore the marks of severe whippings.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 29^o die Maii 1790.

HENRY HEW DALRYMPLE, Esquire, called in;
and further examined.

Can you say positively, that none of the punishments which you say you saw daily inflicted on the Negroes, in the Market-place in Saint George's Town, were by order of a magistrate?

I cannot say that some of them were not by order of a magistrate, for I believe some of them were, but many I was informed were inflicted by order of the masters; and I know by the laws of the island they have a power of that kind, for there is an act for regulating the fees of the office of clerk of the market (whose business it is to superintend the punishment of Negroes upon the public parade) authorizing him to take eighteen pence for every Slave he shall flog, whether it is done by order of the magistrate or by the orders of the owner.

When was that law passed?

The 13th of October 1784.

Have you no other grounds for your opinion, that some of the Negroes which you saw daily flogged in the Market-place, in 1773, were punished by order of the magistrates, than the regulations mentioned in a law passed in 1784?

I know that it was the practice at that time to flog Negroes by order of their masters, and I quoted this law to shew that the practice still continued.

Were the Negroes which you then used to see daily whipped in the Market-place, the Slaves of persons residing in the town or belonging to the plantations?

4 L

I believe

I believe they were generally Slaves belonging to people in town.

Do you recollect the name of the French planter who you was informed had treated his Negroes so barbarously?

I do not recollect it.

When was it said to have been done?

I do not precisely remember the year.

By whom were you informed of the circumstances of that act, and particularly of that planter's having been as well received by the community after as he was before it?

I was informed of his having committed this action by many people; it was a thing of common notoriety in the island, and I believe that many Grenada gentlemen now in England have heard the story; I have seen this man in the best society of the island after this story was generally known, and after I myself knew it.

You say, "You have seen this very man in the best society of the island of Grenada, after the report of his perpetrating this atrocious act was notorious in the island;" can you take upon you to say, that that report was believed by the better sort of people in whose company you say you have seen him?

I have reason to think they did believe it.

What are your reasons for that belief?

I heard the story mentioned by these people as a thing that was notorious, and what they did not seem to disbelieve.

How often may you have seen him in this company?

At the distance of 16 or 17 years it is not an easy matter to recollect, but I am sure I have seen him oftener than once.

Is the Committee to collect then from what you have said, that such atrocious acts are in the estimation of the better sort of people in the island of Grenada worthy of no investigation or punishment?

That is a point to which I cannot speak; I cannot pretend to answer for men's opinions, nor would I willingly believe that the better sort of people in that country approve of such actions; I only mean to say, that it was notorious in the island that this fact had

had been committed; that I never heard or understood that there had been any attempt to punish him for this; and that I saw him in good society in the island after I heard the circumstance mentioned.

To what island did you go to from Africa in the Slave ship on board of which you said you were two months?

To the Island of Antigua.

How long did you then reside in Antigua?

I think not longer than three weeks, perhaps not so long.

Do you recollect the time when you arrived there?

It was in the year 1779; I do not recollect the month, but if it is necessary I could ascertain it from my papers.

To what island did you go from thence?

To Barbadoes.

How long did you reside on shore in that island, at any one given time?

I think never more than a fortnight or three weeks.

How long did you reside on shore at Saint Christopher's?

I think about the same time.

Was your residence in the islands of Antigua, Barbadoes, and Saint Christopher's, in the towns or in the country?

In the towns, almost always.

What business carried you to Grenada, in the year 1788?

My own private affairs.

In what year did you first become a proprietor of Slaves in the West Indies?

At the death of my father (in the year 1775, I think) as his heir.

What was the nature and quantity of provisions you usually allowed your Negroes per week?

The estate being in the possession of a mortgagee, no account was given to me of the manner of providing for the Slaves.

Did the planters in Grenada allow their Slaves any other, and what kind of provision, besides that which grows in the island?

I cannot

I cannot speak positively to this; but I understand that they allow them salt provisions and flour, which are brought from Europe and America.

Is it not customary for the planters in Grenada to distribute regularly every week, or daily, exclusive of the ground provisions of the island, an allowance of fish, salt beef, or pork, and at times various sorts of corn, either in grain or meal?

I have understood that many do so, but I have been likewise informed that there are some that do not.

Is it not in general the custom to give such an allowance to the Slaves?

I believe it is.

In your last residence at Grenada, did you associate much with the principal planters in the island?

I did not.

You have said, "That visitors on plantations are sometimes offered by the master of the house one of his female Slaves;" is the Committee to collect from this, that such is the dissoluteness of manners in that island, as that the means of gratifying libidinous inclinations constitute a part of the hospitality offered to guests?

I have more than once been offered women in this way myself, on plantations where I have been, and I have heard from others that the same has happened to them.

Was this among the higher order of people in the island?

It was.

Was it indiscriminately offered by married men as well as bachelors?

This offer was made to me by unmarried men.

By whom in general are the inhabitants of the towns in Grenada, who have no plantations of their own, furnished with grass and other green provender for their horses?

I believe generally by the Slaves belonging to plantations in the neighbourhood of the towns.

Do the Slaves receive to their own use the money or other commodities which they receive in return for that provender?

I believe they sometimes do; but I believe they sometimes sell the grafs on the master's account, as I have been informed.

Did you ever know a planter to sell grafs?

I cannot say that I did; but one of the reasons given to me in favour of an estate near town was, that the grafs might be advantageously disposed of from its vicinity to the town.

Did you infer from thence, that that grafs was to be disposed of for the immediate benefit of the master, or that it was a circumstance of ease and advantage to the Slave, and might make his situation more comfortable by the sale of it?

I understood that it was for the advantage of the master; I have known instances of planters selling milk and greens.

Did you ever know a planter cultivate grafs for the sake of selling it?

I do not know for what purposes he cultivates grafs, whether for selling it, or for his cattle.

As grafs is a vendible commodity by the Negroes to the Whites, is it not reasonable to suppose, that Slaves sometimes sell what they ought to carry to their masters, and thereby incur the punishment you have said they received when they do not bring home as reasonable a quantity of it as their masters might think that they could procure?

Though it does not consist with my knowledge that that is the case, yet it very probably may be so.

Was you upon terms of intimacy, and was you frequently in company and conversation with the present Chief Justice of Grenada?

I was frequently in company and in conversation with him.

Was it in Grenada, or since you left it, that he gave you leave to make use of his name respecting a man of the name of Chambers killing a Negro in the middle of the day, as you have stated?

It was in Grenada, and in his own house.

Did you understand from him at what time that fact was committed?

I think he said in the year 1768; but I cannot be positive.

Do you know in what year a regular civil form of British government was established in Grenada?

I do not know.

Then His Majesty's Proclamation of the 26th of March 1764, for the sale of lands in the Ceded Islands, being read;

The Witness was asked,

In what year did the instance that you have mentioned to have been notorious in the Island of Grenada, of a planter's having flogged his driver to death, happen?

I cannot say in what year, but it was before the year 1773, at which time I heard it.

Did the Chief Justice mention any thing of that to you?

I do not recollect that he did, though he mentioned to me many instances of cruelty to Slaves.

You have mentioned an instance which happened in Grenada in June last, of a Negro girl having been most cruelly flogged by her master in the manner described by you, and that no notice was taken of it, although it happened several months after the new act for the protection of Slaves was passed in that Island, and that you saw the Negro at Dr. Gilpin's in Saint George's Town, in the miserable situation in which you described her to have been; was any information of this transaction given by you, or by any other person to your knowledge, to the Chief Justice of the Island?

I enquired after some time, whether any notice had been taken of the abovementioned act of cruelty, and I did not find that any notice had been taken of it; I did not give any information myself of this to the Chief Justice, nor do I know whether he was informed of it.

As you say, that you were a proprietor of a plantation in the Island of Grenada, do you think that your interference in punishing the master of that Negro would not have had some effect towards carrying into execution the law for the protection of Slaves?

At the time that this act of cruelty happened I was preparing to leave the Island, and believed, as it was known to so many people,

people, that the Chief Justice must have been informed of it by somebody; and I did not know that no notice had been taken of it till I was just setting out for Europe, and I never saw the Chief Justice after that.

Where did the Chief Justice generally reside?
In the town of Saint George.

You have stated to the Committee as your opinion, " That the law abovementioned for the protection of Slaves will not be effectual, because, as Negro evidence is not admitted, it is in the power of those who use their Negroes ill to do it with impunity;" have you read the abovementioned law?

I have, though not lately.

Is there, or is there not, a clause or clauses in that law whereby three persons being freeholders of the qualification therein specified, in each parish, are appointed guardians for the purpose of carrying the salutary regulations of that law into execution, and whose testimony will be competent in all cases necessary thereto?

I do recollect such clauses; the clauses of that act are all favourable to the Slave, but while the evidence of a Slave is not admitted in a court of law, they can be of very little or no service to him; this is my opinion.

Supposing then that the Slaves in Grenada should not have the provision, cloathing, lodging, maintenance, and treatment prescribed and intended by that law, is it your opinion that they will be without remedy?

Not in every instance; I believe that those who are disposed to treat their Negroes ill may find ways of evading these laws; for laws for the protection of the Negroes, and feeding them, had been before passed, and which it would appear had not been efficacious, as it was found necessary to make a new act; there is an act dated the 10th of December 1786, for the allowance of provision grounds to Slaves, by which it appears that four freeholders were appointed by the Justices of each parish to inspect the provision grounds of the plantations, to see that there was a sufficient quantity of Negro provisions, but the preamble to the last act seems to imply that this act had not been sufficiently attended to.

Is it not common in Grenada for the plantation Slaves to bring to market, and particularly on Sundays, various articles of fruit and

and vegetables, poultry, pork, kids, and goats, their own property, and raised by them for sale?

I believe it is.

How much in your opinion would it cost a person in English money to maintain a horse in grass, and other green provender, per diem, in town?

I should suppose it cost me two shillings a day each, to maintain my horses.

Does the practice of picking gr-ss by the Negroes upon the plantations daily, continue the whole year, or what portion of it?

As the cattle upon a plantation must be fed all the year round, I apprehend more or less gr-ss is picked all the year round; but to this I cannot speak positively.

Are not the cane tops in crop time a food which cattle of all denominations are very fond of, and which in that season is substituted for gr-ss?

I believe in many plantations it is; but to that I cannot speak positively either, as I was so little upon the plantations.

Did not the Slaves employed in the fortifications at Grenada, exclusive of the rations of provisions which they received from government of seven pounds of bread, and four pounds of salt fish per week each, receive from their masters a supply of the ground provisions of the island to eat with that salt fish?

I understood that this in general was their whole allowance, but in that I may have been misinformed.

In whose department in the King's military service did it lay to ascertain the rations or quantity of food necessary for the support of the Slaves who worked on the fortifications?

I believe with the commander in chief.

Under what officer's immediate inspection and direction was the labour on the fortifications allotted to the Negroes, and under whose supervision was it executed?

I do not apprehend or believe that any military officer had, or could have, any thing to do with the labour of the Negroes; their appointment was, as men of professional knowledge, to see that the works on the fortifications were properly executed. The Negroes employed in these works, with regard to the quantity of

of labour, must be considered as entirely under the management and inspection of managers and overseers; no European officer can be supposed to be so good a judge, either of the quantity of labour which the Negroes are able to bear, or of the quantity or quality of their food, as the West Indians themselves.

Do you mean thereby that there was no person appointed on the part of the crown, competent to judge of the nature of the contracts in respect to the food which the Negroes were to receive, or the quantity of labour they were to perform, but that the king's service, in both respects, was left to be provided for by those only who were most interested in the contract?

I have already said, that the quantity of food was fixed by the commander in chief; every person who sent Negroes to the fortifications sent a person, either a White Man or a Black Man, to take care of them; and there is, I suppose, a person set over all the Slaves, to see that they do their duty.

Was that person (did you imagine) appointed by the commander in chief on the part of the king, or by the planters?

By the commander in chief.

Were there any soldiers employed to work on the fortifications in Grenada?

I cannot positively say; but I do not recollect to have seen any when I was upon the hill.

Do you know the rations of food allowed to the common soldiers in Grenada?

I do not at this moment recollect.

You have said, "That you have seen the Slaves employed on the fortifications in Grenada carrying such burthens in that service that they staggered under and were scarcely able to move;" to whom was this excess of labour to be ascribed, to the person appointed on the part of the king to see that the Slaves did their work, or to the persons sent by the planters with their Slaves to take care of them?

I cannot pretend to say to whom it was to be ascribed.

You have said, "That this service on the fortifications was deemed so profitable a one by the planters, that they were very solicitous to get their Slaves employed in it;" is it to be imagined then that the over-burthening of the Slaves, in the

manner described by you, could be ascribed to the directions of the persons sent by the planters to take care of their Slaves?

I should think not.

Do you, or do you not, know that there is a particular act of the assembly of the Island of Grenada, constituting a joint committee of the council and assembly for the purpose of seeing that the service of the Slaves on the fortifications, and their food, are properly taken care of?

I believe there is, but it is in the power of the lower orders of those who are employed by the committee to ill-treat the Slaves in many respects, without its coming to their knowledge.

How is it in the power of any such person to interfere with the labour of the Slaves, when there was a person specially appointed for that purpose on the part of the King?

Nothing is more common than for people in a subaltern situation in all countries to exceed their power; but I know the thing exists, because I have seen it.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Lundæ, 31^o die Maii 1790.

HENRY HEW DALRYMPLE, Esquire, called in;
and further examined.

You have said, your estate is not at present under cultivation; might you not have obtained the means of putting that estate in cultivation if you had approved of them?

I might have obtained the means of putting the estate in cultivation, as I might have had Slaves from the house of Backhouse and Tarleton in Grenada, but having had an opportunity, when on the Coast of Africa, of knowing how happy the Negroes are in their own country, and knowing the unjustifiable means by which they are made Slaves there, their cruel usage on board of ship, and the severe usage in the West Indies, I could not, consistently with

my ideas of what was right, purchase any Slaves, particularly as I did not intend to remain upon the plantation myself.

Have you ever seen diseased or disabled seamen lying about the ports in the West Indies?

I have seen many in the town of St. George, and enquiring of themselves, I found that they had belonged to Guinea ships which had left them there.

From your knowledge of the Island of Grenada, do you think that any planter would be desirous of interfering very actively to remedy the smaller abuses practised by White people upon their Negroes?

I cannot say.

What was Mr. Bruce's method of preventing the tetanus?

I do not know Mr. Bruce's method, but he assured me that it was so efficacious, that from the time he had adopted it (which I think was two years before he mentioned it to me) he had not lost any, or at least but very few children (I think he said one or two), though during that time many had been born upon his estate.

Had not you the curiosity to enquire into his method?

I did enquire, and he mentioned the method to me, but I do not recollect it sufficiently to be able to give an accurate account of it to the Committee; but I think that part of the method was, by giving the women, immediately before the labour, a large airy apartment.

After this discovery, did Mr. Bruce keep up the numbers upon his estate?

He told me, that from the time of this discovery, though many children were born upon his estate, he lost very few, I think only one or two, he said.

In how many years?

I think in two years; but I cannot be positive as to the number of years.

Do you mean to say, that the Slaves in Grenada are ill used?

I do not pretend to say that they are all ill used; but from what I myself have seen and heard, I believe that bad usage is too general; I believe and know that there are people in Grenada who

who treat their Slaves well; but I believe it is not the general practice.

From the extent of your travels in Africa, as mentioned in a former part of your evidence, do you think yourself warranted to speak of the happy state of the Negroes in Africa?

I only pretend to speak positively to that part of the Coast which I myself have seen.

Do you apprehend that that extent along the Coast amounts to forty miles?

I should apprehend not to more; perhaps not so much.

Did you purchase the plantation of which you have just been speaking, or did it come to you by inheritance or devise?

I purchased the plantation from Mr. Townshend, the treasurer of Grenada, who was trustee of my father's estate.

In what parish does it lie?

I think in the parish of Saint David.

How many miles from Saint George's town?

I believe about seven or eight.

Was any part of it ever cultivated in canes, or if not, in what else was it usually cultivated?

No part of it, I believe, ever was cultivated in canes; it was cultivated in cocoa and provisions.

How many acres does it consist of?

256, more or less.

In what is it cultivated at present?

It is not at present in a state of cultivation.

Were there ever any Slaves, and how many, attached to it, or employed upon it?

I believe there were Slaves attached to it when in cultivation; but I cannot say how many.

Is the soil adapted to the growth and produce of the sugar cane?

The soil is very good, but the situation is rather too high for the cultivation of canes.

Are

Are there any Slaves now belonging to it, and how many?

There are none belonging to it.

How many would it require to cultivate it for such produce as from the soil and situation it is adapted to?

I cannot pretend to say.

Are there any sugar works or other buildings upon it, and of what sort?

There are no works or buildings upon it.

Is this the plantation which, in a former part of your evidence, you said was, with the Slaves belonging to it, in the possession of a mortgagee?

No, it is not.

Are you now the owner of that estate which you said belonged to your father, and was in the possession of a mortgagee, and for which reason, you said, you could give no account of the feeding and cloathing of the Negroes?

I do not consider myself as owner of the estate, but a part of my family have a right upon the estate, and I have reserved for myself and family a right to call the mortgagee in possession to account.

Are you owner of any other property in Grenada besides what you have stated?

I am not.

In your several conversations with the present Chief Justice of Grenada, touching the personal protection of Slaves, do you recollect his ever mentioning to you any instance of a White man's having been convicted by due course of law there, and hanged for the murder of a Slave, after the island became under the British civil government?

I have had conversation with the Chief Justice upon this subject, and I do recollect his mentioning an instance of a White man being brought to trial, and being hanged for the murder of a Slave; he said, that he was of opinion, that if this man had been a man of good character, or had had friends or money to pay for the Slave he had murdered, that it was probable that he would not have been brought to a trial; he described this man as a native of Barbadoes, a man of very bad character in his own island, which on that account he had been obliged to leave; his employment in Grenada was

that of a bailiff's follower, and he was remarkable for executing his office with rigour; on this account, as well as his general bad character, he was particularly obnoxious to the inhabitants of the town of St. George.

Did you understand from the Chief Justice, whether the man was defended by counsel or not?

I understood that he was defended by counsel.

Did the Chief Justice reside at Grenada at the time of that transaction, as you understood?

I do not know.

Was you ever in the island of Saint Vincent's?

I have.

Was you at Calliaqua?

I was.

Did you see and converse with any of the Caribbs at Saint Vincent's?

I conversed with the Yellow Caribbs only; but I have seen the Black Caribbs.

Do the Black Caribbs appear to be originally of the same race of people as the Negro Slaves?

I apprehend the Black Caribbs to be a mixture between the Yellow Caribbs and some Negroes that have been cast away on the Island.

Do their complexion and features approach nearer to the Yellow Caribb, or to the Negro?

Their complexion and features approach nearer to the Negroes than to the Yellow Caribbs.

Did the Black Caribbs which you saw have any cloathing, and what was that cloathing?

They had only a clout or girdle about their middles; they had no other cloathing.

Had they shoes or sandals, or any thing to guard their feet?

Those that I saw had no shoes.

Did any of those Caribbs that you saw carry arms?

As far as I recollect, all of them were armed with cutlasses.

Did

Did you see any Black Caribbs in their way to the markets of the Island?

I have seen them in the market of Kingston, selling tobacco, and other articles.

Who were the bearers of those articles to market, the men or the women?

The women.

You mentioned having conversed with some Yellow Caribbs, are they clothed any further than those Black Caribbs you have mentioned?

Those that I saw were not.

Was you at their cabins within the country?

I was not; I only saw them at Kingston.

Are you acquainted with the food and way of living of those Caribbs, from that conversation?

I am not.

Whether the sugar estates that are cultivated in St. Vincent's, which you saw, were not for the most part bordering on the sea-coast?

The greater part of them certainly are.

How are the Negroes clothed in Africa?

In those parts of Africa where I have been, the Negroes use very little cloathing.—They have a great deal of cloathing sometimes, but that is only for ceremony.

Do you recollect the name of the White man who was hanged for murder?

He was called, I think, Bacchus Preston.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Martis, 1^o die Junii 1790.

THE Reverend ROBERT BOUCHER NICHOLLS, Dean of Middleham, in Yorkshire, called in; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

Yes; I was born in Barbadoes, and resided there some years in my youth, and two years after I was of age, from the year 1768 to the year 1770, during which time I was in holy orders.

Were you absent from Barbadoes for any considerable time previous to the period last mentioned?

I was absent at school in England four years, and at the university of Oxford six years, with an interval between the two periods of the school and the university of four years, during which time I was under the tuition of an uncle in the island of Barbadoes.

During your residence in Barbadoes, had you any opportunities of judging of the situations of the field as well as of the house Slaves?

Yes; for my uncle, with whom I resided four years, possessed a sugar estate of his own, upon which he lived, and several of my friends and relations were concerned in estates, whom I visited; and in my last residence of two years I resided upon a very large estate, and observed the management of that as well as of the other surrounding estates.

What appeared to you to be the situation of the Slaves in general, in respect of food, and other necessaries and comforts of life?

I do not think I could comprehend their condition under any one general description that would equally suit all whom I observed; some appeared to be well fed and taken care of both in sickness and in health; others again to be much neglected and severely treated; the impression that was made upon my mind by the latter occasioned my saying to a person concerned largely in the management of Negroes, that Providence would raise up a deliverer to that people. In order to shew that this is not a sentiment taken up at the moment, I believe, if it was necessary, I could mention the very words I used on that occasion, of which I was lately reminded by the person to whom I used them:—the words were, “ This people will find a Moses.”

Was it, in your opinion, generally understood in your time, in the island of Barbadoes, that Slaves were by the laws secured in the enjoyment of sufficient food and other comforts, and protected from personal ill usage?

I never

I never read the laws of Barbadoes, but I understood from general conversation on the subject, that the Slaves were under no protection; but that in cases of murder the owner, if the murderer, was by the laws punishable by fine; but if the murderer was not the owner, the value of the Negro was paid to the owner, and the said fine paid into the Exchequer, at the suit of the Attorney General. I do not recollect an instance of wilful murder by any owner, but I recollect to have been informed, by correspondence with a West India gentleman, that a person of the name of Beaumont Lashley did wilfully, in passing the streets, draw his sword and kill a new Negro, whom he thought to be laughing at him while he himself was intoxicated. I understood he paid the price of the Negro, but I did not learn that any other punishment was inflicted.

In what year did this transaction pass of which you have last spoken?

I did not enquire, but believe it has happened since I left the island.

Did your correspondent mention it as a circumstance which had fallen within his own personal knowledge?

My correspondent lived in the country at a distance from Bridge Town, where the event occurred; but he spoke of it as a matter of certainty, and well known.

Is this correspondent a man on whose information you can entirely rely?

Indeed I am persuaded I can.

Do you apprehend, that if Slaves who did not receive sufficient food, or who were ill used by their masters, had applied to the magistrate, they could have obtained legal redress, or was it generally understood that they had any right to it?

I never understood that they could obtain legal redress in those instances, nor did I ever hear of such redress being applied for; what legal provision there is I cannot undertake to say.

Though the Slaves, you say, were not generally considered as being under legal protection in the particulars before stated, yet was not the master's sense of interest in general sufficient to secure them from ill usage, and in the enjoyment of sufficient food, &c.?

I knew many instances in which the sense of interest did not prevail.

Do you recollect any of these instances ?

I recollect the instance of one M'Mahon, whose severity, it was generally said, had destroyed more Negroes than the value of the additional crops produced by their very severe labour ; so that although in eight years he paid off a considerable debt with which his estate was encumbered, yet it was reckoned that he destroyed more Negroes than the amount of the debt.—I do also recollect another instance or two in which the Negroes were reduced to a general state of debility and discontent from the want of proper supplies of food and necessary comforts, while they were urged to their accustomed labour ; so that it was observed, that the manager of a particular estate “ for a long cane would produce a dead “ Negro.” Those I mention as the identical words which I heard. In other cases humanity equally joined with a sense of interest in making a good provision for the Negroes. I could mention several instances, in particular that of Dr. Mapp, whose estate I saw in the most flourishing condition possible, both as to the number of Negroes, from their natural increase, and the success of his plantation.

Did you or did you not see reason to believe that the treatment of the Slaves, and their situation, greatly depended on the disposition of the master or manager ?

I conceived it wholly to depend upon the disposition of the person who had the direction of them. I knew an estate of Sir Hanson Berney, where I was much in my youth, while it was under the direction of his brother, Mr. Berney, whose management of the Negroes was humane and judicious, and conducted without any punishment that I ever observed, while the management of the estate was also equally judicious and productive of good to the owner ; and I have often heard a relation of mine, who had the care of several large estates, declare that he would willingly submit to have the power of punishment taken from him, if he might allow sufficient rewards for good behaviour and labour ; he conducted one estate in particular that I know for the space of two years, during which I visited him almost daily, without any instance of punishment that I knew of ; and yet he declared to me, that upon his taking the management of that estate there was hardly a place on the backs of the labouring Negroes free from the marks of the lash, though all that severity did not prove successful to the owner in point of crops.

Was

Was any effect on the Slaves situation produced by the master's being in embarrassed circumstances?

The effect was obvious: 1st, as to the pressing his Slaves to greater exertions, that he might be spared the hiring of assistants in holing, in order to produce larger crops, and because he had not always credit with the town agent to procure supplies; or, if he had credit, such supplies coming dear, he was more sparing in issuing them out; or, if he was ever so desirous of granting liberal supplies, yet the difficulty of obtaining them in bad weather, when he had no store laid in before-hand, must necessarily abridge his allowance to his Negroes. Under those difficulties, I have known humane persons so embarrassed allow their Negroes molasses to exchange with Negroes of other estates for corn, but the exchange was commonly to the disadvantage of the Negro so circumstanced; but in other cases of inhuman masters, I have reason to believe this provision was neglected, and the Negroes for a week or two to have gone without any allowance of a substitute till the supplies arrived; this was confirmed to me by the manager of a gentleman who was so circumstanced.

Can you of your own knowledge say that the Slaves were for any time without supplies in this last instance?

I can say that I have the greatest reason to believe it.

What part of the information was derived from the manager?

That part chiefly which respects the length of time they were without supplies; and he also informed me, that the same person, as well as several others, either abridged or withheld, in crop time, the stated allowance that they gave at other times.

What was generally the mode of punishing Slaves in Barbadoes?

I believe the usual instruments of punishment were the thong whip, chains on the legs, irons on the neck, and confinement to what was called the dungeon; I comprehend in that all that I have ever seen, except in cases of some enormous crime, when the punishment was gibbeting alive in chains; I never heard but of two instances of the latter; indeed those I saw at a distance from my father's window when I was a boy; for what specific crime I cannot say, as I was then young.

Is whipping so inflicted as to be a severe punishment?

Undoubtedly so.

Do the marks of whipping long continue visible?

I believe in some instances they remain for life, as I have seen Negroes carrying them very visibly to old age; the punishment is with a thong whip, which cuts deep into the flesh.

Do the Slaves work in the fields under a driver?

Always, I believe; I never knew the contrary.

What is his instrument of correction?

A thong whip plaited.

Is it the same as what you just before alluded to?

I believe generally the same.

Were the rites of marriage in the way they subsisted among the Negroes sufficiently protected by law or custom?

By neither in the smallest degree; I have said that I never read the laws of Barbadoes, therefore I cannot say that there is no such law there, but I never heard of any such.

Was the chastity of the Negro women liable to invasion on the part of the manager, or other White persons in particular?

I believe entirely so.

What opinion have you formed of the natural capacity and disposition of the Negroes?

Just the same as I have of the natural capacity and disposition of the Whites; I ground my opinion upon observation in many instances; my father gave me as a female servant a Negro woman whom he had purchased from a Slave ship to attend my sister; she was apparently at first as dull and sullen as any Negro I ever saw, but upon instruction she became quite the reverse, and of her own accord desired to be made a Christian; I employed her as a domestic servant afterwards in America, where her fidelity to her husband, and good behaviour in all respects, shewed that she possessed both a good understanding and the best disposition; I observed in many Negroes the same improvement where equal care was taken of them, which was not uncommonly the case in the northern provinces of America; I remember a Phillis Wheatley in Boston, an African imported Slave, who in less than three years learned the English language, and wrote elegant English verse, which has been published; I have known repeated instances of their ingenuity; among others I have seen an elegant chair, which a Negro of Jamaica carved with a knife only, and many other

other instances I have known of their ability to cultivate arts and letters.

Do they seem readily susceptible of religious improvement?

The disposition of the Negroes is in general affectionate, where well treated, which I conceive would easily lead to piety if they were in the way of improvement; several field and other Negroes, before I left the island of Barbadoes, who had attended the church, expressed to me their desire of becoming Christians; and in the northern provinces of America I have known many of them Christians, and to behave in a manner not unbecoming their profession; but I did not know many instructed or baptized in Barbadoes.

In what estimation was the race of Negroes generally held by the Whites, according to your observation?

Persons of principle and education regarded them as unfortunate men entitled to compassion and good treatment; but the bulk of the Whites considered them as an inferior species of beings, and therefore not entitled to the same consideration.

Did you know any instance of an African Slave in the West Indies who had been of superior condition in his own country?

My father had a boy, who alleged that he was the son of a prince in Africa, and taken from thence, as I recollect, forcibly; it was when I was a boy myself, and he was placed to attend me. I afterwards knew a Negro woman, a Slave, in the same house where I resided, who alleged that her father was a king in Africa, and as she could find none her equals in Barbadoes, she would neither marry, eat with, or converse with any of the other Negroes; this her mistress assured me had been the case for twenty years.

Is it common for the Slaves to rob the provision grounds of the neighbouring plantations?

I apprehend it frequently happened; and that watchmen were therefore set to guard them with weapons of offence.

Was it often necessary for them to make use of these weapons?

How often I cannot say; but I have heard of their being used, and Negroes brought home wounded.

What days of relaxation from labour were allowed to the Negroes?

Some persons allowed their Negroes the whole of Sunday, a day or two at Christmas, a day after Easter, Ash-Wednesday, and Good-Friday, and I believe the day after Whit-Sunday, and sometimes a Saturday afternoon during the time of holing; others again did not allow so much vacation from labour, requiring on Sundays horse meat (which is picked grass or corn) to be gathered twice in the day, morning and evening, for the cattle, and often during the crop, protracting till late on Saturday night the boiling of sugar; in one instance I recollect it to have been protracted till sun-rise on Sunday morning, and the care afterwards of setting up the sugar pots on jars would necessarily require several hours.

Had the Slaves any other day than Sunday, commonly, for the cultivation of their own grounds?

No other, I apprehend, than what was specified above.

What did you understand in general to be the criterion of a manager's merit?

I apprehend in general the production of large crops.

Do you think the Field Negroes frequently possess property which may be called considerable for persons in their situation?

I cannot think so by any means, because the quantum of ground allowed them for provisions did not admit of their raising much to sell, and of their allowance I do not conceive they could spare any to sell. I have known Field Negroes to possess a pig, and two or three fowls; if they have an addition of a few plantain trees, these may procure some little matter to supply knives, iron pots, and such other conveniences as the master does not allow.

Did you observe any marks of opulence among them, such, for instance, as their giving expensive treats or balls?

The utmost I ever heard of in the way of amusement was, sometimes when a Negro took a wife, then he has provided a pig for the entertainment of his friends; I never understood the dances were attended with treats; but as I never was present at one of them, I cannot absolutely say that no entertainment was given; I believe the chief entertainment consisted in that which they called music; and I think, if their entertainments had been expensive, I should have heard of them. The principal feasts they ever give, as I understand, are after the funerals of their friends, when they scatter some provisions on the grave, and eat the rest themselves, with a view, as I understood, of holding communion with the dead.

Are there ever any instances of Slaves destroying themselves?

I never recollect any of the Creole Negroes destroying themselves; but I remember to have heard of five or six instances of African Negroes, immediately after they were purchased.

What was the character and conduct of Free Negroes, so far as fell under your observation?

I knew very few; one of them was wife to a Mulatto Slave upon Sir Hanson Berney's estate, who was very industrious in the care of her family, and in raising poultry to sell, with the profits of which she paid the expences of her children's schooling and cloaths; she was encouraged to do that, knowing her children would be free; they were baptized, and the whole family so well behaved, that in four years of my knowing them, I never heard any misbehaviour attributed to them; the only instance of another free Negro whom I can specify, was Joe Rachel, a Black merchant in Bridge Town, who had large and extensive concerns, and was so much esteemed for his honesty, that he was commonly admitted to the company and conversation of merchants and planters.

Was there any thing peculiar in the situation or circumstances of the husband of the female freed Negro whom you just mentioned?

He served in several capacities on the estate, and was very skilful in the care of the sick, and remarkable for his honesty and sobriety; I think also he was a Christian.

Do you know any thing respecting his property?

He himself met with much encouragement, reward, and indulgence; by which, and the care of his wife together, he was reputed to have amassed the sum of £.100 sterling, which he offered for his freedom, but it was refused; he never served as a field Negro, but always in some higher department on the plantation; his master thought him so valuable, that he would not part with him at any price, but gave him all the indulgence that he could as a Slave; all that respects his behaviour, and that of his wife, I know from my own observation; as to the sum he had saved, I have been only informed by others.

Was the situation of domestic Slaves commonly as comfortable as that of the correspondent rank of people in this country?

By no means; (it is preferable to that of the Field Negro;) he was liable to corporal punishment, nor had he the same indulgence as domestics in this country.

Was

Was there any particular time and person when and by whom domestic Slaves were commonly corrected?

The driver commonly corrected them in the country, and a man was employed weekly in town, who went from house to house for that purpose.

By what name was he commonly known?

I remember to have heard that the Negroes in the Town were very much afraid of one Murphy, who was called the Jumper.

Did you understand that the term "Jumper" was commonly applied to a person whose profession was that of whipping the Negroes?

I understood it was applied to his calling.

Do you think the situation of the generality of Field Slaves can bear a comparison with that of the class of labourers in this country?

I do not think so, for the following reasons:—First, because the tropical heats are so much more severe, and are little varied by any change of season; and because the intermissions from labour are not so frequent as in England, and the food less substantial; and also, because they are perpetually subject, not only to arbitrary punishment from the chief overseer, but from the book-keepers and drivers, who follow them constantly at their work with the lash, and suddenly correct, before an excuse can be heard, and often vent their own resentments under the plea of punishing for a neglect of work.

Do White people ever labour in the open air in the Island of Barbadoes?

Those who are called tenants, being men who serve in the militia for a small allotment of land, and persons in similar circumstances as to the quantity of land they occupy, do commonly work in their grounds with their Negroes, if they have any, or else cultivate the whole with their own labour; that ground however is commonly in provisions, not in canes.

Are there any White men in the Island of Barbadoes who live by the exercise of handicraft trades?

Yes; a good number; carpenters, joiners, masons, copper-smiths, blacksmiths, shoemakers, taylor, and others; and also, some of the poorer Whites spin cotton for the lamps in the boiling

boiling houses; Whites are also employed in the coasting vessels, and as fishermen.

Did you know, during your residence at Barbadoes, any instances of stocks of Slaves being kept up by the births only?

I understood from the son of Dr. Mapp, that the stock of Negroes on the estate to which he had just succeeded had been more than kept up, and that there was a redundancy sufficient to stock, or nearly to stock, another estate. I could mention, I think, another instance of Slaves that have come within my own observation, the property of the Reverend Mr. Carter, who increased considerably; they cultivated his glebe, and he annually planted canes, which were manufactured into sugar at an adjoining estate; I have heard also of several other instances; my brother informed me, that his Negroes had doubled their number, by the natural increase, in the space of 20 years, and I believe they were generally employed in the common field business, as other Negroes are. I have heard that several other estates also of persons known to me have kept up their stocks by the natural increase without purchase.

Have you reason to believe that plantations being under different managers has been attended with any considerable effect as to the number of Slaves reared on the estate?

I cannot speak from my own experience, because I did not reside long enough on the island to form any such comparison; but I have understood so repeatedly in conversations with judicious planters.

Did you ever know any instances of Guinea sailors being left in the Island of Barbadoes, in a destitute and forlorn condition?

I remember to have seen two who were lame, and begging in the country at the house of a person who had relieved many such, by drawing out the Guinea worm, and healing the sores they had contracted in that service.

Was there any apparent difference between African and Creole Negroes in respect of their happiness?

I cannot say what was the case with the Africans when they had been long upon the Island, because my own residence was but of a few years continuance; but I remember both to have seen and to have heard of others who were dejected and emaciated, and incapable of work at their first coming, so as even to resist and slight all attempts to console them, and to administer

nourishment to them; but what number were of that description I really cannot say, as I had not an opportunity of seeing many myself.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 2^o die Junii 1790.

THE Reverend ROBERT BOUCHER NICHOLLS
called in; and further examined.

When you was in Barbadoes, did you ever see Negroes branded in their faces, or other parts of their bodies, with marks?

I never saw the act of branding; I have seen some marks, but how they arose I do not distinctly remember, nor can I say in how many instances; I do not apprehend they were many.

Have you ever heard with what instrument those marks were made, and for what purpose?

I do not recollect to have heard with what instrument, nor do I distinctly remember for what purpose.

Can you recollect whether those marks that you have seen were letters, or what other kind of marks?

It floats in my memory that there were such marks, but it being 20 years ago I cannot distinctly say of what nature they were; whether they were made in Africa, on board of ship, or in what place they were made.

Have you ever heard that on some parts of the coast of Africa there is a tribe or nation of Negroes naturally prone to suicide in their own country?

I never heard that circumstance: the instances I alluded to in my evidence yesterday were of five, I think, who destroyed themselves the day after they were purchased; I remember to have heard of one other instance of an African Slave who destroyed himself some time after he was purchased, but I believe from dejection, and certainly not from ill-treatment, for I know that he

he was very well treated ; those are all the instances I know, or have heard of.

Did you understand that the pecuniary punishments in the case of the murder of a Slave, either by the owner or other person, were imposed by an act of the assembly of the island of Barbadoes, or by what other law ?

I never heard whether by an act of the assembly, or by what other law ; I should suppose it to have been by an act of the island, because the laws of this country inflict a different punishment for murder.

If it was by an act of the assembly of the island, do you apprehend that if that law had not been confirmed by the King in council, such a law would have remained upon the statute book of the island, or have been the legal measure of punishment for such an offence ?

When a law is passed in the island, I apprehend it is immediately sent to be presented to the King in council, and is valid, unless negatived within three years, without any distinct approbation of the law being expressed.

Is not the royal silence in such a case then a virtual assent to such law ?

I apprehend the general maxim, of silence gives consent, takes place in this instance.

When did you receive the information from your correspondent in Barbadoes respecting the murder of a Negro by Beaumont Lathley ?

I cannot specify the month exactly, but I believe it was about last Christmas two years.

Are there any other matters stated by you in your examination, as not to have fallen under your own personal observation and knowledge, of which you have received information within the last mentioned space of time, or when were you so informed of those particulars ?

Many of those particulars I had in conversation, in the island of Barbadoes, with my father and my brother, who resided near me ; and who at different times had the care of Slaves of their own and of other persons to the amount of between 1 and 2,000, and who knew the state of the whole island of Barbadoes ; some particulars had been communicated to me by letters ; most of my information

information that I did not receive from my father and brother in such conversations has been received by letters within the above-mentioned period; the writer being then in England, I have not corresponded with him since upon that subject within that period.

Was your correspondence by letters upon this subject, with one or more persons?

With one person chiefly; I have had occasion to converse, and to correspond with another gentleman, who has considerable property in the island of Barbadoes, and is a gentleman of some distinction.

Does any part of your evidence consist of information received by you in conversation with the last-mentioned gentleman?

I do not think that in any of the evidence I have given I adverted to any information derived from him.

Is that gentleman a proprietor of estates and Slaves in the island of Barbadoes?

Yes; of value.

Has he long resided in this country?

I believe he has been absent five years from Barbadoes; he has been in both countries within the last ten years.

Has the system of management upon his plantation, in his absence from Barbadoes, been prejudicial to his Slaves in point of treatment and necessary provision?

I believe not in the smallest degree, as I have heard both from himself and others, disinterested persons.

Was the instance you have mentioned of M'Mahon's severity to his Negroes quoted to you as an object of detestation, or for imitation, in Barbadoes?

At the time I first heard it I was a minor, and lived with my uncle and father; as near as I can recollect, it was about the year 1760; I lived then chiefly with my uncle, visiting often my father, who lived in M'Mahon's neighbourhood, from whom I have often heard expressions of detestation of M'Mahon's conduct; I also heard the same mentioned some time after, when I was in orders, at a funeral from the house which he had possessed, and it was then mentioned with disapprobation also.

Was

Was the information you received within the two last years by letter, the result of voluntary communication by the writer, or of questions propounded by you?

The information was conveyed in consequence of my having sent to him a letter I had published upon the Slave Trade, which letter I had at first written and printed without his knowledge, or any communication with him upon the subject.

Did you ever see a Slave under the act of punishment?

I have sometimes, but having lived much with my father and uncle, who were humane men, I do not recollect at present more than one instance of correction by either of them, and that was for a very considerable felony. Upon my last residence on the island, in priest's orders, I endeavoured to see as little as I could of the punishment of the Slaves; in several instances they unavoidably obtruded themselves upon my notice; I recollect the wearing of irons both about the feet and neck, and in particular one tremendous punishment by the lash, which I heard administered, but did not see; the punishment was for running away, and consisted of sixty lashes on the breech with a thick whip; a person in the service of the owner, who ordered that correction, informed me, that the owner first maltreated the above-mentioned Slave, which compelled him to run away, and he was punished thus when taken; another person, who saw the punishment, assured me, that the whip had made incisions large enough for the finger to be laid in; afterwards the Slave was committed to the dungeon; this, I think, was the severest chastisement I recollect, as a man.

What was the species of felony committed by your father's Negro, and for which he was punished?

It was breaking open a storehouse, and stealing from thence one pipe of wine.

What was the nature and extent of punishment he suffered for that crime?

To the best of my recollection (recollecting as well as I can) he received twenty-four lashes, and not more.

Do or do not Slaves in Barbadoes most commonly receive the stripes, with which they are whipped, upon the breech?

I have said before, that I endeavoured to see as little of that matter as I could; but I have repeatedly seen very large wheals (the remains of lashes) upon all parts of the back.

What is the general custom in that respect, as you have been informed, and verily believe?

I verily believe the blow upon sudden provocation to be with the whip upon the back, in formal punishments upon the breech; both which I believe to take place.

Do you know to whom belonged the wife of the Mulatto Slave on Sir Hanson Berney's estate, before she became a free woman?

I believe she was born free.

Have not Slaves on plantations, who are employed in the more skilful and confidential business of plantations, such as sugar boilers, distillers, carpenters, and other handicraft business, such suitable encouragements and rewards from their masters as to enable them frequently to acquire considerable property for people in their stations?

I do not remember an instance of any considerable property acquired by any Negro beyond what I mentioned in my examination of yesterday; the greatest was that possessed by Tom Perryman, the Mulatto, on Sir Hanson Berney's estate. I believe they have indulgencies, but to what amount or extent I am not able to say. Upon further recollection, I remember a confidential Slave of the same Sir Hanson Berney, who was employed in carrying the rum of the estate to market, and selling it, and in making bargains for some of the smaller supplies with the traders in town, living very comfortably upon the indulgence allowed him, but I never understood what property he had acquired, or if he had acquired any. He had, I believe, also, a free Negro woman for his wife.

Do you mean to say then, that these instances of the ease and comfort in which those superior Slaves of Sir Hanson Berney lived, were peculiar to that plantation, and were not to be found on others in the island of Barbadoes?

I meant to speak as directly to the question as I could; speaking to what I knew, and not to what I did not know; I do not however suppose that my own want of larger experience is to criminate other gentlemen, many of whom I know to possess principles of honour and humanity, though I could not see the detail of their estates.

Do you, or do you not, then, from all you have observed and have heard respecting the management of plantations in Barbadoes, believe, that similar instances of encouragement with those

on Sir Hanson Berney's plantation, to Negroes of the above description, are generally held forth in the same manner upon other plantations?

All that I have observed or heard on this subject does not entitle me to say what is the encouragement given to the generality of Negroes of that description.

Have you sufficient data whereon to give an opinion, whether the general treatment of Slaves by the proprietors of estates in Barbadoes, when you were last there (allowing for instances of partial and particular severities and cruelties by individuals) was or was not humane and proper?

I do not understand what is to be considered as sufficient data; I can only allege, that the sentiment I then formed, and have ever since possessed, was, that setting aside on one hand particular instances of great severity, and on the other hand particular instances of great humanity, that treatment altogether humane and proper was not the lot of such as I had observed or heard of.

Had not Field Slaves, and particularly those on plantations in the vicinity of towns, the means of frequently selling to the inhabitants of such towns, vegetables, poultry, pork, and other fresh meat, fruits, and green provender for their horses and cattle; the returns for which they received to their own use?

I have seen repeatedly the Negroes from various parts of the island, in Bridge Town, at their Negro market on Sundays, selling several different articles, of vegetables and poultry chiefly; such as keep pigs, brought to market that meat also; of other meat I believe but little, as they never keep the larger cattle; goats are much discouraged, on account of the young canes; pigs are also necessarily confined, lest they should injure the plantations of canes. Whatever returns they obtain are uniformly, I believe, allowed to themselves.

Where is your usual place of residence?

I reside between my two livings, Middleham in Yorkshire, and Stony Stanton in Leicestershire.

In the parts where you live, what is the usual weekly wages of a labouring peasant in winter and summer?

At my living in Leicestershire I recollect to have heard two farmers say, the one of them that he gave £.10 a year and board to his waggoner; the other informed me, that he gave £.9 a year

to his day labourer, with his board.—In the same parish, one day labourer in agriculture had 6s. per week, and a load of coals brought for him, free of expence of carriage, to his door from the pits, about 17 miles distant; he found himself in all other matters, except during harvest, when he was allowed provisions.—In Yorkshire, I believe, labour is rather dearer. About Middleham, I have given 14*d.* a day to several day labourers, to work in my garden, in the beginning of spring, from between seven and eight in the morning to five in the afternoon. The hours of working in harvest vary, but I believe less is not given to a day labouring man about us, unless found in provisions; and in time of harvest, not less wages, with provisions.

What is the average wages per week allowed to labouring men in the farming business, who have no allowance for board, provisions, or other allowance, but who contract to serve the year through, without particularizing the seasons of their service?

As far as I can learn, in Leicestershire it is six shillings per week. I do not recollect to have heard the average in Yorkshire.

What is the kind of food on which such a labourer in Leicestershire, and his wife and children, if he has any, subsist, by the means of those wages only, out of harvest time?

The only labourers which I have seen at their meals, were such as were fed by the farmer. I really cannot specify exactly the diet of the others; but it is a cheese country, and cheese enters largely into their diet; they eat wheaten and rye bread—in some instances barley bread; and they make use of oatmeal, but in no great degree; fresh butchers meat I have not known but on Sundays, of which they commonly make broth; beans in summer enter largely into their fare; their wives and children use bread larded with hogs-lard instead of butter, and they use wheat meal fried with lard, sliced apples, and small pieces of bacon, if they have any, and potatoes;—this is the general description I have heard in the parish of such labourers.

From your knowledge of the price of those articles of life in Leicestershire, which you have just mentioned, is it your opinion that a labouring man of the description you have last specified, with only six shillings per week, with a wife and only two small children, is able from his wages to furnish himself with a sufficient quantity of those necessaries of life, and to provide

provide sufficient clothing for himself and family, and to discharge his house-rent and other incidental expences?

I do not know a labouring man who has only six shillings per week for himself and family, for the year round, without other aids;—those aids are, his wife's labour in spinning, knitting, and other work, by which I have known them to earn from three pence to six pence per day; and also, gleanings of corn-fields, from whence considerable relief has, to my knowledge, been obtained—in one instance to the amount of seven bushels in a harvest, besides the relief which he obtains during the harvest, in a better and more substantial living. Such labourer commonly has a little bit of garden ground, and in many places, particularly in the adjoining parish to myself of Broughton Astley, many of the day-labourers hire land, and keep a cow, and some have the privilege of a common in many places. In my own parish of Stony Stanton, the land is chiefly engrossed by great farmers, and the bulk of the labouring inhabitants are not employed in agriculture, but in the manufacture of stockings.

Do you mean to say, that all the labourers of the above description enjoy the same means of supporting themselves and family; and supposing that they have, that they can furnish themselves and families with the necessary food, such as you have described, besides defraying the expence of house-rent, clothing, medical assistance, and other incidental expences?

All implies every one universally, without exception, to which universality my experience does not extend.

Do you apprehend that a labouring man with six shillings per week, with the addition of his wife's labour, producing from three pence to six pence per day, having two or three small children who are not of an age to work, can maintain himself and family by those means alone, with a sufficient quantity of food and other necessaries of life adapted to his situation?

I conceive I have answered that question before, by saying, I do not know any labouring man confined to that income only.

Do not you believe, from your general knowledge and information, that there are many poor families of the above description in this kingdom, who have no greater means than those above specified for their support in the necessary articles of life?

I presume there may be; I can instance a widow left with two children, who never had so much after her widowhood, and yet maintained those children without assistance from the parish, and brought them up to be industrious members of the community, and parents of families; I can instance another family of the same parish, who have uniformly lived with comfort in the condition of a common day-labourer, and brought up a useful family; I have understood and believe from all that I have heard and observed, that an industrious poor family, the father of which is sober, is capable of subsisting himself and family as a day-labourer only; and of late some prizes have been given away in Yorkshire to day-labourers who have brought up large families with no other assistance than the labour of the family.

Of what number of children did those families you above allude to, who have been able to maintain themselves by their labour, consist; and what might be the amount, per week, which the father and mother, and the whole of the family so able to work, were able to earn?

Of the last-mentioned families which obtained the prizes in Yorkshire, I am not able to say any thing. The prize was advertized as having been given away, as far as I recollect, in the York Paper, to persons of that description, and therefore I can only speak of it as a matter of fame and not of knowledge. In the instance of the woman and children, the woman spun worsted, and during my attendance upon her, when she was dying, as a minister, she told me, that in order to keep her family from the parish, she sat up to spin through the whole of two or three nights in the week. In the other instance of the day-labourer, I do not know specifically what addition might have been made to the labour of his family, who were grown up, and his wife dead, at the time I mention, but he brought up two sons to work in the stocking trade, one of whom, living with his father, now earns 9s. per week; the daughter is industrious, and appears constantly in very decent apparel; but the particular nature of her work, or the value of it, I do not know; in visiting her father, when sick, I have seen her sometimes spinning, sometimes knitting, and at other times nursing her father. I might possibly, upon recollection, state other instances, which do not immediately occur.

Did the widow, whom you visited in her last illness, tell you

you what might be the amount of her earnings or labour per week?

I did not ask her, nor did I hear. She died soon after.

Did you understand and believe, that she received no charitable assistance towards supporting her family, in aid of her own meritorious exertions?

During that period I was not minister of the parish, and I do not recollect to have heard what was given, or whether any thing was given her during that period; I can only say, that it is not a place where I found many charitable benefactions bestowed, the people being chiefly of the lower order.

Are you a judge of what she was capable of earning per week by her labour in spinning?

What she was capable of earning by such extra exertions I am not able to say; and the earnings are different, according to the difference of dexterity; but I have understood that six pence per day is the average earning. I am not acquainted enough with those matters to speak with absolute accuracy.

You have said, that the impression made on your mind by the appearance of the Negroes in Barbadoes drew forth from you an expression to a person concerned in the management of Negroes, "That that people would find a Moses;" what did you mean by that expression?

By that expression, which I uttered as a believer in Divine Providence and Divine Revelation, and an enthusiastic admirer of the constitution of this country, and having observed from history that there is no profit in unrighteousness, and being taught by Divine Revelation, "That God hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and that all men are brethren," I meant, that God was not an epicurean deity, idle in the heavens, but would judge the nations of the earth, and in his own season bring deliverance to the captive, and heal those that were broken in heart; and I hope that in this instance I may be found a prophet.

Is the Committee then to understand from hence, that you mean by what you have said, that the condition of Slavery was repugnant to the principles of the Christian Religion, as well as of the Mosaical Law?

I am not here as a disputant. I have given the sentiments which I had at the time of uttering those words, which in my own apprehension

hension I am not able to render clearer ; I can only say, they were so much my sentiments, as to produce a change of habitation to my own disadvantage soon after.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 3^o die Junii 1790.

THE Reverend ROBERT BOUCHER NICHOLLS called in ; and further examined.

Where Slaves in Barbadoes were under judicious and humane masters, were they well fed, clothed, lodged, taken care of in sickness as well as health, and personally treated with moderation and lenity with respect to punishments ?

As far as they fell under my observation they were.

Under these circumstances then, exclusive of the idea of liberty, may not there be a reasonable comparison drawn between their situation, as to the enjoyment of the comforts and necessities of life, and that of the labouring class of peasants in this country ?

I consider liberty as the first comfort in life, as well as an unalienable right. I consider the want of it as lessening the comforts of life ; and in the instance I gave yesterday in the case of Tom Perryman, Sir Hanson Berney's Negro, I shewed that it was a lessening of the comforts of his life, as being a source of continual regret to himself. I consider it as cutting off the hope of bettering one's condition, and therefore detracting from the comforts of life ; and to shew that this is not speculation, I can mention instances within my own knowledge, and some within my own parish, of agricultural labourers raising into situations that enabled them to marry well (that is to say, with a fortune of £. 500), to provide well for, and to educate their children at grammar and boarding-schools.

You are not asked as to the value of liberty, but allowing for the difference between a Free Man and a Slave, whether Negroes, who are not in general from their situations so susceptible of the sentiment of liberty as a free peasant in England, do not enjoy, under the circumstances of their being humanely treated, what is to

to them the comforts and necessities of life, in a due proportion with the labouring peasants of this country in that respect?

The question is grounded upon an hypothesis, which I do not allow, or believe to be true, viz. "That they are not so susceptible of the sentiment of liberty as a free peasant in England," as the several rebellions to recover their liberty that have occurred among the Negroes, and especially two great rebellions mentioned by Long, in his History of Jamaica, would alone sufficiently prove; in which rebellions many thousands of Negroes were engaged, and they were not subdued without considerable loss to the island, and all the assistance the king's fleet and army could afford. I do further allege, that I have known Negroes extremely desirous and sensible of the privileges of freedom; which considerations prevent my allowing the hypothesis.

Supposing the hypothesis to be true, that liberty is a sentiment which every Englishman feels, and which few Negroes feel in the same extent, may not there then be a reasonable comparison drawn between their condition and that of the peasants of this country, with respect to the particulars above specified?

When I said in answer to the first question, that Negroes under the description contained in the question were well treated, &c. I meant comparatively, but did not mean to institute a comparison with the peasantry in this country, because I said yesterday and the day before, that I conceived the diet and other accommodations of the labouring peasantry, supposing them under the circumstances I mentioned, was more substantial than that of the Negroes, as far as I could generally observe of them; and what confirms me in this opinion is, the large size, the health and long life of many whom I know of the labouring peasantry in the North Riding of Yorkshire, near Middleham; many instances have fallen that confirm me in this sentiment: in the parish of West Whitton, near Middleham, there is a large proportion of labouring peasantry, out of the number of about 500 inhabitants, who answer in all points the description above-mentioned; and in the parish of Bolton adjoining, there is scarcely any day-labourer that does not keep a cow.

Is the representation you have given of the condition of the peasantry in your neighbourhood to be understood as applied to the general description of that class of people in this country?

I do not suppose it universally holds; but I do not think it fair, in forming a comparison between the Negroes of the West India Islands and the peasantry of Britain, to take a part of the

one which is best treated to compare with the whole of the latter, among which, as there are many in comfortable circumstances, so there are many also, I am sorry to say, and free to acknowledge, extremely distressed for the subsistence of themselves and families;—but to say precisely, what is general through all the parts of this kingdom, would require a greater knowledge of particulars than I have to form an average of the quantum of good they enjoy, and unless I could form such an average, I might be far from the just statement of the case; but if I were to judge from my own observation, setting aside liberty on the one hand, and cruelty on the other, I should prefer the condition of a peasant in England, believing, as I do, his situation, with equal labour, to be much preferable.

Are or are not oatmeal, rye meal, biscuit, flour, rice, pease, Indian corn, meal, yams, cassada, eddoes, potatoes, salt fish, herrings, and occasionally Irish beef and pork, or some of these articles, the sort of provisions on which Negroes are generally fed in Barbadoes? or what other kind of food have they?

From all that I have heard and observed when there, I do not conceive or believe all those articles above specified to enter into the regular distribution of food to Negroes; the common food I recollect to have been given, and the stated allowance to Negroes under what is called good management, was nine pints of Guinea or Indian corn per week, and one pound and a half, and from thence to two pounds of salt fish, or from four to six herrings per week; this was the species of provision given in most instances that fell within my observation throughout the year; there was a variation sometimes in their diet, by allowing what was thought adequate to the corn in yams or eddoes, or pigeon pease, the growth of the island, but never in my recollection was a substitute offered of oatmeal, or meal of wheat or rye. I did not observe a sufficient growth of cassada for the purpose, though it is not more nutritious or expensive I believe than their common allowance. Flour and oatmeal I have known allowed in sickness, particularly fluxes; biscuit was also given in case of sickness, very rarely in health, though I have understood that Dr. Mapp before mentioned made a constant allowance of it to his Negroes, in addition to their stated allowance when at hard labour. In some estates, the weekly allowance has been equal to twelve pints of corn per week, and I believe six herrings; how much less may have been allowed in other estates I cannot say, but I have heard as a matter well-known, that the allowance stated above was only given to the field Negroes; but to the women not working in the field, and to children,

children, the allowance was much short of the above; and the Negroes past labour were also abridged of the above quantity. Some humane masters of my acquaintance have continued to Negroes past labour the allowance given in the time of their vigour; and this was noted as being very humane.

Are the above articles of food mentioned by you nutritive and substantial?

They vary in the degree of nutrition afforded by them. Guinea and Indian corn are of a much coarser texture, and contain much more bran, and are less nutritious than meal of wheat or barley. When the Indian corn happens to be heated in the hold of the ship in which it is brought over from Virginia usually, it also creates disorders. Eddoes are the most nutritious and wholesome article of food produced in the Island; yams much less so, being of a coarser texture; potatoes are nutritious and wholesome; pigeon pease are commonly reckoned wholesome and nutritious, but have a very thick coat; salted herrings cannot always be well preserved through such a voyage, and are therefore, together with salt fish, often in a state not wholesome, but broken, and have a degree of putridity in that case; salt beef and pork I have rarely known given, except either upon the failure of other provisions, or as a great indulgence, in small quantities; it is sometimes given out in a bad, and sometimes in a good state, as it may happen to come to market; but I cannot say that any estate within my knowledge ever gave it as a part of the stated allowance.

Have you ever known, or do you believe it to be common, in Barbadoes, for the Negroes to carry to market and sell pigeon pease, Guinea corn, eddoes, potatoes, or any other of the native provisions of the Island?

The Negroes frequent the market on Sundays in Bridge Town with whatever they can spare to sell of the above articles, and often commute them for other species of provisions. The hucksters about the town, and frequenting the plantations, often exchange small loaves of wheaten bread, of which the Negroes are fond, for corn, to the disadvantage of the Negro; as for instance, one small halfpenny roll, the size of which I need not describe, after alleging that the wheat has crossed the Atlantic, for one pint of Guinea corn; and sometimes they will sell their provisions to obtain rum and other matters, which they think necessary to their convenience. This exchange also is often made when the Negro, being tired with his labour, has not time or inclination

inclination to grind his corn upon the corn-stone, or to fetch water, or procure fuel to boil it for use.

Does the wheat usually come in grain or in flour?

I never knew it come in grain; in barrels chiefly, and then, though it was good when shipped, it often becomes so heated in the voyage, as to be disagreeable to the White families who use it.

Does not the wheaten flour imported into Barbadoes come as often from North America as from Europe; and is not the North American flour generally looked upon to be of equal if not superior quality to that which does come from Europe?

I believe the Barbadoes market is chiefly supplied from America, and especially from Philadelphia; the flour is originally excellent, though heated at times in the hold of the ship; the comparative nourishment in a bushel of English and of American wheat, I have understood to be as 60 to 56, which estimate I received from the late Governor Hutchinson; and I should suppose the same proportion obtains in equal quantities of flour, as the above were the respective weights averaged of the corn of the two countries when measured by the bushel.

Is the length of the passage from Philadelphia to Barbadoes so long as to be frequently a prejudice to the flour imported from thence to Barbadoes?

By no means; it is a passage in general of three weeks; the heat of the flour arises from accidental causes, as the flour is always examined in Philadelphia before it is shipped, and is not allowed to be exported unless it is good.

In what particulars do you think that the climate of this country is more favourable to the peasantry here than that of Barbadoes is to the Slaves there.

One is a moderate, and the other a torrid climate, in which the rains in the sultry season of the year, if the Slaves are kept out in it, checks the perspiration at a season when it is greatest, whence I apprehend frequent dysenteries arise; I think also there must be less fatigue in working in temperate weather, and even in cold, than in very hot, as one may experience in walking. In the parish of West Whiston in Yorkshire, which consists chiefly of persons who are exposed to the weather in all seasons of the year, in rural employments, the vicar informed me three years ago, that out of nearly 500 inhabitants, he had no return to make

of deaths in 16 months; and I believe no example nearly alike to this can be produced in the healthiest situation of the Islands among the best treated Negroes; which among other reasons determines my own judgment upon the matter.

Do not the poor people of this country frequently suffer as much in sickly seasons, and from the severity of the winter, as the Slaves do from the nature of the climate of Barbadoes?

In sickly seasons, if by that term is meant seasons when any peculiar disorder is endemial, I never knew sickness to make much distinction between the rich and the poor; when the poor are sick, the laws of the country provide a sufficient relief for them, if those laws are put in execution; but the best rule that I have of judging, is the number of instances of mortality, which I find to be less among the poor of this country than among the Negroes of the West Indies; and I do not allow or believe the Negroes to be in all cases suitably taken care of, though in many I believe they are; and I believe there is no law existing in Barbadoes to enforce the good treatment of the sick, though such a law for the care of the sick does exist in this country; were the gentlemen of the country and the magistrates to put these laws into execution, and were not the poor left to the mercy of unfeeling farmers, their condition, with their own industry, honesty, and sobriety, would be far more comfortable than it is, or that of the Negroes can be without such legal provision.

From what calculation or accounts do you draw a comparative state between the mortality of the poor in this country, and of the Slaves in the West Indies?

My first ground is, the increased population of this kingdom without foreign accession of any amount; though according to Mr. Hume, London requires an annual recruit of 5000 to keep up its population, while it is well known that the Negro Slaves in all our West India Islands scarcely exceed half a million, if they are so many, and yet it is contended that a recruit of about 50,000 is yearly required to keep up the number of Slaves in the West India Islands; I have also observed fewer old people among the Negroes of the West Indies than among the Whites of this country; and I also know that there was not one of the estates with which I was acquainted in the West Indies, how small soever, that did not lose one or more Negroes annually, and yet I have known parishes in England containing equal or greater numbers, to be without a funeral in a year; in my own parish, in

Leicestershire, the proportion of deaths has been pretty nearly equal for a great number years past, in the proportion of about 12 to 370; in the adjoining parish to it, though something less favourably situated with regard to health, because it lies lower, the rector informed me he had about the same proportion of deaths to about twice my number of parishioners; and I impute the difference to arise from its being chiefly inhabited by peasantry employed in the fields, while I think the largest proportion of my own are employed in in-door work; I conceive that proportion, though neither of those parishes are in a healthy situation, being subject to agues and fevers, to be still less than the proportion of deaths in the West India Islands, as far as I can judge from recollection, or from a comparison of the imported Slaves to the number of the rest, which is about one to ten; (according to Mr. Long, the number imported in the West India Islands is about 48,000; it is above two years since I read his book; but I think he states this to be about the average number imported into all the West India Islands;) whereas, the proportion is nearly two thirds less in one of the abovementioned parishes, and in the same proportion to twice the number in the other instance; the proportion of deaths is still less in my parish of Middleham, of which much the greatest proportion is poor, and I believe the average number to be between twenty-five and thirty of deaths to about 900 inhabitants; in one small parish I have heard no instance of death to occur for a twelvemonth together, viz. out of nearly twenty families for the space of one year no instance of death has occurred; these are the principal grounds, and the instance above of West Whitton, and the general healthiness of the surrounding country, upon which I form my estimate; I form this estimate at the moment, without being previously prepared, and without any notes whatever, and therefore I presume I may stand sufficiently guarded against any inaccuracy.

What is the proportion of deaths among the Whites in Barbadoes, compared with the deaths of people in this country?

I am not able to say.

How long did you reside in North America?

I resided in the northern provinces of America from July 1770 to June 1775, when I came to England during the blockade of Boston; I returned to America in the Bristol man of war, sailing from Portsmouth in December in the same year, and arriving at the Carolinas in the May following; from whence I sailed to

Staten Island, where the head quarters then were, in the July following, and was with the army at New York, Long Island; and Rhode Island; and continued at Rhode Island from December to the next May (1777), when I returned to England.

Where was your most usual place of residence during the first five years of your being in the northern provinces of America?

In the vicinity of Boston, and in Boston.

Was you, during the whole, or any part of that time, in the exercise of your spiritual function at Boston?

Yes; a part.

How long?

I do not recollect certainly: the first year, and more than the first year, some part of the second, I served in no church regularly, but gave my assistance to my friends in different places: the ensuing winter I served a church in Boston, and had a lectureship the spring following in the church of Salem, in which I continued as long as it was safe to remain, till about December 1774; after which, removing into Boston without having the care of any church, General Gage introduced me to Lord Percy, whose regiment I served as chaplain, the proper chaplain not being with it, till June 1775, when I was recommended home by all the persons of distinction there, to persons of the first consideration in this country, that I might be established here.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 5^o die Junii 1790.

THE Reverend ROBERT BOUCHER NICHOLLS called in, and further examined.

During your stay in the West Indies, did it appear to you that the Negro mothers had the opportunity and advantages necessary to enable them to give proper attention to the rearing of their children?

The conduct in this respect varied in various instances. It struck

struck me from every thing I heard and observed, as far as I can speak generally, that the Negro mothers commonly went into the field too early after their delivery, and being obliged to take with them their children while yet very tender, the milk of the mother became very feverish with labour, and the heat of the sun too powerful for the young child, which was also commonly exposed in a basket, and in rainy weather could not be sheltered from the rain: I have understood that this was so generally thought the practice, as to induce some humane gentlemen resident in England many years since, to give directions to their overseers to observe a contrary practice.

Do you recollect whether Mr. M'Mahon, of whom you have before spoken, suffered any other ill consequences from the severity with which he treated his Negroes, besides the loss consequent on that severity?

I never heard that he did.

Do you recollect how long Tom Perryman had been a Slave at the time when you stated him to be worth near £. 100 Sterling?

He was born a Slave in consequence of the rule, *Partus sequitur Ventrem*;—his father was a White man, I believe of some little property, and I suppose, at the time I knew him, he must have been upwards of forty; but I believe it was ten years afterwards, as I understood from a mother and brother now dead, that he offered that price for his freedom.—He had been under a very indulgent master from his youth. I happened to know more of the estate upon which he resided, from having been more conversant with that than with any other in my early youth.

Do you recollect whether the sum he offered for his freedom was supposed to be the whole of his property?

I considered him, when I heard of this offer, to have made a tender of the largest sum he could raise, as an inducement to his master to part with him.

Are there, or are there not, to your knowledge, real disadvantages inseparable from a state of slavery, and entirely independent of the opinion of the individual, which absolutely prevent all fair comparison between the English peasant and the West Indian Slave?

I think there are; in which opinion I am supported by that of the best and wisest men in all ages.—I consider it, as Homer did
long

long since, as degrading and debasing the moral character of man. Mr. Locke says, that the state of slavery is so debasing and degrading that he does not see (his very words are, if I recollect) "how any man, much less a gentleman, can urge any plea for it."

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

And a motion being made, and the question being put, That the latter part of the last answer, given by the Witness, be expunged from the Minutes;

It passed in the negative.

Then the Witness was called in, and directed to proceed.

I consider the special disadvantages of the Negro to be these following: 1st, That he has not the comforts arising from the public teaching of religion, which affords the greatest consolation in distress, and which I have known to support the labouring peasant under his poverty, and to preserve him honest. 2dly, The Negro has not those advantages derived from the poor laws in this country—from the many charitable establishments of almshouses, hospitals, charitable bequests—the distribution of communion money, and the private charity of individuals. I consider, 3dly, That the Negro, in his best estate, and under the best treatment known, to be less well accommodated than the paupers in this country, when well attended to, viz. St. George's Hanover-square; the paupers of Shrewsbury, and the paupers of Wakefield in Yorkshire, to instance no further. Again, not having any right to their children I consider to be a discomfort necessarily resulting from the constitution of human nature, and especially as those children, if female, may be subjected to the brutal lust of their superiors without remedy from law; and this I have apprehended to have taken place, as far as I could collect from general conversation on the subject in the island; though my clerical situation did not put me in the way of being eye-witness to such transactions, yet I considered them as matters of notoriety at the time.

You were not asked any question respecting the debasing effects of slavery on the mind of man, or respecting any other abstract opinion; but merely whether there do not exist inconveniencies in the situation of a Slave, which arise necessarily out of slavery itself,

itself, and which therefore prevent a fair comparison being made between him and the free man?

Certainly; the being obliged to labour at the will of another, being unprotected by laws, and enduring punishment at the caprice of another, I consider to be such.

Are you acquainted with any transaction respecting certain Free Negroes, which leads you to apprehend that Negroes, whether Free or Slaves, are in a great measure incapable of availing themselves effectually of that protection which, in many cases, the laws appear to afford them?

When I was ordered to attend the Privy Council two years ago, to be examined by their Lordships, I met Colonel Maxwell, late governor of the Bahama islands (who is since dead) in the street, and he desired to know upon what business I was in town; I informed him; upon which he related to me the following transaction,—“ That while he was governor of the Bahamas, “ certain vessels conveying the Slaves liberated by our army in “ America, upon the evacuation of part of America, came into “ Providence, in the Bahamas; that the captain who conveyed “ some of them, sold them as his own; that others were seized “ upon their coming on shore by the inhabitants, not having any “ right in their persons from any claim of former property, and “ enslaved or attempted to be enslaved; that some of these run- “ ning away in order to escape from such attempts, were adver- “ tized in the Bahama paper, with a reward for such as were “ taken alive, and I apprehend a greater reward for the heads “ of such as could not be taken alive; that he brought home “ with him a news-paper containing such advertisements, which “ he lodged in the hands of a gentleman then in a high depart- “ ment of the law.” I desired Governor Maxwell to appear before the Privy Council with this evidence; he seemed not very desirous of coming forward in such a matter, but said, “ He would “ if absolutely required.” The governor informed me he had made some attempts to redress their grievance, but was desired by such inhabitants to mind his own business, and leave them to theirs. Other Negroes under similar circumstances, liberated by the army, were sent to Nova Scotia, in which province they formed a little settlement as freemen.

In your last residence at the Island of Barbadoes, where was the most usual place of your residence?

In the parish of Saint Joseph, with several short absences, sometimes for a day or two, and sometimes for a week or two.

Was it upon a sugar plantation that you so resided, in Saint Joseph's parish?

It was.

What was the name of the proprietor of that plantation?
Mr. Holder.

Had you any benefice in the island of Barbadoes when you was last there?

No benefice or ecclesiastical emolument whatever, though I was often employed in the service of the church, in different parts of the island, for my friends.

Upon your quitting Barbadoes, where did you remove to, and settle?

Landing at Rhode Island, I visited different parts of America for some months, then remained the winter in the vicinity of Boston, and having no ecclesiastical cure, was in different parts of the country; till undertaking a church in Boston, first for one winter, and then being fixed at Salem for about two years, I returned to Boston, as before mentioned.

How long have you been in the enjoyment of your respective livings in Yorkshire and Leicestershire?

That in Leicestershire I possessed from Lady-day 1779; that in Yorkshire from August 1786.

Did Governor Maxwell tell you the nature of the attempts made use of by him to redress the grievances of the Negroes that were sold upon their coming to Providence, as you have described?

He specified no particular means, but that of applying to such persons. I did not apprehend that the whole number of the Negroes so landed were sold, but a part only; the rest, the inhabitants, I apprehend, endeavoured to seize upon without purchase. The conversation passed in the street, and was not so long dwelt upon in that particular. My chief point with him was to obtain his information before the Privy Council.

Was he, at the time of this conversation, actually governor of the Bahama Islands?

He was not.

Do you know, or have you understood from him, or any other person,

person, whether at the time of his (Governor Maxwell's) being governor of the Bahama Islands, there was or was not a civil establishment of justice in that country, to which Governor Maxwell, if he had thought fit, might have resorted for redressing the injuries of these Negroes?

I have not; nor conversed with him upon that point.

Did he give you any particular reason for his not chusing to appear before the Committee of Privy Council, and to communicate this transaction to their Lordships, without being absolutely required so to do?

I do not recollect that he did; but seemed to express a degree of unwillingness, though not an absolute refusal to come forward.

Did you communicate this transaction to any of the Lords of the Privy Council, or to any subordinate officers attending them, when you were before their Lordships, or at any other time?

I did not see any of their Lordships at any other time during my stay in town, than while I was before them in council, nor any of their subordinate officers, except in a morning or two after, when I was allowed to look over the evidence I had given, in order to correct it; and then Mr. Fawkener having occasion to go out, I remained only while it was necessary to overlook my evidence. I do not know at what precise period of my stay in town this conversation passed, whether before or after my evidence, but I mentioned it in general conversation; and my business in town being finished, I left London, and did not return to it till this time.

Question repeated.

I did not.

You have said, "That it is contended that a recruit of about 50,000 Negroes is yearly required to keep up the number of Slaves in the West India Islands;" by whom is it so contended?

I understood it to be contended by the defenders of the African Slave Trade, that recruits from Africa are necessary to keep up the stock of Negroes in all the islands; and I stated that number according to the sentiment prevailing in my mind at the time; how near the actual importation I cannot say, but if I have the leave of the Committee, I will briefly state, from a print in my pocket, the grounds of my judgment.

What

What are your reasons for saying, " That it is contended by " the defenders of the African Slave Trade;" is it from any account furnished by any delegates from the African merchants of this country, or by any other persons to the Privy Council, or from any evidence given to the House of Commons upon that subject?

It is not.

Did you ever read the account furnished to the Privy Council, by the delegates from Liverpool, of the whole number of Slaves annually exported from Africa by the subjects of Great Britain?

I have not.

Was you ever informed of the gross number of Slaves stated in that report to be annually exported from Africa by the subjects of Great Britain?

I have not been so informed.

Do you mean to say, that from the best of your recollection Mr. Long states the average number of 48,000 Slaves to be annually imported into the British West India Islands for the use of those Islands, and that no part of that average number is exported to foreign dominions?

I did conceive, from what I recollected, it might be the average number, but I find from a single note made by myself, that Mr. Long states the number of African Slaves imported into all the British Islands for the year 1771, to be forty-seven thousand one hundred and odd; and for two successive years, he states the imports into Jamaica only at 10,000 the one year, or nearly, and 16,000, or nearly, the ensuing year; that he states in other years the numbers imported into that island to be 6,000; in another year to be 9 000; and also, that in one year specified by him, considerable numbers were imported from the French Islands into Jamaica, the African trade being at the same time very brisk; in another part of his book he specifies the value of all the Slaves imported into all the British Islands to be of the value of one million and an half; but this he states from another writer, as far as I can recollect.

Question repeated.

I understood that they were for the use of the British Islands in general; but some might be re-exported, which I did not conceive to be of any considerable amount; I was confirmed in this opinion by what I had seen extracted from the Abbé Raynal in other publications on that subject.

What might be the number which you understood by Mr. Long's account to be exported from that annual importation into the British Islands, to foreign dominions?

I do not recollect any definite number, more or less.

You have stated, in confirmation of your opinion given in your answer to a former question, that Mr. Locke says, "That the state of Slavery is so debasing and degrading, that he does not see how any man, much less a gentleman, can urge any plea for it;" have you ever read a code of laws printed in Mr. Locke's works, and said therein to have been composed by him for the province of South Carolina?

I have not.

Did you ever hear that there is amongst those laws, one to the following substance; viz. "That every freeman of Carolina shall have an absolute dominion over his Negro Slave, of whatever religious opinion or persuasion he may be?"

I have not.

Have you ever read Mr. Locke's chapter on Slavery?
Not since my leaving Oxford.

Do you recollect that part of it wherein he expressly says, "That the Slave, being incapable of property himself, is not to be considered as a subject of civil society?" or words to that effect?

I do not; but it is of a piece with the Roman civil law in that respect.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

And a motion being made, and the question being put, That the whole of the Questions and Answers which relate to the quotation from Mr. Locke, be expunged from the Minutes;

It passed in the negative.

RESOLVED,

That this Examination of Mr. How, Mr. Jefferys, the Reverend Mr. Rees, Mr. Woolrich, Mr. Dalrymple, and the Reverend Mr. Nicholls, be reported to the House.

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MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 7th JUNE 1790.

Witnesses Examined,

ANTHONY PANTALEO HOW, Esquire,
Mr. NINIAN JEFFERYS,
Rev. THOMAS GWYNN REES,
Mr. THOMAS WOOLRICH,
HENRY HEW DALRYMPLE, Esquire,
Rev. ROBERT BOUCHER NICHOLLS.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Mercurii, 9^o die Junii 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to take
the Examination of Witnesses on the Slave Trade.

Lunæ, 7^o die Junii 1790.

MR HENRY ELLISON, gunner of the *Resistance*
man of war, called in, and examined.

Were you ever in Africa?

Yes.

When, to what parts, and how often?

My first voyage, I think, was about the year 1759, to the river Gambia, and I continued in the African trade till about the beginning of the year 1770; I was pressed in the year 1771; I have been three voyages to Gambia—one to Benin—one to Old Calabar—two to New Calabar—one to Senegal—and one to the Isle de Los.

During your being on any part of the coast, did any thing ever fall within your notice which induced you to believe that Slaves were obtained by treachery or force?

I saw a native Black called Captain Lemma Lemma, he was on board our ship to receive his customs, and seeing a canoe pad-

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dling in shore with three people in it (an old man, a young man, and a woman) he ordered one of his canoes, which was alongside of our ship, to go and take the canoe, which they did, and brought her alongside with the people in her; they were brought on board to be sold. Mr. Wilson, the chief mate, purchased the young man and woman; the other was too old, and he refused to buy him: Lemma Lemma then ordered him (the old man) into the canoe, and his head was laid upon one of the thwarts of the boat, and chopped off, and immediately thrown overboard.

Who was this Lemma Lemma?

He was a man who had a great many war canoes, some of them had six or eight swivels in them; he brought down about ten with him when he came to receive his customs, and he seemed to be feared by the rest of the natives; I did not see a canoe out on the river while he was there, except the one which he took; and if they had known he had been out they would not have come.

Had you ever any conversation with the two persons who were purchased out of the canoe in the manner before described?

By way of signs, in the best manner they could tell us, I understood that the old man was their father; I did not understand the language.

Did you make out from them whether they had been convicted of any crime, or under what pretence they had been sold?

No, I did not; I do not know that I asked them.

How did you understand them to have been brought into the condition of slavery?

They were brought in by force.

Did you conceive Lemma Lemma had any right to sell them?

No, I could not conceive what right he had; by all appearance he forced them against their inclination.

Were they his subjects?

No, they were not; they belonged a great distance from his country.

How long did Lemma Lemma stay in the neighbourhood of your ship?

About ten days I think.

During

During that time was he frequently on board ?

Every day.

On what occasions ; did he ever eat or drink on board ?

Yes, every day ; the occasion of his coming on board was to get his customs, I think, and to eat and drink.

Have you often observed the Slaves brought on board with marks of wounds on them ?

No, I never remember any.

Have any other circumstances fallen under your notice, on any other part of the coast, to induce you believe Slaves are obtained by fraud or force ?

No, I do not remember any ; that is the only one that ever came under my notice to see it done.

On board the several ships in which you have sailed, have you often known boys and girls without their parents, or other near relations ?

Yes, a great many, in every ship that I have been in.

Did you understand at all any one of the African languages ?

Yes, I could speak the Mandingo, which is spoken up the river Gambia. I was there very young.

Did you ever endeavour to make out from the Slaves, either by signs, or by conversing with such as spoke the Mandingo language, how they had been brought into Slavery ?

Yes ; they all tell us in the best manner they can, that they have been stolen.

Were Slaves ever brought on board your ship in the night, on any part of the coast ?

Yes ; frequently in Gambia River.

Describe the occasion of their being so brought ?

We could not particularly tell the reason ; but I should suppose they were afraid of being seen in the day-time.

Did you ever yourself assist in bringing off Slaves in the night ?

Yes, I have ; I have been fetching canoe-boys on board at night.

Explain

Explain to the Committee what you know of the occasion and manner of these canoe-boys being brought on board?

It is most commonly when their masters want goods, or for some trifling offences. As to the manner of bringing them on board, we bring them in our own boats.

Whence did you bring them?

From their masters houses, when they were asleep. We went to fetch them in the night-time, lest they should make their escape.

Were the canoe-boys aware that they were to be sold?

No, I should suppose not; if they had, they would have made their escape.

Did you ever know any other ways wherein these canoe-boys were sold, without being previously aware of it?

Yes, I have. I have known the master call them out of the canoe to bring something up for him, and when they have gone on board they have been immediately seized and put in irons.

Are these canoe-boys in general well or ill treated by their masters?

I never saw any of them ill treated; I have seen them eating and drinking in the same house with their masters, and sometimes with them.

Did any thing fall under your notice, that induced you to believe that Slaves are sometimes carried off fraudulently or forcibly by the European traders?

Yes; there were two taken from the island of Furnandipo while I was there, by the Dobson's boat, of Liverpool, and carried to Old Calabar, where the ship lay. We went to the island for yams a few days after, and fired several musquets as signals for the inhabitants to bring yams, and seeing a few of them peeping through the bushes very sily, we could not think the reason of it; they would not attempt to come to the boat as usual, so that I jumped overboard, and swam ashore, and a few of them came round me; and an old man made signs to us, that a ship's boat had stole a man and a woman. I was soon after surrounded by a great number of them, and they presented their darts towards me, signifying that they would kill me if we did not bring the man and woman back again. The people in the boat seeing them, fired some muskets over their heads with ball, upon which they all ran into the woods directly. They left a

goat upon the beach and some yams, which we got into the boat, and staid till night, to see if any of them would come down again; but we saw none of them. Then we went to Calabar, and acquainted the Captain we could get no yams upon account of these two people having been carried off. Captain Briggs then went to the Captain of the Dobson, and acquainted him there would be no more trade there without he would deliver them up; which he did, and we carried them back in our shallop. Directly the natives saw them, they brought down yams, goats, fowls, honey, and palm wine, and loaded the boat as full as she could stow, and would not take the least article for it. As soon as the boat was loaded, and had got a cask of water, which the natives filled and rolled to us, we delivered the man and woman to them, whom they took in their arms, and never set them down on the ground till they were out of our sight, and we saw no more of them.

How long was this before the departure of the Dobson from the coast?

She did not stay very long after. I cannot justly say how long; but I believe eight, ten, or twelve days.

Had she obtained her supply from the Island of Furnandipo before this transaction?

Yes, she had; that was the last trip the boat was to make, she was then fully slaved.

Did you ever know any instances of measures being taken to force the natives to trade when they were unwilling so to do?

Yes; I was lying at Yanamaroo, in Gambia river, when a parcel of Slaves was brought down, and the traders had raised the price; the captains would not give it, upon which the trade was stopped; the captains thought to compel them by firing upon their town, and we fired red-hot shot from our ship, and several of their houses were set on fire; all the ships (making about seven or eight sail, I think) fired upon the town at the same time.

Did you ever take on board any of the children or relations of the Black Traders, as pawns or pledges for goods advanced to them by the ships?

Yes; very often.

Did you ever know any of these pawns carried off?

We carried two pawns off in the Briton, Captain Wilson.

Did they appear extremely dejected on account of being thus carried off?

Yes, they did.

In general, do the Slaves when brought on board appear much dejected; or do they submit to their fate with tolerable chearfulness?

I never saw any but what were dejected very much.

Are the women you have seen on the Coast of Africa modest and decent?

Yes, they are; I never saw any otherwise.

Did you ever see people working in the fields in Africa?

Yes, I have.

Were they men, or women?

Both.

What in general in your ships has been the situation of the Slaves, as to comfort, when in their apartments below?

They complain a great deal of the heat; I have seen them fainting away through heat; there was always a very disagreeable smell from their tubs.

Have they appeared to you crowded, or to have convenient room?

They were very much crowded, and close stowed; we had two tier of people, one upon the deck, and one upon the platform.

Mention any particular ship and voyage in which they appeared to you so crowded?

They were the most crowded in the Nightingale, of Bristol.

What to the best of your recollection was the tonnage of the Nightingale, and what number of Slaves had you on board?

I think she might be about 170 ton, or hardly so much; she was a very small snow, and I think we purchased about 270 Slaves; we had 30 of the boys who messed in the long boat all the Middle Passage, and slept there too, for we had not room below for them.

You have mentioned the Briton, was that ship also crowded? She was when we first left the coast.

To the best of your recollection, what was her tonnage, and what the number of Slaves on board?

I believe the Briton might be about 230 or 240 tons, and we purchased 375 Slaves.

What number of Slaves might you lose in those two voyages, to the best of your recollection?

I think we buried but six or seven in the Nightingale, for all she was so full, for we were remarkably healthy; we buried near 200 in the Briton (I cannot justly say the number), for we had the small-pox; the last man Slave we purchased, brought on board to relieve a pawn, had the small-pox; the doctor told Mr. Wilson that it surely was the small-pox; he said he did not believe it, and if it was, he would keep him, as he was a fine man; it soon broke out upon almost all the Slaves in the ship, and the platforms I have seen just like one continued scab with the matter; we have hauled up 8 or 10 of them dead of a morning; the flesh and skin has peeled off their wrists when we have taken hold of them, being entirely mortified.

Had you ever in any other of your ships any extraordinary mortality?

In my second voyage in the Nightingale we buried about 150.

Of what disorder did they chiefly die?

Of the flux and fevers.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Martis, 8^o die Maii 1790.

MR. HENRY ELLISON called in; and further examined.

Out of what number did you lose 150 Slaves in your second voyage?

We had about 250 when we sailed from the coast; I cannot justly say to a few Slaves, but that was about the number.

Were

Were the men Slaves generally fettered on board the several vessels in which you sailed?

In all the Guineamen that I have been in they have been in shackles, two and two together.

Describe the manner of their being chained when brought on deck.

There is a ring upon the shackle on their legs, through which a chain is reeved, and locked abaft the barricado; they are chained on both sides the deck.

In this situation do they take exercise?

They are made to dance every day.

By what means are they so made to dance?

Sometimes they are willing to dance, and sometimes they are compelled to it by flogging with a cat.

Have you ever known instances wherein for any time together the Slaves have not been brought on deck?

Very often in the Middle Passage when it rains.

Have they suffered in these cases from being confined below?

I have frequently seen them fainting away through heat, and the steam coming through the gratings like a furnace from their breath; we have been obliged to get many of them up for fear they would die in the rooms.

Had you wind fails in any of the vessels in which you sailed?

Not in any that I recollect—if they were in the ship, I never saw them made use of.

What in general was the treatment of the Slaves on board the ships in which you sailed?

I never saw them treated ill in any ship but the Briton and Nightingale; I have known Mr. Wilson order eight or ten of them up at a time for making a little noise in the rooms at night, tie them up to the booms, flog them very severely with a wire cat, and afterwards clap the thumb-screws upon them, and leave them in that situation till morning—I have seen the ends of their thumbs mortify from having been thumb-screwed so violently, which has thrown them into fevers, and they have died. The women were making a little noise over the Captain's head when he was at dinner; he came out with a wire cat, and began to flog away amongst them; six of them jumped overboard, and five of them

them were drowned ; one we got in again, and he ordered her to be ducked at the crotch-yard-arm ; he let her up and down, I dare say, a dozen times as an example for the rest : he said he did it that they should not jump overboard ; she died, I think, the next day. The Nightingale was lying in New Calabar River, and the Slaves rose on board of the Africa ; when they were quelled, there were about eight or ten of them selected out of the rest, as ringleaders to be punished ; they were tied up to a rough tree, (that is a spare top-mast,) and we took spell and spell at flogging of them, both the African's people and our boat's crew, till we were all tired of flogging them ; but this flogging had no effect upon them ; they were so stubborn, they never cried out. Captain Carter came on board, and ordered some cooks tormentors and tongs to be put in the fire, and made red hot, with which he burnt their bare backsides in a most dreadful manner.

Do you mean that he did this with his own hands ?

Yes, he did, I saw him.

Do the Slaves ever shew any disinclination to eat ?

I have often seen them refuse their victuals ; whenever they do, they are flogged till they do eat.

Are the women Slaves sometimes whipped, or struck, on board ship, as well as the men ?

Yes, they are ; but not so very often as the men are.

Have you known instances wherein this treatment has been highly resented by the women ?

I knew one instance of it, and that was in the Nightingale, on the Middle Passage.—A woman, whom we called the boatswain of the rest, used to keep them quiet when in the rooms, and when they were on deck likewise. She one day disobliged the second mate ; he gave her a cut or two with a little cat he had in his hand. She flew at him with great rage, but he pushed her away from her, and struck her three or four times with the cat very smartly. When she found she could not have her revenge of him, she sprung two or three feet on the deck, and dropped down dead. She was thrown overboard in about half an hour after, and tore to pieces by the sharks.

By whom are the Slaves when on board generally superintended ?

The chief mate and boatswain have charge of the men ; and the second mate and gunner, if there is one in the ship, have charge of the women.

Have they generally some instrument of correction in their hands?

They always have a cat, every one of them, when amongst the Slaves, either upon deck or below.

Do the Slaves often sing when on board of ship?

At the time of their dancing they always sing to some tune or other in their own way; I have very often heard them sing mournful tunes when in their rooms in the night-time.

You have mentioned one instance of Slaves attempting to rise, can you mention any other?

They made an attempt in the Upton, but it did not come to any head; there were a few women that got out of irons, but we found it out time enough to prevent it; a canoe boy who could speak English told us that the Slaves meant to rise that night, or the next morning, when they came upon deck.

What in general was the situation of the seamen on board the ships in which you sailed, both with respect to their food, lodging, and general treatment?

As to the allowance it was small in all ships that I have been in, especially in the Middle Passage; we were always at an allowance of provisions, both outward bound and homeward bound; the seamen that I saw the worst used, were in the Briton and Nightingale; I never was in a ship where the seamen had any place to put their heads in under deck, but were obliged to lay upon deck in all weathers.

How were you generally off for water?

Very short in the Middle Passage. We were obliged to fetch a gun barrel from the topmast head when we wanted to drink, and carry it up again, without suffering any body else to drink at the same time: I have many times been drier before I came down again than I was before I went up; for I durst not bring the gun barrel down with me again to drink a second time till somebody else had been for it after me.

You have said in general that the seamen were ill treated, can you specify any particular instances?

We had a boy jumped overboard in the Briton, on the outward bound passage.—Wilson, the chief mate, was always beating of him. One morning the boy had not got the tea-kettle boiling time enough for his breakfast; when he did bring it, he told him he would severely flog him after breakfast,

fast, for fear of which he went into the lee fore chains; and when Wilson came out of the cabin, he called for Paddy (which was the name the boy went by, being an Irish boy); he would not come to him, but remained where he was in the chains; upon which Mr. Wilson went forward, and put his hand through the shrouds to take hold of the boy and haul him in; upon which the boy jumped over board, and was drowned. Another time, on the Middle Passage, Wilson ordered one James Allison, a man that he had been continually beating of for very trifling matters, to go into the woman's room to scrape. He told him he was not able, for he was very unwell; but he obliged him to go down into the room, and after he got down he did not begin to scrape. Wilson asked him the reason why he did not go to work, and get the room scraped? he told him he was not able; upon which he took a handspike and threw at him, which struck him in the breast, and he dropped down in the room to all appearance dead; but he recovered at that time. Some time after we got him up, and he died the next day. In the Nightingale, on the Middle Passage, the gunner was on the barricado with a musket as a centry while the Slaves were going down; he happened to look aft; the Captain asked him why he did not look forward at the Slaves, he said, "That he could willingly turn the musket, and blow his brains out;" but did not think the captain heard him, as he spoke to himself. When the Slaves were down, the captain ordered him to be seized up and flogged in a very severe manner, and he died in two or three days afterwards.

Did any instances of the ill-treatment of seamen on board any other ship fall within your own personal knowledge?

They are most commonly in all ships beat and knocked about for nothing at all.

Can you state any particular instance of ill-treatment?

We had nothing else but ill-treatment in the Briton, from the first of the voyage to the last, and in the Nightingale likewise.

Did you know any instances of seamen making their escape to the Continent, when lying off the Coast of Africa?

There were six men ran away from the Phoenix of Bristol, the boatswain and five more in the yawl, but were taken again by the Natives. When captain Bishop heard it, he ordered them to be kept ashore at Forge, a small town at the mouth of New Calabar River, and to be chained by the necks, legs, and hands,
and

and ordered them only to be allowed a plantain a day each. The boatswain, whose name was Tom Jones, who was a ship-mate of mine, and a very good seaman, died raving mad in his chains; the other five also died in their chains. I was on board Bishop's ship one morning when he missed a piece of ham; he thought that two of those that went to cut wood had taken it; he ordered the yawl to be manned, and to fetch them on board again, and ordered the surgeon to give every one of them a puke, to see if he could find which of them had eat the ham, but none of them threw any of it up.

On board the ships in which the seamen have been obliged to use the gun barrel, were such seamen as were sick forced to the same expedient?

As long as ever they were able they were obliged to go for it. I remember one, who had very bad ulcerated legs, was going up for the gunbarrel; he got about half way up the main shrouds, and was so weak he was not able to get any further. I and another went up and assisted him down again, and begged of the doctor to give him a little decoction, which at first he refused to do, but afterwards gave him a small pannikin full; the man died in a day or two after.

Have you ever been in the West Indies?

Yes I have; in several of the islands, particularly Barbadoes and Jamaica.

In those Islands have you ever seen seamen from on board Guinea ships in a wretched and destitute state?

Frequently at Barbadoes and Jamaica too; I have seen them lying upon the wharfs with very large ulcers upon their legs and feet, and in a starving condition; and I have often carried them provisions from the ship which I belonged to; I have seen them almost at the point of death lying under the cranes, and I have also seen the black people carrying them to Spring Path when dead, and burying them.

Do you know whether any of the seamen you saw in the destitute condition before mentioned had deserted from their ships, or had received their wages and a regular discharge?

I believe they all get ashore to avoid the bad usage, without their wages; it is most commonly the case with them; many of them told me they got no pay from the ship, but were glad to get ashore.

How

How did you know that the seamen of whom you have been just speaking, actually belonged to Guineamen ?

Some of them I knew personally from having sailed with them, and others have told me so ; I never saw any that belonged to any other ships but Guineamen in that condition.

Were you often on shore in the West Indies ?

Yes ; almost every day for about eighteen months, at Kingston in Jamaica ?

Had you frequent opportunities of seeing the field as well as the domestic Slaves ?

I have seen more of them at Savannah le Mar, but I have seen them frequently at Kingston ; I mean the country people.

By country people do you mean plantation Slaves ?

I do.

What in general was the appearance of the plantation and of the town Slaves ?

The town Slaves are always better dressed than what the others are, and look better.

What in general was the appearance of the plantation Slaves ?

They looked very poor, and were always very badly clothed ; some of them had scarcely any clothing at all but a pair of coarse Osnaburg trowsers.

Are they in general marked with the whip ?

Yes ; they are seemingly very much marked on their backs and on their arms.

On what occasions have you seen the plantation Slaves coming to the towns of Kingston and Savannah le Mar ?

On Sundays they generally bring some little trifle or another out of the country to sell, such as oranges, plantains, bananas, and several other things that grow there.

Did you ever see them with pigs or kids to sell ?

No, I do not remember that I did.

What might be the value of the stock of articles each Slave in general had to sell ?

Some about half a bit's worth, some a bit's worth, and some two bits worth.

Did the Slaves ever come on board any of your ships?
Yes; they often bring sugar and rum in boats alongside.

What judgment did you form from these opportunities of seeing them, respecting their being well or ill fed?

They most commonly looked very meagre (those that come out of the country with sugar and rum), and they beg and pray for a bit of biscuit and beef, which if they get they are remarkably thankful for it.

Have you ever seen Slaves flogged in the West Indies?
Yes, I have; six or seven of a morning at Kingston.

A By whom was the punishment commonly inflicted; and was it a severe or a mild one?

By a man they called Johnny Jumper; the punishment was most commonly very severe; I have seen their backs much cut, and the blood running down.

In any other Island did you ever see Slaves whipped?

I saw a woman whipped at Dominica; she was lashed up upon a stage, which was a place erected on purpose for punishing the Blacks, and was seized up as high as she could; she was hung by her wrists, and her feet were two feet above the stage; and in that manner she was very severely flogged with a cow skin.

Do you know whether she was flogged by order of the magistrate, or by that of her owner?

The people that were standing by said, that her mistress ordered her to be flogged for running away.

Were you ever in America?

Yes; several voyages to Virginia and Maryland.

Did you ever see any of the field Slaves in America?

Yes, very often; I have many times gone through the tobacco plantations when they have been at work.

Was their appearance in general better or worse than that of the field Slaves in the West Indies?

Their appearance was much better; they are better clothed a great deal, and seem to have plenty of provisions; and I think they are not so hard worked, as I very seldom saw a driver over them with a whip; they were generally working by themselves.

Have you any other reason for judging that they were better fed than in the West Indies than that they looked better ?

I have been in their houses several times, and seen them at their victuals, and they seemed to have plenty of it.

From what you have seen and known, by what motives have seamen been induced to enter on board Guinea ships, wherein you have stated them in general to be so indifferently treated ?

Most of them are compelled to go from want, I believe ; from getting in debt with their landlords, when they are either obliged to go on board a Guineaman or go to gaol.

You have said, that the plantation Slaves bring articles for sale to the markets of the towns in Jamaica ; did they seem to you to be so well protected by the laws, that they could be sure of selling these articles without molestation, and of applying to their own use whatever they might receive in exchange for them ?

I do not think there is any law for them ; I have seen their things taken away from them by the sailors, and then beat into the bargain for asking for their money ; they have ran crying half the street after them, and sometimes down to the boat they belonged to ; but they got neither their things nor any thing for them.

Have you ever known the Slaves on board your ship appear exceedingly distressed when they were sold in the West Indies ?

Yes, very much so ; they seemed very sorry to be parted from one another.

How old were you when you first went to Africa ?

I believe I was about fifteen or sixteen.

Were your first voyages to Gambia ?

Yes, they were.

How old was you when the Slaves there told you they were all stolen ?

I cannot justly say how old I was ; but they commonly told us so in every voyage I have been, in the best manner they were able to make us understand.

Did you ever understand their language ?

I could have talked Mandingo pretty well.

Did you understand the other Negro languages ?

No ; but very little of them.

Are

Are the canoes rowed by freemen or by Slaves ?
By Slaves.

Do not masters exercise a right to sell their Slaves in Africa ?
They very often sell their canoe-boys.

Do not you suppose or believe that these canoe-men, whom you have known to be sold, were Slaves to the masters that sold them ?

Yes ; I always supposed them to be so.

What country does Captain Lemma Lemma belong to ?
He lives a good way up Benin river.

To what nation did the people in the canoes which he seized belong ?

They lived at a little fishing-town at the mouth of the river, and I believe were subject to the king of Benin.

Do you know whether Lemma Lemma was at war with the people of the country that the canoe belonged to ?

I cannot justly say whether he was at open war or not. He was a man that was very much feared by the natives of the lower part of the river.

Do you imagine that he would have taken away the king of Benin's subjects if he had not been at war with the king of Benin ?

I should suppose not.

Is it not perfectly understood between the natives and the White traders, that if the pawns which are given in security to the latter are not redeemed within due time, they are at liberty to carry them off the coast ?

The natives know very well, if they are not redeemed before the ships sail they will be carried off.

What was the highest birth you had on board the several Guinea ships you sailed in ?

A gunner was the highest that ever I had—I had not learning to be a mate.

How long have you been in the King's service ?
Since the year 1771.

What

What was your first station in it?

As quarter gunner, which is an assistant to the gunner.

How long have you been gunner to the Resistance?

Since the 11th of June 1784.

You said that most of the African sailors go on board from necessity, and that they must either go on board an African ship or to gaol; which in your opinion is most advantageous to the country, to become a sailor, or to go to gaol?

To become a sailor, I should suppose.

Do you apprehend the landlords would allow the sailors to run in debt with them, if they did not know they should get paid by the advance money the sailor would have to receive on entering into the Guinea employ?

They are sure of getting it that way, if no other.

Have you reason to believe that landlords ever encourage seamen to run in debt, with the view to compel them to go on board Guinea ships?

I cannot say that that is their view altogether.

Was Lemma Lemma generally considered as a pirate?

Yes, he was.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. JOHN MARSHALL, formerly a Master in the African Trade, called in, and examined.

How long have you been in the African Trade?

It is upwards of 35 years since I first entered into it; but I would wish to be understood, that in the course of that time, I was cruising in private ships of war in the two late wars, and I have lived six years at home.

What part of Africa have you traded to, and how many voyages have you made there?

Principally to the Gold Coast, and I think, to the best of my recollection, I have made about 19 voyages.

Have you known the Africans go to war for the purpose of procuring Slaves to sell to the ships?

I never knew an instance of the kind; on the contrary, when wars have happened, which I have known, though but seldom, on the Gold Coast, it has been of the utmost prejudice to the shipping. I unfortunately was lying at Annamaboe, when a war was commenced by the king of Ashantee against the Fantees, and there was such a total stagnation to trade in consequence of the war, that I lay no less than sixteen months at Annamaboe, before I completed my purchase. The Ashantees were disappointed in their designs, which was to make a conquest of the Fantee country: the Fantees, on their part, took a number of prisoners from the Ashantees; the greater part of whom would have been sold, and some put to death, had it not been for the interposition of a Mr. Brew, who interested himself on their behalf with the Fantees; he sent messengers to the king of Ashantee, proposing to him the redemption of those prisoners; the king of Ashantee gladly embraced the proposal, and sent directions to Mr. Brew to make the best terms he could for the redemption of those people, and sent two hostages (a brother and nephew of his own) to Mr. Brew, as security for the payment of any contract that he might make with the Fantees for the redemption of those people, which Mr. Brew effected, and sent him all the prisoners back.

Have you known of any kidnapping being practised on the parts of the coast which you visited?

I never knew an instance of the kind—on the contrary, in my opinion it is impossible to be done.

Do you suppose the governors of the forts could with impunity seize and sell the natives?

I am certain they could not; they are themselves too much in the power of the natives to put any such thing in execution.

Did you ever know an instance of any of the governors giving orders to their people to seize and imprison the natives, with an intention of selling them?

Never; I know it is impracticable.

Have you been at Cape La Hou?
Frequently.

Have you ever heard of any of the natives being carried off fraudulently from thence by the White traders; or do they shew

any diffidence on coming on board the ships that visit that place?

I never knew nor heard an instance of any of the natives of Cape La Hou being carried off in a fraudulent way; and as it is one of the most civilized parts on the Coast of Africa, from the great number of Dutch ships continually lying there, I never saw the least timidity in them when they came alongside the ships, but they always came on board with as much freedom as a boat would board a ship in the river Thames.

Who are the chief traders at La Hou?

The Dutch.

What is the general state of agriculture, where you have been, in Africa?

On the Gold Coast the cultivation is very trifling, and that for corn, which is very rudely done, is such that there is no certainty of supply there; in the Bight of Guinea, at Bonny, the only cultivation that I know there is yams.

Have you seen any indigo manufactured in Africa?

I have not; and I am certain they know nothing about the manufacturing of indigo; as a certain proof of which, I know that both indigo and blue is carried to the Coast for the use of the gentlemen in the forts; and I know that you cannot make a more acceptable present to a female, than by giving her a little of either, which she uses to paint herself with.

From whence does the indigo, in that manufactured state, come?

From England; and, I presume, some from Holland.

When your trade was finished in Africa, was it your practice to sail from thence in the night?

I never sailed in the night from Africa. It is always the custom to sail in the morning, in order to get the advantage of the land winds; from Bonny it is impossible to sail in the night, the river being so dangerous that ships would run the greatest risk of being lost in attempting it.

Are you at present concerned in the African Trade, either as captain or merchant?

Neither.

Will

Will you state in what ship or ships you have sailed in your several voyages, and in what capacities, as far as you can recollect?

The first voyage I made was in a ship called the Halifax, Henry Ellis, master, in the year 1754. I was then a lad. The next three voyages, I was in a ship called the Marlborough, first commanded by a captain Richardson, and after by a captain Gibson. I do not recollect the exact years. I was second mate the first and second of these voyages in that ship; and the third voyage, I was chief, under captain Gibson. The next voyage I was in another ship called the Marlborough, when I was cast away upon the coast of Cornwall; I was then master; that was I think in the year 1762; I then had a vessel called the Greenwich, and made two voyages in her; but I cannot charge my memory with respect to the time; the next ship I commanded was the Briton; I was but one voyage in her; I was three voyages or more in the Alfred, and I have been one voyage since in a ship called the Elizabeth: I cannot pretend to say that I am accurate either as to dates or as to the number of the voyages, as it is so long ago. All these ships belonged to Bristol, excepting the last, in which I sailed from Liverpool in the year 1788, but she belonged to London.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 9^o die Junii 1790.

MR. JOHN MARSHALL called in, and further examined.

What number of Slaves did you take on board in the Elizabeth, and what number did you lose from the time of your beginning to take Slaves on board to that of your finally disembarking your cargo?

I took on board 546, and I was peculiarly unfortunate in the mortality of my Slaves and crew, having on board at one period the small-pox, measles, flux, and fever, by which disorders I lost no less than 158 Slaves; which was a greater mortality than I had met with in any six voyages together.

What

What number of seamen did you lose in the same voyage?

Twenty-two out of fifty-two, forty-five of which were Englishmen, and seven of them Spaniards. The principal part of that mortality was owing to their intemperance; they were not to be controuled.

What was the number of Slaves you took on board in your several voyages respectively in the Alfred?

I really cannot speak exactly, but about 400, I think.

Can you state the mortality in your voyages in that ship?

I cannot accurately; one voyage I lost, I believe, something more than forty; in the other two voyages the loss was rather trifling: this I do not pretend to speak positively to, but according to the best of my recollection it was so.

What do you apprehend to have been the motive of the King of Ashantee for making war upon the Fantees?

I am confident his motives were those of ambition; and that he wanted to make a conquest of the Fantee country; this I have often heard from his brother and nephew, who were hostages with Mr. Brew.

Had you ever any reason to believe that one of his objects for making war with any of his neighbours was that of obtaining Slaves?

I had not any reason to suppose any such thing; any wars that I have known him make were with the Fantees; and as his country immediately lies at the back of Fantee, it would have been impossible for him to have conveyed any prisoners he might have taken to the water-side but through the Fantee country.

In what manner do you believe the generality of the Slaves are obtained that are sold to the European ships?

There are some born Slaves; some few are taken in wars; others forfeit their liberty by committing crimes against the laws of their country; and, as they are in general a very superstitious people, many are sold for the supposed crime of witchcraft—this, according to my opinion, is the way that they are obtained in general, at least they say so.

Whence did you obtain information on these particulars?

At various times in various voyages; I have frequently had converse with the Slaves themselves.

Did you commonly converse with them by an interpreter, or did you speak with them in their own language?

With the Gold Coast Slaves, I conversed with them in their own language; at one time I understood and spoke it perfectly; with the Bight Slaves I generally conversed by an interpreter, because I did not understand that so well, not sufficiently to converse.

What proportion of the Slaves purchased on the Gold Coast do you apprehend to be inhabitants of the Coast, and what to come from the interior country?

The proportion, I apprehend, might be one-third who inhabited the Coast; the other two-thirds were brought from the Ashantee and Dunco country. These people (both the Ashantees and Duncos) talk the Fantee language.

Do the persons who are sold for witchcraft undergo any previous trial?

I believe they do; though it is secreted from the Europeans.

In your voyages in the Alfred, what number of boys and girls had you on board, of twelve years of age or under?

Very few of that description. In the purchase of Slaves we generally go by height; and I generally made a point, it was my orders indeed, not to purchase any under the height of four feet four inches.

In any other of your voyages, have you had many of this description?

On my last voyage I was allowed to purchase them as low as four feet; and I suppose I might have had from forty to sixty of that description.

What appeared to you to be in general the state of civilization upon the Coast of Africa, particularly on the Gold Coast?

Where our settlements or forts are, they are tolerably civilized, from their intercourse with the Europeans settled there; at the other towns they are not so much so.

What opinion have you formed of their intellectual and moral qualities?

Their natural abilities I think much inferior to people of other countries; and as to morality, I believe they know very little or nothing about it.

You

You have stated, "that kidnapping is in your opinion impossible to be done;" what are the grounds of that opinion; do you mean kidnapping of the natives by each other?

I do.

What are the grounds of that opinion?

Because I am certain it cannot be done secretly, and if known, the first man in the country could not do it with impunity.

Why could it not be secretly done?

Because it must be found out, either on their conveying those supposed to be kidnapped to the water-side, in order to send them on board of ship, or if not there, they would certainly be discovered after they were got on board of the ships, from the free intercourse the traders have on board the ships; and I deem it impossible for a person so taken to be concealed for any time; I speak here from my own knowledge, as I never knew an instance of the kind.

What would be the consequence of its being detected to the party committing it?

As I never knew an instance of the kind, I cannot say what would be the consequence.

Will you then explain to the Committee the meaning of what you have just said, "that in your opinion the first man in the country could not do it with impunity?"

It is my opinion, that should such a thing happen, the least punishment would be a restitution; what further punishment their laws might inflict, I am not competent to say.

Do you believe that persons are ever unjustly accused or convicted, with the object of their being sold for Slaves?

I do not.

You have said, "That many of the natives are born Slaves;" to what part of the country do you particularly refer in this instance?

I believe it is general over all the country.

Did you understand that it was usual for the natives to sell such Slaves as had been born in their service?

I believe it sometimes to be the case, particularly where families are distressed, they are then under the necessity of selling them.

Did

Did you apprehend they had a right to do so by the laws or customs of the country?

I certainly do, as I have known instances of its being publicly done.

How did you know that the Slaves so sold had been born in the service of the persons selling them?

From the relation of those who sold them; in particular, one who was trader to the ship I commanded, and who sold me two of his household Slaves.

What are the crimes for which the generality of such Slaves are condemned, as are furnished in consequence of being convicted of crimes?

I believe principally theft, incontinence, and other crimes that I perhaps cannot speak to.

How far were you ever up in the country on the Gold Coast?
Not more than three miles.

From what you saw and heard on the Coast, did it appear to you that the inhabitants diminished in number?

It did not.

Whence did you apprehend the country could keep up its number of inhabitants, of which such large drains were continually made by the European traders?

I cannot pretend to account for it in any other way than by the toleration of the plurality of wives.

What do you apprehend to be in general the treatment of seamen in the African trade?

I believe their treatment on African voyages to be as it is on other voyages; and as there are men of different dispositions in the African trade as well as others, their treatment will vary accordingly; but in general, I believe, they are as well treated as in other voyages.

You have said, "That they know nothing about the manufacturing of indigo in Africa;" to what part of the Coast do you extend this observation?

Particularly to the Gold Coast.

Did you ever purchase any provisions for your ship on any part of the Coast of Africa?

I have.

In ~

In what parts, and at what times?

I have purchased rice on the Windward Coast, and corn on the Gold Coast; but the supply at either place was so uncertain, that I never depended much upon it, but generally carried the principal part of my provisions from England.

When Slaves are offered for sale to the European traders, are any enquiries made, in order to ascertain the right the person who brings them has to dispose of them?

I believe not, as it is taken for granted they have an undoubted right to the disposal of them.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. GEORGE MILLAR, Gunner of the *Pégase* Man of War, called in, and examined.

Was you ever in Africa?

I was.

When, and on what parts of the Coast?

The last voyage I was at Old Calabar, in the Ship *Canterbury*, and in the year 1767.

Can you give any account of a remarkable transaction that happened when you were on that part of the Coast?

I can. To the best of my recollection, in the month of June, in the year 1767, there happened at that time a difference betwixt two towns, called by the names of Old Town and New Town; this difference prevented the ships from being flaved. The captain one evening told me that there was to be a meeting of those two towns on board the different ships then lying in the river. I was the person on board that delivered the goods for trade. I was ordered the day before to hand up some swords. On board of the *Canterbury* several canoes came belonging to both towns (I do not know at what time of the day the circumstance I am going to mention happened). The first thing that happened was a man who brought a letter or note to the captain; immediately upon this, I saw the captain following a man of Old Town, cutting him unmercifully with a hanger on all parts of his body, head, arms, &c. the cabin door was on the starboard side; he crossed the quarter deck, running down some steps, and the captain after him, cutting him unmercifully—I am sure it can never be effaced.

effaced from my memory—the man dived head foremost into the boy's room, and he was ordered to be hauled up by a rope from under the platform; after being hauled up, and the rope cast off, he was cut in the same manner as before related, until directing himself to the entering port, he plunged headlong from thence, whether overboard, or into a canoe, I cannot recollect. Near about this time all was nearly quiet on board the ship. The captain went out of the ship on board of some of the ships, but of which I cannot recollect. During the time that he was gone, a boy came to me, and told me there was a man behind the medicine chest in the steerage. I went with the boy, and found a man had crept between the end of the chest and the ship's side. The chest was obliged to be removed before we could get him out. He begged for mercy, praying that he might not be given to the New Town people, and told me that he brought the letter before alluded to, to the captain. He was brought on the quarter deck, where were some of the New Town people that would have killed him immediately, if they had not been prevented. He was ironed, with his hands behind his back, but whether his legs were ironed I cannot justly say; he was supported to the men's room. Soon after this the captain came on board with one of the principal traders of New Town, called by the name of Willy Honesty. The circumstance was related to the captain, and I believe in the hearing of this trader. He immediately exclaimed, "By God, captain Parke, if you give me that man to cutty head, I'll give you the best man in my canoe (as a hostage, I apprehend), and you shall be slaved the first ship." The captain then picked a man out of the canoe, and ordered this man who was secured in the men's room in his absence to be given to Willy Honesty. He was got out of the men's room, and I recollect very well that he asked for a drink of water; whether it was given him or not I cannot say; he was supported down the ship's side into the canoe; and immediately taking of him by the hair of his head, one of the Black people in the canoe held him over the gunwale of the boat, struck off his head, I believe, with one stroke, and then holding his head up there were great shouts in the canoe. This I saw with my own eyes. I apprehend that there was some other cruelty done, as I saw a great quantity of blood on the starboard side of the mizen mast; but I do not recollect seeing any dead bodies where the blood might have proceeded from; I heard at the same time several muskets or pistols fired amongst the other ships, but knew not from whom. I believe to the best of my recollection this affair which I have related could not last longer than ten minutes. About this time there was a gun, a four pounder, fired at a canoe, but whether it did any

any damage I cannot say. I recollect telling Captain Parke, that it would be a long time before we were flaved, notwithstanding the promises of the man in the canoe, as I heard that several ships had secured the Old Town men, and not suffered them to be murdered, as it accordingly happened, for to the best of my recollection the ship lay twelve months and sixteen days at an anchor, and the ship's company long before that time was reduced to twelve pounds of meat a day for the whole ship's company (excluding four in the cabin) and no bread, but there were yams in plenty; there were two stock-fish days a week, and three stock-fish given to the ship's company a day; for what continuance of time I cannot recollect, as on the Middle Passage there was bread reserved for us. We took on board, to the best of my recollection, 490 odd Slaves, and we buried 180 odd, who mostly died of the flux.

Do you recollect how long the ship had been on the coast when this transaction happened?

I do not recollect.

Do you recollect how the canoes of the Old Town and of the New Town people were situated at the beginning of this affray?

I recollect several canoes of both towns being alongside—but do not know really how situated.

Do you recollect whether they were chiefly the canoes of the Old Town, or of the New Town people?

I do not.

During your voyage, was there any instance of a Slave attempting to get overboard?

A sickly Slave got through the necessary, and in swimming bore herself higher upon the water than ever I saw any person; the circumstance was told to the captain, who said, to the best of my recollection, "Damn her, let her go, she is not worth picking up," or something to that purpose.

Did you ever know any instances of the Slaves refusing sustenance?

Yes; I recollect a woman Slave being brought on board (but whether on my first or second voyage I cannot recollect) who refused any sustenance, neither would she speak: she was at last ordered to have thumb-screws put upon her, and suspended in the mizen rigging, and every attempt made by the cat and those instruments they generally have on board the ships, but all to no purpose;

purpose ; she died three or four days after that, and I was told by some of the women Slaves that she spoke to some of them the night before she died, and said, " She was going to her friends."

Of what disorders did the Slaves chiefly die in the ship, in which, to the best of your knowledge, you say you lost 180 odd ?

All, in general, of the flux, and I believe it was through the means of their being so much crowded in the ship. I was the person that had the care of the men Slaves, and when flowed, there was not room to put down the point of a stick between one and another.

Do you recollect what was the size of the ship ?

To the best of my knowledge, she might be between 5 and 600 tons. She, as I have formerly understood, was a sloop of war, and sold into the merchants service.

In what condition were the apartments of the Slaves, when they were all below, in point of comfort ?

Very disagreeable. It could not be otherwise, being so much crowded ; but we endeavoured to keep them as clean as possible.

Were the men Slaves on board your ship generally fettered ?
All in general.

Did the Slaves generally appear dejected when brought on board ?

They generally did ; for the moment they were brought up the ship's side, they were put in a rank, if there were many of them, and after being examined by the surgeon, and approved, the cloth that they had round their middle was thrown overboard, which, I suppose, was thought necessary for fear of any infection.

Did the Slaves on board your ship use any exercise ?

Frequently they were made to dance or jump up and down in their irons.

Were they compelled so to do when they were unwilling ?

If unwilling they were obliged to dance or jump by the cat, which was frequently the case.

Do you apprehend that frauds are practised on the natives by the European traders, in conducting the Slave Trade ?

I cannot answer to that question.

Have

Have you ever known instances of the kind yourself?
I cannot recollect any.

What in general was the treatment of the seamen on board the ships in which you sailed?
Very good treatment in regard of usage.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

That this Examination of Mr. Ellison, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Millar, be reported to the House.

N^o 5.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES.

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 9th JUNE 1790.

Witnesses Examined,

Mr. HENRY ELLISON,
Mr. JOHN MARSHALL,
Mr. GEORGE MILLAR.

MINUTES

OF THE

EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE A

Committee of the House of Commons,

BEING

A SELECT COMMITTEE,

Appointed to take the Examination of Witnesses
respecting the African SLAVE TRADE.

1791.

MINUTES

OF THE

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

FOR THE YEAR 1901

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

A REPORT TO THE COMMISSIONERS

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

FOR THE YEAR 1901

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Martis, 1^o die Martii 1791.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to
take the Examination of Witnesses on the
Slave Trade.

Lunæ, 7^o die Februarii 1791.

MR. RICHARD STORY, Lieutenant in the Royal
Navy, called in, and examined.

Were you ever in Africa?

Yes.

When, and in what parts?

In the year 1766, at Old Calabar.

Can you mention any other time, or parts of the coast?

Yes—in part of years 1767, 1768, 1769, and 1770, in almost
every part, from Sierra Leone to the River Gabon.

[A 2]

What

What opinion did you form, concerning the mode in which Slaves are generally obtained ?

By marauding parties from one village to another in the night. I have known them also land from canoes that have come from considerable distances along shore, and carrying off numbers in the night, and go clear off next morning.

Did any thing fall within your own personal observation, which induced you to believe these marauding expeditions were frequent ?

I recollect once a Liverpool captain setting two villages at variance;—there were taken, I believe, about a dozen, the major part of which he bought next day ; there were prisoners taken on both sides, and he bought from both.

Did you ever reside any considerable time on the coast of Africa ?

About three months at Bristol Town, on the Windward Coast, between Cape Mount and Mesurado.

What did you learn there concerning the general mode of making Slaves ?

Parties going out in the country on marauding expeditions—sometimes returning with prisoners and sometimes without.

Did any instances of one village attacking another come to your personal knowledge ?

I have already mentioned the instance of Captain Patterson, who was then lying off Bristol town ; I do not recollect the ship's name—it happened in the latter end of the year 1769.

Whilst you resided at Bristol Town, were you ever in any of the villages of that neighbourhood ?

In many.

Did you ever hear from the inhabitants of those villages of any persons having been carried off from them ?

Not any thereabouts, that I can recollect.

Did you ever hear of any inhabitants being carried off from the villages of any other parts of the Windward Coast ?

Yes.

Were you ever in the interior country of the Windward Coast?
I have been seven days out and home, but cannot tell the exact distance.

Was this in the neighbourhood of Bristol Town?
No; it was between the Buffau and the River Sesters.

Do the natives in general go armed or unarmed?
All armed, whether the parties be small or large, even single people.

What do you apprehend to be their motives for going thus always armed?
I believe from fear of meeting with marauding parties.

Are there many wild beasts on that coast?
Not any that I ever saw, or heard of—I speak of the Windward Coast.

From what you heard when you were up in the interior country, to the distance you before mentioned, do you apprehend Slaves are thereabouts also made by marauding parties?

I have asked the people how they have come by them, their answer to which was, that they were taken in war; and these marauding parties are considered by them war.

Were you ever yourself, whilst on the Windward Coast, in any danger from the attack of any of these parties?
Not on shore.

Were you, whilst lying off the Coast, or in any of the rivers?

Once in the River Sesters, and another time in the River Angra or Danger.

Will you relate the circumstances of the first of these transactions to which you allude?

On my first coming on the Coast in the year 1767, I was put into a trading long boat, belonging to the ship in which I came from Whitehaven—at one time in particular there had been a marauding party in canoes that came from Grand Sesters, which landed in the night at Grand Cora, and carried off to the amount of from twelve to fourteen.—A short time after that, we had a Native of Grand Sesters in our long boat (laying in the river

[B]

Sesters)

Sesters)—it came to the knowledge of the people of Grand Cora that this man was in the long boat, and though, not having been immediately concerned in carrying off the people from Grand Cora, they formed a plan to take him from us—in consequence of which they came over to the river Sesters, borrowed canoes at King's town, and came to us, and informed the Mate, that they had a Slave to sell; upon which he went on shore with them to some distance from where the boat then laid, myself, one boy, and the Black man remaining in the boat.—About four hours after the Mate was gone, a canoe with four men came on board our boat, the same men the Mate went away with. I asked them where the Mate was? their answer was, pointing to a canoe at some distance, that he was in that canoe coming with a Slave. A little time afterwards, I not being on my guard, two of them seized me, and the other two the black man; him they got overboard—I got clear of the two myself, though they had attempted to get me overboard also; as soon as I found myself at liberty, I immediately jumped down below and got arms, and came upon deck immediately, on which the two that had attempted to throw me overboard, jumped overboard themselves—by the time that I had got on deck again the black man had cleared himself, and was coming up the sides when I got on deck; on which we loaded muskets, and were going to fire at the people in the water, but they told us, if we killed or wounded one man, they would kill the Mate; on which the matter dropt—the Mate during all this time was confined, being tied neck and heels—as soon as they had got the Mate on shore, they told him that he must either deliver up the Native of Grand Sesters, or pay them a Slave's goods, that is, the price of a Slave in goods, which he refused—this was the reason of his confinement.

Had this Native of Grand Sesters told you, before you were attacked, of the expedition that had been made by his countrymen against Grand Cora?

Yes; and he told me repeatedly he was afraid to go on shore for that reason.

Did you understand from him, that there had been any existing war between Grand Sesters and Grand Cora at the time of that expedition?

Not any at all.

Did he assign any reason for the expedition?

The only reason that he did assign for it was, that his countrymen

countrymen were poor—it was impossible there could be any existing war, because the people of Grand Cora are 20 leagues from Grand Sesters, and have not canoes to carry any more than two or three men, and never go out to sea but to fish—the people of Grand Sesters have canoes that carry 12 or 14 people, and in which they go from place to place, marauding among their neighbours—I have met them off at sea when they could not be seen from land in the day time, and have taken the opportunity of night, to land where they thought proper.

Did you ever know any instances of the Natives redeeming their countrymen from on board Slave ships?

Many.

Of what description were the persons so redeemed?

They had been taken by the marauding parties, and after being sold, their countrymen got notice where they were, and came and redeemed them.—I make no doubt but the Slaves, which they exchanged for their friends, had been also taken by them in the same manner.

Is it your opinion, that the Natives are ever fraudulently or forcibly carried off by Europeans?

Often.

Can you specify any particular instances of that sort?

I have been told by the Natives, that they have lost their friends at different times, and supposed them to be taken by European ships going along the Coast—I have myself taken up canoes, which were afterwards challenged by the Natives, who supposed the men in them had been taken off the day before by a Dutchman.

Do the Natives ever retaliate on European vessels, in consequence of injuries of this sort?

I once myself saved a Dutch longboat and crew, that the Natives meant to kill; this happened between the river Sesters and Settra Crue—laying to an anchor in my boat, a Dutch ship, running down the Coast, sent her longboat to where I was lying, to buy vegetables, fowls, &c.—as soon as he came to an anchor, there were a number of canoes came about the two boats. One of the head men of the place came to me, and desired that I would take my anchor up and go away—that they wanted to take the Dutch longboat, and kill the crew; but would not wish to do

do it, while I was there.—On which I immediately hailed the Dutch longboat, and told him that he had better go away—that the Negroes wanted to take the boat, and kill the crew. The reason the Negroes assigned for this was, that a Dutch ship some few days before had taken four men belonging to that place.

Can you state any other instance of retaliation that fell within your own personal knowledge?

I once myself, in 1768, was going a passenger from Lagoo on the Gold Coast to the river Gabon, in one of the trading vessels belonging to the Coast, and meeting with contrary winds, we got into the river Angra or Danger; finding there was every probability of purchasing bees wax, ivory, and Slaves, we staid there. On the second day after our arrival two canoes with about twelve or fourteen men each came on board with two men bound, which they wanted to sell.—When the agreement was made, I went down below to get a pair of irons and a hammer to put the one in irons that was agreed for. On coming up again, the master of the boat, myself, and another White man, were all seized—the master's and the other man's throats were both cut immediately—I by some superior exertion got clear of them that had seized me, but standing below in the hatchway I made an attempt to get on deck, but could not—Half an hour after, being covered with wounds, and finding myself very weak with the loss of blood, I told the natives on board, that if they would let me go to Gabon they might take the boat and Cargo also, to which they consented. After they had got the major part of the goods out of the boat, they then assisted me to get on deck, and immediately stripped me naked, put me into a canoe, and took me on shore to their town. The reason they gave me of doing this was, that a ship from Liverpool (the Captain's name was Lambert, the ship's name I don't recollect) had taken sometime before a canoe full of their townsmen, and carried them away; as a corroboration of this, I was told of this same circumstance when I got to Gabon afterwards.

Was you ever at Old Calabar?
Yes.

How were the Slaves commonly brought down the River Calabar?

Chiefly in large canoes—what they call war canoes—carrying upwards of fifty men, with a three or four pounder in the bow, and each man, with his arms in the canoe, beside him.

Did you ever know any forcible means used by Europeans to oblige the Natives to bring in or sell Slaves?

In the year 1766, Captain Jeremiah Smith, in the London, of London, having a dispute with the Natives of New Town, at Old Calabar, respecting the stated price that he was to give for the Slaves, stopped every canoe coming down the creek from New Town for several days, and also fired several guns indiscriminately over the woods into the Town, until he brought them to his own terms.

What opinion did you form respecting the disposition of the Natives, during your residence on the Windward Coast?

I look upon them in general to be an hospitable and friendly people, always willing to sell any thing they have, and also to give you the best provisions their country affords.

What judgment did you form respecting their indolence or industry?

The men along shore in general are very active and industrious; they are chiefly employed in fishing and trading with Europeans; the women are chiefly employed in the cultivation of rice and other vegetables, their country produce.

Is it the women only on the Windward Coast that are employed in cultivation?

There are old men that have been taken in their marauding parties, that they could not sell, employed also in their plantations.

Do you then apprehend that Slaves refused by the Europeans as too old for service are commonly destined to this employment?

I believe all, having seen a great many such, at different places, about such work.

Is any rice sold to the Europeans?

Great quantities on the Rice Coast.

Is any of this rice brought from any considerable distance inland?

I have seen rice plantations as far as I have been in the country; and the Natives, in parties of 8 or 10, bringing rice down to the coast, at the distance of three or four days journey; and I have known them take back salt and other European goods in return.

Do you apprehend that the indolence of the Natives is such as would prevent a trade with them, in case the Slave Trade were abolished, and they could no otherways obtain European manufactures than by selling their various articles of produce?

I have every reason to believe, that if there was nobody to purchase Slaves, they would then turn themselves to cultivate their ground, to raise rice and other things, to purchase European goods.

What is the quality of the African rice?

Far superior to Carolina, bearing a quarter part more water.

What may be the weight the Natives carry on their heads?

From 40 to 60 pounds weight.

Do you apprehend that salt, or any of the other articles you have mentioned, are ever carried from the sea coast to a still greater distance inland?

I have been informed by the Natives, that they go more than a month's journey inland with such different articles.

Did you ever see any parties employed in carrying up those articles?

Yes; more than twenty together, men and women.

Were any frauds practised by the Europeans in trading with the Natives?

In every thing the Europeans deal in; such as adulterating spirits with water, and then boiling up pepper of the country with it, so as to make it equally hot; also similar frauds are practised on every article where they can be committed.

Did the Natives on the Coast appear to you more or less honest in their dealings than those of the interior country?

I look upon those of the interior country to be more honest in their dealings than those on the sea coast.

Did any thing come to your knowledge respecting the quality of the guns sold to the Natives by the Europeans?

I have seen many of them with their barrels burst, and thrown away. I have seen many of the Natives with their thumbs and fingers off, which they have said were blown off by the bursting of the guns.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

Yes.

Are the surfs on the Coast of Africa commonly higher than you have known them in some of the West India islands, or in any other parts where trade has been carried on?

I have seen surfs in the island of St. Christopher, also in parts of Grenada, equally high, if not higher than I ever saw them in Africa. At Madras also, in the East Indies, I have seen them much higher, and kept so for a longer time than I ever saw them on the Windward Coast, in Africa.

Were there means of loading boats in those places notwithstanding this obstruction.

Not a single place but where boats are continually loading, excepting sometimes for a day or two, when the surf is so high it is impossible for them to land; but there are very few places in Africa where there is not some shelter by points of land or rocks that break the violence of the surf; this is not so on the Coast of Coromandel, which is a clear and open Coast.

Have you often known articles lost on the Coast of Africa in going on shore or coming off to the ships?

I have seen goods landed in every part of the Coast where I have been; have frequently seen them wet, but never lost.

Do they use the same expedients on the Coast of Africa in loading and unloading boats as are practised in the West Indies, and other places of established trade, to obviate the effect of the surfs?

No.

Did you ever know any attempts made by the Slaves to rise on the crew?

In my first voyage to Old Calabar the Slaves attempted to rise, but did not succeed.

Did any other instances of insurrections fall under your observation?

In the year 1769, as I was laying at Cape Mount, a Liverpool ship, between Cape Mount and Mesurada, had every person killed except one boy.

On

On board the ships you sailed in, were the Men Slaves unfettered during the Middle Passage?

No; they were always kept in irons.

How were the seamen generally fed, and how generally treated in such Slave ships as you have sailed in?

The first ship I sailed in, the *Regus*, there were no complaints of any kind; we had plenty of provisions of all sorts. In the second ship, the *Tyger* of Whitehaven, about ten days after we left Whitehaven we were put to an allowance of four pounds of bread per week, and half a pound of beef or pork per day, without any other provisions, and remained so about nine months. I have very little complaint to make of ill-usage in the ships I have sailed in.

From your experience, is the Slave Trade more or less injurious to the healths of the seamen than other trades?

I don't think it unhealthy upon the open coast, but in the rivers it is very unhealthy. We buried 14 out of 32 the first voyage I was, in the River Calabar, and during the nine months I was in the *Tyger*, we buried five or six out of 28.

Can you mention the mortality you have experienced in voyages to any other parts of the world?

In three voyages to Virginia we buried one man—in five Baltic voyages not any—in one voyage to the Southern whale fishery we buried none—and in two Mediterranean voyages we did not bury any.

How long were the Virginia voyages out and home?

The first voyage about eleven months, with sixteen men; in the other two voyages about seven months each, with the same number of men.

What was the length of your voyage, and the number of the crew, on the Southern whale fishery?

The voyage eleven months; the number of men sixteen.

In the ship wherein you were stinted in the quantity of your provisions, was the quality good?

The bread was tolerable; but the beef and pork had laid so long in salt, that when boiled it shrunk up to little more than half its weight.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Martis,

Martis, 8^o die Februarii, 1791.

MR. STOREY called in ; and further examined.

And the following Question and Answer being read ; viz.

“ How were the Seamen generally fed, and how generally treated in such Slave ships as you have sailed in? V. P. 12.

“ The first ship I sailed in, the Regus, there were no complaints of any kind ; we had plenty of provisions of all sorts. In the second ship, the Tyger, of Whitehaven, about ten days after we left Whitehaven we were put to an allowance of four pounds of bread per week, and half a pound of beef or pork per day, without any other provisions, and remained so about nine months. I have very little complaint to make of ill-usage in the ships I have sailed in.”

The Witness was asked,

Have you any thing to add to this answer ?

Yes; being short of provisions, as before mentioned, and handing some rice forward to the Slaves, I took a handful out of it for my own use, and being seen by one of the mates, I was beat unmercifully for it with a rope. I have known others served in the same manner for the same offence, if it can be called an offence, for it was through hunger.

Do you know any thing of the treatment of the sailors on board any other Slave ships ?

I do. In the latter part of the year 1767 and part of 1768, laying at Bassau, in the Tyger, belonging to Whitehaven, I heard the sailors of three different ships, which were laying there at the same time, make heavy complaints of bad provisions, and also of an insufficiency, bad as they were. The ships names were, the Lancashire Witch, Captain Coil ; the Lilly, Captain Scragham ; and the Violet, Captain Brown, which were notorious for bad provisions and ill-usage. I have seen the sailors on board of each, at

[D]

different

different times, beat unmercifully for the most trifling offences; such as by knocking them down with handspikes, and throwing billets of wood at them, and in short any thing that came in the way of the Captains or other officers who thought proper to take offence at the conduct of the men; particularly in the Lancashire Witch, I saw a man confined for some trifling offence, having an iron collar about his neck, shackled upon his right leg and arm, and then chained to a ring bolt on the deck, in which situation he was kept for a considerable time, without any other allowance but bread and water.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. JAMES TOWNE, Carpenter of His Majesty's Ship Syren, called in, and examined.

Have you ever been on the Coast of Africa?

I have—my first voyage, in the year 1760/1, to the Isles de Lofs—the second voyage, in the years 1767 and 1768, to Grand Cape Mount.

What time did you remain on the Coast during those voyages?

The first voyage between seven and eight months—I was then a boy. The second voyage, as a carpenter, something better than six months.

Were you ever on shore in Africa, and for what time?

Repeatedly; mostly on shore; for three months together in my first voyage—in my second voyage for five or six weeks at a time.

What was the occasion of your being so long on shore on your first voyage, and how far inland did you then go?

The first voyage I went in the Trading Shallop, and from the ill-treatment I had repeatedly received I run away, and staid with the inhabitants of the place where the shallop had then gone. I went into the back part of the country for some time in order to conceal myself from being taken again. I was up the rivers and inland together, upwards of between 3 or 400 miles—I speak within compass.

What were the names of the ships and captains in which you made your respective voyages?

The

The first voyage, in the *Peggy Snow*, about 140 or 150 tons, Captain Cuthbert Davis; the second, in the *Sally*, something better than 200 tons, Captain George Evans.

How were you employed in the interval between your two voyages?

Apprenticed to a shipwright, at Liverpool.

What are the natural productions which you have seen in Africa?

I have seen great quantities of rice, yams in abundance, plantanes, bananas, and all other tropical fruits, the best I ever saw. Plenty of camwood, elephant's teeth, and some tobacco, which had been cultivated by some of the Natives that had been in England, and which I understood there was great plenty of inland, but they are not thoroughly acquainted with the curing of it;—great quantities of sugar-cane I have seen at different times. I have also seen long pepper, similar to that which comes from the island of Ceylon; and bark, similar in taste to cinnamon-bark, but rather stronger;—great quantities of cotton, and very often manufactured into cloth of very beautiful manufacture; also blue dye, which none in England can come up with—the more it is washed, the more beautiful it appears—I have worn it, and seen it made repeatedly; there are great quantities of very beautiful wood, which might be very serviceable to cabinet-makers;—there are great quantities of bees-wax, honey, and palm-oil, and palm-wine, which comes out of the same tree; there are also Indian corn and grain.

What opinion did you form of the disposition and capacity of the Natives from your own observation, and the acquaintance you had with them?

I look upon them to be a very hospitable and kind sett of people; I have been with them a great deal—they are capable of learning any thing much quicker than any White Man.

Did you observe any difference between the Natives on the sea coast, and those of more inland parts, in point of disposition?

I look upon them to be similar to our own people—those on the water-side learn to be roguish, while those in the country are innocent.

Do you apprehend that the intercourse on the Coast with the Europeans has improved them, or otherwise?

I look upon it it has improved them in roguery, to plunder and steal, and to pick up one another to sell.

What

What was the condition of those persons, who were in slavery in their own country in Africa, as to treatment, food, &c.

I never saw that they were ill treated by their own people; but when White traders come among them, they are sold to them, and used rather worse than when on board ships.

Did you ever see men or women employed in cultivating the lands in Africa?

I have; but it is not common to see the women out.

Do you know any thing of the mode by which Slaves are obtained?

The general way was, to which I have been an eye-witness, that when a ship comes on the Coast they generally send for the traders, and make them presents, on purpose to encourage them to bring any person down to them to sell as a Slave, and many times they bring their own relations to pledge till such time that they can procure such Slaves as may be wanted by the ships. The black Kings have told me, that they were going to war on purpose to procure Slaves, and I have seen their men prisoners brought in bound, the women and children loose, and immediately were delivered up to the White traders, or else drove down in gangs of two or three hundred to the water-side for sale to the best bidder. I have known them go in gangs marauding and catching any one they could. One instance in the Galenas river, where a man had been to sell a Slave or Slaves, I don't know which, was met by four Blacks, who took and plundered him of what he had, stripped him naked, brought him on board our trading shallop in the Galenas river, and sold him. None of us understanding his language, we could not imagine why he seemed so cast down, which they all generally are when brought on board ship. There came on board King Battou, who lived abreast the shallop on shore, and saw this man sitting in a very melancholy manner on deck, and immediately knew him, and asked him the cause of his being there in that situation? He related the circumstance as I have just mentioned; there was an immediate guard of Grumettas sent after the Blacks, with part of our own people, on purpose to take them, but did not find them. We could not make the man eat by any means, even by flogging, and then put in irons. In a very little time he died.

Do no Slaves become so, on account of having committed crimes?

I believe they may among themselves, for murder, theft, or adultery—the last is very often punished with death, if properly proved.

Did you ever hear of crimes being falsely imputed, for the purpose of procuring the person accused to be sold as a Slave?

I have repeatedly, and look upon it as a thing to be common on the Coast—I have repeatedly heard of it from the accused, and from the accusers themselves.

Do you recollect any particular instance?

I do; which was one woman who was accused of adultery, that I brought off myself to the boat; and the husband of the woman sold her.

What reason have you for imagining that this crime was falsely imputed to her?

From her lamenting the loss of her liberty; and she told me she knew nothing of what she was accused.

Do you recollect having heard of any circumstance of this kind from any White traders?

I have, from one Mr. Murray, who was formerly one of the Baneé Island factory; and from his partner, Mr. Wood; and from one Mr. Jenkins, another trader, who lived a long way to windward of that place; and from one Mr. Powers, who lived at another town some distance from Mr. Jenkins, who told me, that it was not an uncommon thing to bring on what they call palavers to make Slaves; and I believe it to be so, from the information I have received from the Slaves afterwards, whom I have brought down the country, and put on board ship.

Do you know whether any Slaves are brought from parts of the country, at a great distance from the coast?

I have known, from the information of the King of Barra, that he has been up the country, upon knowing of the arrival of a ship upon the coast, with his guard, 300 or 400 miles, and drove 200 or 300 Slaves at a time with his guard down to the sea side; but from Marraba, King of the Mandingoes, where Mr. Jenkins resided, I have heard that they had marched them out of the country more than 700 miles, and have gone wood-ranging on purpose to pick up every one they met with, whom they stripped naked, and bound, if men; if women, they brought loose—this I positively had from their own mouths—and that they often went to war with another nation, which they called the Bullams, on purpose to procure Slaves, and made their boast that they should soon have a fine parcel to put on board the shallops; and we have waited for the result of their success, which has often proved much to our wishes.

Have you ever known expeditions undertaken by the Whites, for the purpose of seizing Negroes?

At one I was present, with part of the crew, wherein we were joined by other boats to go on shore, and take whomever we could catch; and to prevent their giving alarm, we have bound their mouths up with oakum and handkerchiefs—one woman cried out, and gave the alarm, and the men directly turned out in defence—I had at this time five of them tied in the boat, the rest of the boats were all of them lying at a grapnell, to be in readiness to receive as many more as we could get. We were all armed, and the men of the town pursued us with a scattering fire, which, in a little time, became general, and several of the men, as I have reason to believe, belonging to the different boats, were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, as I never heard of them afterwards—I at the same time was wounded myself. What became of the other boats I know not, for I knew nothing of the expedition till I was ordered to take command of the boat, which I then was but too ready to do, thinking it a piece of sport to go on shore, but which afterwards I was very sorry for having done. The Slaves I had taken were made a part of the cargo, and afterwards sold in Charles Town, South Carolina.

Had the Natives of those parts where this transaction happened, previously committed any hostilities against you, or any of the other ships, whose boats were concerned in it?

None; the reason for the expedition was, that they owed goods to our captain, for which he was determined to obtain Slaves at any rate.

Have you ever known any persons with whom you have failed as a ship-mate, who have been concerned in similar transactions?

Several, who have told it me themselves, and have made a boast and laugh of it, and who have been wounded also.

Is the common trade with the Natives carried on with integrity by the Europeans?

I look upon it, that they take every opportunity to defraud them; in the first place, by adulterating their liquors, making three cases out of two, and the putting in Cayenne pepper into the mouth of the bottle to make it taste strong; in buying and selling by weight there are always two peas or weights to one pair of steelyards, one of stone and the other of lead, both cased with brass exactly alike, and when I have been buying camwood,
rice,

rice, and elephants teeth, the only method I had to fling them, was, to have a canvas pocket on purpose to hold the weights, for they knew the figures of the steelyards, and there was no other way to cheat them but by the different peas or weights.

Did you this by the order of your commanding officer?
I have; and have repeatedly seen him do it himself.

When the Negroes are brought down to the coast, do they appear to come on board the ships willingly?
By no means.

Have you ever known any particular instance to the contrary?
I have; they have come down always with a guard, and forced into the boat.

Were the Negroes fettered on board the ships which you have known?
Always; with legshakels and handcuffs, two and two, right and left.

Has the space in which they have been confined on board the ship been sufficient for their convenience or health?
By no means; they lay in a crowded and cramp state, neither had their length nor their breadth.

Did you know of any inconvenience arising from the heat of their rooms?
I have known them to go down well, and in the morning brought up dead, from the suffocated state they were in below; and when they have come upon deck, they have been all in a dew sweat, from having the tarpawlings laid over the gratings in bad weather.

Do you recollect the height between decks of the ships in which you sailed?
The Peggy was about four feet, and the Sally about four feet four or four feet five.

Whereabouts were the number of Negroes taken on board the Peggy?
About 230, I believe, altogether.

Had she any platforms?
Yes; in the boys room only.

Do you recollect about what number of the cargo died ?
Between 50 and 60.

How many seamen had you, nearly ?
Twenty-five.

Do you recollect what proportion of them died ?
I do not recollect above six or seven dying.

Had the Sally any platforms ?
The boys room and the women's room, and the aft part of the men's room.

Of how many did her cargo consist ?
Nearly 400 ; but I cannot speak to an exact number.

Do you recollect the mortality among them ?
To the best of my recollection, about sixty of them died.

What was the number of her crew, and what the mortality ?
Upwards of forty men, out of which died upwards of thirty ; so that we were obliged to get men from other ships before we left the Coast. We had six mates, and had not one lived.

What was nearly the daily allowance of water to the Slaves ?
Something better than a pint in the whole day, served at twice, after they were fed.

How were they in general treated ?
As before mentioned, they were kept in irons, and in the afternoon, after being fed, the boatswain and the mate take one side of the deck, the other the other, to make them dance ; and if they do not, they had each of them a cat to flog them, and make them do it, which I have seen exercised repeatedly.

How many hours in the day were they usually on deck ?
The general way is, if fine weather, to bring them up of a morning between eight and nine o'clock, and put them down about four in the evening, and to be no more on deck till the next day at the same time.

Have you frequently known Slaves to refuse their food ?
I have.

What do you apprehend to be the cause of their so doing ?
From

From their being confined, and thinking themselves ill treated.

Were any methods, and what, made use of in such cases to induce them to eat?

The general method was flogging, or taking them out of irons, and putting them into irons by themselves, both hands handcuffed, and both legs shackled, with a collar about their neck with a chain, and very often thumb-screwed, to take the stubbornness out of them.—I had all this task upon myself, and sometimes from their ill treatment they have attempted to jump overboard, and at other times have gone mad, and died in that situation.

Have you known them frequently to fall sick on board?
I have.

To what causes did you attribute such sicknesses?
Sometimes to the crowded state they were in, but mostly to grief, which I have made it my business to enquire into.

Of whom did you make those enquiries?
Of those that were afflicted.

Were you at all acquainted with their language?
The first time I was on the Coast I knew their language nearly as well as English, and by that means was able to converse with them, and to know the grievances they complained of, and have made it my business repeatedly to enquire into the circumstances of their grievous complaints, and have found that it has been from being confined in slavery, and carried away from their own country, where they had left their friends and relations.

Have you ever known them attempt insurrection on board ship?
I have.

Did you ever enquire into the causes of such insurrections?
I have. The reasons that were given me were, "What business had we to make Slaves of them, and carry them away from their own country? That they had wives and children, and wanted to be with them;" and the manner to check them was, to put them singly in irons, and to flog them.

Have you ever known women with infants on board?

Yes; two in particular; when their infants died, they grieved after them, and died themselves; and it is a very rare matter for any captains of Guineamen that they ever buy women with children.

Have you ever heard the Slaves singing, and have you been acquainted with the subject of their song?

I have. I never found it any thing joyous, but lamentations. What I did not understand I made it my business to learn what the subject was, and from their information it was complaints for having been taken away from their friends and relations.

If a Slave were to have been kidnapped or sold on board ship in any manner not allowed of by the customs of his country, would he not make known his case to some of the Black brokers or traders, who frequently come on board, in order to obtain his release?

He probably might, if he had an opportunity, but such a thing is never allowed; a precaution absolutely necessary to prevent insurrections; for no Black trader that comes on board is ever allowed to see the main deck, or even to speak to the women abaft; for if they were, they might make signals to cut the ship off; nor are the Slaves on the main deck allowed to look over the sides, when any canoe or boat is coming to the ship. There are always two officers on the main deck to prevent such matters, with each of them a cat to flog them, if they should attempt to look over the sides. This sufficiently prevents them from ever attempting to get redemption.

In what manner is the intercourse prevented between persons on the main deck and those in the after-part of the ship?

By a very high barricado, as strongly put together as wood and iron can make it; so that the women cannot see the men, nor the men the women.

Do you mean to say, that no intercourse whatever is permitted between the Slaves who have been put through the door of the barricado, and any persons who may chance to be in the after-part of the ship?

There is none.

In what manner were the Negroes treated, when sick, on board the vessels in which you have sailed?

They were put down forward, which was considered the hospital

pital of the ship. They could not be put aft, as that was the women's room; nor they could not be put in the main hatchway, as that was the boys room; nor before the main hatchway, as that was the men's room. There was a small separate apartment made for them in what is called the forepeak, and they are but indifferently attended; sometimes they do administer medicine, but are very often obliged to force open their jaws to force it down; but in general very little attention is paid them, so that they very often die in their own filth—the Slaves are very seldom sick long before they die.

Have you had reason to imagine that sea sickness alone was frequently the cause of Slaves refusing to take their food?

I never had any such reason; I never saw one sea sick.

What do you imagine to be the supposed cause of the rapid death of the sick Slaves?

The small attention that is paid to them, the confinement that they have below, and the disagreeable situation of being Slaves.

Did you consider this want of attention to the sick Slaves on board the ships in which you have sailed to have been owing to the want of a sufficient number of medical men, or to those medical men not doing their duty?

I look upon their dying to be in part owing to the want of attention, and in one instance there was no surgeon on board.

And then the Witnesses was directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 9^o die Februarii, 1791.

MR. TOWNE called in, and further examined.

Have you ever been in the West Indies?
Yes.

Specify at what islands, at what period, and for how long a time?

At Barbadoes, in 1779 and 1780, for near a twelvemonth;
Antigua,

Antigua, in 1780 and 1781, for about fifteen months; Saint Kitt's, in 1781, for two months; and a little while at Jamaica, in 1772.

Were you frequently on shore, and in the country, during your stay at those islands?

I was at one Mr. Bishop's plantation at Barbadoes, and at Mr. Gibson's, repeatedly; and on several others on the same island. Several times on Mr. Tyrrell's plantation at Antigua, and at Sir John Laforey's; and on several others, which I do not recollect the names of. I have been repeatedly on shore at St. Kitt's but not much in the country; and likewise in Jamaica, but never much in the country.

Have you ever seen Slaves sold in the West Indies?
I have.

In what manner?
Sometimes by vendu, and sometimes in lots.

How were the Slaves sold out of your own vessels?
To the best bidder, and sometimes in lots.

Have you ever known or heard of any care being taken to prevent the separation of relations or friends?
Not the least notice.

Do you know what is meant by the term Refuse Slaves?
The Refuse Slaves are such as are sickly, by either grief, or being over crowded on board the ships, which in the Guinea-men's phrase is called Waw Waw; and they very often remain for some time on board the ship, to fatten them up for sale, when they cannot otherwise get a purchaser, and when they have been kept some time on board the ships, and they find they cannot get them well, they sell them to any body, for any price.
I have known them sold for as low as a guinea.

Are not those deemed Refuse Slaves, who are sick from any cause whatsoever?
Yes, they are.

Have you ever seen the Negroes at work in the West Indies?
I have.

Describe

Describe the manner of their working, or any particular circumstances that may have struck you during their work ?

I have known them turned out by four o'clock in the morning, and worked to a very late hour in the evening, besides having other work to do at home, after they cannot work any longer by day-light. If any of them have been a moment later than their time upon the spot for work, there are a number of drivers with whips on purpose to flog them ; and they are obliged to strip to receive their punishment before they come up to the driver, that it may not delay the time of their work.

Are any of the Slaves subjected to any particular inconveniencies while they are performing their work ?

Some are lame, and yet obliged to work ; and if they complain there is very little attention paid them ; the answer they receive to their complaints is, that they are lazy, and immediately flogged by the driver.

Have you ever seen Slaves punished in the West Indies, either on the plantations or in the towns ?

I have seen them laid down and stretched out to four stakes drove in the ground for that purpose, and very often forty or fifty lashes given them, and sometimes swung off the ground up to a crane erected for that purpose, with great weights to their feet to stretch them out to make the wounds the larger with the whip. Men and women both served in the same manner ; and after that they have been flogged in the aforesaid manner, they bring a whole armfull of ebony switches, that are full of long thorns, and flog them with them to take out the bruised blood if any remains, as they always when they are flogging of them use a method which they call crossing them, and which makes the punishment the more severe, and makes a number more wounds ; and always pickle them to keep the flies from blowing them, and breeding maggots in their wounds.

By whom have you seen these punishments inflicted ?

There is a jumper in Bridge Town, Barbadoes, and at St. John's, Antigua, who goes from house to house to know if they have any employment for him ; it is this man's business to inflict these punishments ; and on the plantations there is a Black, who is called the boatswain of the plantation, under the command of the manager, who punishes all who are supposed to be offenders.

Have you observed marks of former whippings on any large proportion of the Slaves you have seen in the different islands?

Yes, I have; the marks of the strokes of the whip they have formerly received are a great deal above the level of the skin, nearly as large as a man's finger, and there are scarce any Plantation Negroes but what in general carry a number of those marks.

Did you know any instance among the Plantations with which you were acquainted, where the number of the Slaves had been kept up without purchases?

I have; at Mr. Bishop's Plantations at Speights Town, in Barbadoes, who told me, that they had not bought a new Guinea Slave for upwards of forty years, and that they had more in number by good usage than they had at the beginning of that forty years by a great many, but I can't say the number. I have not been particular to enquire into the circumstance of any other plantation.

Did Mr. Bishop inform you, that the increased number of his Slaves was owing to more having been born on his estate than had died, during the period alluded to?

Yes; he did.

Did you know or ever hear, while you were in the West Indies, of any care being taken to encourage marriage among the Slaves?

None at all.

Have you seen the fufes, on the different shores in the West India Islands, as high as those on the parts of the Coast of Guinea where you were?

Equally the same, at Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Lucia, Martinique, St. Christopher's, Montserrat, and Jamaica.

Are you acquainted with the methods used to procure seamen for the Slave ships?

I am; the method at Liverpool is by the merchants' clerks going from public house to public house, giving them liquors to get them into a state of intoxication, and by that getting them very often on board.—Another method is to get them in debt, and then if they don't chuse to go aboard of such Guineamen then ready for sea, they are sent away to goal by the publicans they may be indebted to—the publicans immediately go to acquaint

acquaint such captains who want men, that they have such and such men in gaol for debt, and if they will agree to go with them, and will pay the debt, they are immediately taken out of the gaol, and put into the boat, and carried on board, and never suffered to go out of the ship any more; and if they don't agree to go, they are still kept in gaol, and with a very scanty allowance.

Have instances of this kind occurred within your own personal knowledge?

Numbers.

How were the seamen treated on board the vessels in which you sailed?

With the greatest inhumanity.

Can you specify any instances?

I can. The first was, as soon as we were round the rock of Liverpool, in the Peggy snow, Captain Davis; the people were brought to an allowance of 4 lb. of bread per week; their chests brought upon deck, and staved and burnt by the cook, and themselves turned out from lying below; and if any murmurs were heard among them, they were inhumanly beat with any thing that came in the way, or flogged, both legs put in irons, and chained abaft to the pumps, and there made to work points and gaskets during the captain's pleasure; and very often beat just as the captain thought proper. I myself have often seen the captain, as he has walked by, kick them repeatedly, and if they have said any thing that he might deem offensive, he has immediately called for a stick to beat them with; they at the same time having both legs in irons, an iron collar about their necks, and a chain; and when on the Coast of Guinea, if not released before their arrival there from their confinement, they were put into the boats, and made to row backwards and forwards, either with the captain from ship to ship, or on any other duty, still both legs in irons, an iron collar about their necks, with a chain locked to the boat, and taken out when no other duty was required of them at night, and locked fast on the open deck, exposed to the heavy rains and dews, without any thing to lie upon, or any thing to cover them.—This was a common practice on board the Peggy; but I wish to say, not any of them died in this situation.

Do you know any instances of similar treatment on board the Sally?

I do

I do—one of the seamen had both legs in irons, and a collar about his neck, and chained to the boat for three months, very often most inhumanly beat for complaining of his situation, both by the captain and other officers; at last he became so weak that he could not sit upon the thwart or seat of the boat to row, nor do any thing else—they put him out of the boat, and made him pick oakum on board the ship, with only three pounds of bread a week, and half a pound of salt beef per day; he remained in that situation, with both his legs in irons, but the latter part of the time without a collar. One evening he came aft, during the Middle Passage, to beg for something to eat, or he should die; the captain inhumanly beat him, and used a great number of reproaches, and ordered to go forward, and die and be damned, after he had beat him. The man died in the night. The ill treatment on board the Sally was general. Another instance, in particular, a landman, one Edward Hilton, was in the boat a watering, and complained of his being long in the boat without meat or drink; the boatswain, being the officer, beat him with the boat's tiller, having nothing else, and cut his head in several places, that when he came on board he was all over blood. I asked him the reason of it; he told me; and before he could properly tell the story, the mate came forward (by order of the captain) the surgeon, and the boatswain, and all of them together fell to beating him with canes, which they called serving out grog—the surgeon struck him with a cane on the side of the eye, which caused his eye to turn to a mortification, with the total loss of it. He immediately had both his legs put in irons, after he had been so beat that he could not stand; the next morning he was put into the boat on the same duty as before, still remaining with both legs in irons, and locked with a chain to the boat, until such time as that he became so weak he was not able to remain any longer; he was then put on board the ship, and laid forwards, still in irons, very ill—his allowance was immediately stopped, as it was the surgeon's opinion it was the only method of curing any one of them who complained of illness; he remained in that situation after being taken out of the boat, for some weeks; during this time I was obliged to go to Junk River, and on my return I enquired for Hilton, and was told that he was lying before the foremast, almost dead; I went and spoke to him, but he seemed insensible; the same day I received my orders to go a second time in the shallop to the Junk River; when we got under way the commander of the shallop was ordered to bring to, and take Hilton in, and to leave him on shore any where. He lived that evening and night out, and died early the next morning, and was thrown overboard off Cape Mountferrada.

Were any others of the sailors on board the Sally as ill-treated as the man whose case you have just related?

Yes; two brothers, named William and Thomas Walker.

What was the general situation of the crew as to provisions and water?

Three pounds of bread per week, and half a pound of salt beef per day; they had water with the gun barrel, but the gun barrel was lashed up in the topmast cross trees, and when any person wanted to drink, they were obliged to fetch the gun barrel down or go without water, and only one at a time allowed to drink till it was lashed there again, on pain of being severely punished. I have myself been punished for giving it to another man part of the way up before it was lashed; this was the mode on board both the vessels I sailed in.

Have you known of the ill treatment of seamen on board any other vessels?

I have, on board the Hare snow, Captain Colley, of Liverpool, in the year 1760 and 1761; he killed his carpenter, the carpenter's mate, the cook, and another man, with a handspike, as I was informed by the people of the ship. I did not understand that he killed them all at one time. The people, when they came to Fredericksburgh, in Virginia, immediately applied for justice to bring the Captain to trial for what they complained of, which was the murder of these men, but the justices acted in favour of the Captain, so as not to give them a hearing, nor redress any grievances they complained of, but immediately ordered them on board, or else to the public whipping post there, with a cowskin, Moses's law, which was forty lacking one, and which was the general punishment inflicted on Guineamen's men, who might be looked upon as offenders. I have been on board a number of ships, and always found the same treatment as we had on board our own, i. e. dying from want of provisions and care, from being hard worked, and from being inhumanly beat, and which I have been any eye-witness to. Another ship, which I wish to mention, called the Lilly snow, Captain Scrogg-ham, who had tied up one of his men for coming aft for something to eat, who had been ill for some time; the Captain, instead of complying with his request, ordered him to be immediately stripped, and seized up to the main shrouds with his feet clear of the deck; then the Captain stripped himself to his shirt, called for a cat, and fell to flogging this man; he flogged him several times, resting between each, and still keeping him tied

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up

up hanging by the two hands, and when he was tired of flogging himself, and could not prevail on any of his officers to second him, he made the men Slaves come off the main deck, and flog him until such time as the man was dead, and hung by his hands, and was cut down;—the ship was then hauling along side the wharf of Charles Town, South Carolina, in order to sell her Slaves. Some of the people came ashore with the surgeon and Scrogam's brother, who was mate of the ship, and spread the report of the man being flogged to death by the Captain. The corpse was not brought ashore that day, but was the next morning. Myself and several others being acquainted with the murder, went down in a body, and stooped the corpse, examined it, and had the Coroner's Inquest on it, which was brought in Wilful Murder, upon the oath of the jury, through the evidence of the surgeon and the brother of the Captain. The Governor of Charles Town, Lord Charles Montagu, was acquainted with it, and ordered officers immediately to proceed on board and take Captain Scrogam, and confine him as a murderer. He was taken, and put into jail, and confined, but for want of sufficient evidence against him was acquitted.

Have you ever seen sailors apparently diseased or disabled wandering about in any of the West India Islands?

I have; with sore legs, which is very common on board of Guineamen, and much emaciated for want of food and of good treatment. I have often known them turned ashore by the captains, and lay about the beach and about the wharfs, and they have died in that situation, several of which I have seen. They always go by the name of wharfingers, as no one chuses to employ them, from the miserableness of their appearance, and by that means they are left destitute of support. I was myself left on shore at Charles Town, South Carolina, with two others, without either money or friends. The two died.

Did you know that such sailors had come out of Slave ships?

I did, from enquiry of them what ships and ports they belonged to; but if I had not enquired, they were very easily known, from the abject state of their appearance.

Have you ever known Guinea sailors jump over board in order to escape from their ships?

I have repeatedly, which is very often the case, and have known them do it on board my own ship on the Coast of Guinea, where the sharks were so thick that it was scarce possible for a man to escape

escape being picked up by them. Some few have succeeded in getting away from the ship; but have been brought back again by the natives of the coast, by the captain's offering a large price for bringing them back; and the whole he has paid has been charged against their wages. When they have been brought back again, they have immediately been inhumanly punished; both legs put in irons, and an iron collar about their neck with a chain, and chained to the boat, and there made to row about on the different duties of the ship, and so remain during the captain's pleasure, with a very scanty allowance, which has been before mentioned. This was done on board both the ships I have belonged to.

Have you not known sailors on board other ships, as well as Guinea ships, leap over board in order to avoid their duty?

Never.

Is it your opinion, from what you have known of the African trade, that it is a nursery for seamen?

It is not. My reason is, the ill treatment that I have been an eye-witness to, and the loss of such a number of men on board the ships I have belonged to, and on board other ships I have been acquainted with.

Do you know any thing of the treatment of sailors in the West India trade?

I do.

Is it similar to that in the African trade?

By no means. They are not so hard worked; they live well, and lie well; and are always taken great care of by the captains, as far as ever came within my knowledge.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 10^o die Februarii, 1791.

MR TOWNE called in, and further examined.

You have mentioned, that on board the African ships in which you sailed, "the seamen's chests were staved and burnt." What was the reason of so doing, and what became of their contents?

The

The reason was, to clear the ships for the Slaves; and the contents, if a bag could not be found to put them in, were very often thrown overboard.

What were the contents of those chests?

Seamen's wearing apparel. Their bedding was thrown upon the deck, as well as the chests, and no seaman was ever suffered to lie below, except the captain and the mate; if they were ever caught below to sleep, they were severely punished, notwithstanding at the same time their bed and bedding had all been thrown overboard, and that they had nothing to lie upon but the bare deck, or in the boats upon deck. This was the practice of the ships I sailed in, and was the case during the outward bound passage, on the Coast, and the Middle Passage.

On what account were you left on shore at Charles Town?

I rather chose to go on board a man of war, and get redress for the grievances I complained of; and when I found that the men of war took no notice of them, I, and two seamen who had followed my example, all disapproved of going aboard our former ship again, the Sally, Captain Evans, and to be treated in the same manner we had formerly been. We were very sensible, after being refused to be taken on board a king's ship, that it would have given an unlimited scope to Captain Evans's ill treatment, which we had too much experienced before.

In what you have said of West India punishments, do you mean to assert that such was the general practice, or only that you have yourself seen the circumstances you have related?

I only meant to speak to such things as I was an eye-witness to a number of times.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. ECROYDE CLAXTON, Surgeon, at Burton, Westmoreland, called in, and examined.

Were you ever in Africa, when, in what part, and in what capacity?

I was in Africa in the year 1788, on that part of the coast called Bonny, in the capacity of surgeon. I sailed from England on board the Garland, Captain Forbes, as surgeon's mate, and commenced surgeon on the Coast of Africa, on board the Young Hero Brig, Captain Molineux.

Of what number did your cargo consist, and what number of Slaves died ?

We had 250 Slaves on board, of whom 132 died.

Of what disorders did the Slaves chiefly die ?

The flux:

Were they tolerably accommodated as to room, in your vessel ?

No ; they were very much crowded, so as to be only able to lay on their side conveniently—if they did otherwise, it generally promoted nothing but disturbances and quarrels amongst them. It was impossible for me to go amongst the Slaves with my shoes on, as they were stowed so close that I should have been in danger of hurting some of them.

Did not their being so crowded greatly aggravate their sufferings from the disorder which you have said prevailed among them ?

It certainly aggravated matters more than it would had they not been so crowded ; and likewise tended very much to increase the disorder which at that time was prevailing among them.

Was it possible for the persons afflicted with this disorder to have the accommodations necessary to their recovery ; and were they treated with becoming tenderness ?

It was not possible to treat the persons so afflicted with the necessary accommodations which they ought to have had. It was thought at first, that a place called the steerage, and the boys room, would be all that was necessary to accommodate the sick ; but the disorder prevailed so much amongst the Slaves, that it rendered it totally impossible to confine them in those two places, and we were obliged to place those that were diseased and those that were not, together ; the consequence of which was, that the epidemic disease spread more and more, and increased the mortality more than if it had been otherwise. They were treated with more tenderness by the Captain than what I have heard other Captains have treated them with ; but the men did not treat them with that humanity which absolutely became them ; an instance of which is, that some of the Slaves being so grievously afflicted with the flux, that we were obliged to order such of them to be kept on deck entirely ; and for their accommodation, a sail was spread on the deck to lay upon, and likewise to cover them ; in a little time the sail was in a great measure covered with blood and

mucus, which involuntarily issued from them. The sailors which had to clean them, from the disagreeableness of the task, became angry with them for an action which they must have known was involuntary, and used inhumanly to beat them, either with their hands or with a cat, which made the Slaves so fearful of committing this involuntary action, that when they did perceive that they had done it, they immediately, perhaps from some natural tendency to ease themselves, crept to the tub, and there sat straining upon it in such a manner, as from their debilitated state and violent straining, to produce a prolapsus ani, which it was entirely impossible to cure. Other Slaves, that were not thought in so bad a state as to be entirely upon deck, had the same punishments inflicted upon them for involuntary actions of the same kind as just mentioned. Another instance of not treating them with tenderness was, that the Slaves being afflicted with the flux, accompanied with the scurvy, and œdematous swellings of the legs, that it was a pain for them to move at all, were made to exercise themselves with dancing, as they call it, and if they would not, or did it with reluctance, they were beat for it with a cat by the sailors which were appointed to inflict this punishment. Frequent are the instances of their being forced to eat when it has been entirely against their inclinations, both when they were ill and well. If they did not eat, the methods used to make them were, to beat them with a cat, and if that did not succeed, when they had got the meat into their mouths, they sometimes put their hands before the mouths of the Slaves, till such time as they had swallowed it, and used other means still more disagreeable, and too nauseous to mention. The Slaves, by the violent exercise they were obliged to take with their shackles on, often excoriated the parts upon which they were fastened, and of this they often made grievous complaints to me.

Were the Slaves commonly dejected when first brought on board?

I had an opportunity of going down the coast from Bonny, as far as the Island of Bimbe, and upon the passage we purchased nine slaves, all of which were very much dejected—one in particular, a girl, when she found that she was sold, clung fast about the neck of her disposer, and eagerly embraced him—he did all that laid in his power to make her easy under her situation; but notwithstanding his exertions, accompanied with ours, it was impossible, though a child of about ten or twelve years of age, to give her any comfort, and she continued for three or four days in that situation; indeed, all the rest of the cargo, and which we received

ceived from the Garland, appeared to me more or less afflicted when they found that we had left their country.

Did any of the Slaves attempt to throw themselves overboard?

Yes, they did, and actually effected it. The utter aversion that they had of leaving their native places, and going with us, made them use those means of depriving themselves of life, thinking that they should get back again to their own country; but the Captain had heard of a preventive, as he thought, which was, of cutting off the first and all succeeding Slaves heads who died, and throwing the body overboard, and, intimating to them, that if they were determined to go back to their own country, they should go back without their heads; accordingly, on the death of a Slave, the Captain ordered all the Slaves who were then below, to be brought upon deck to be witness to this operation; accordingly they were all brought up, excepting one man, whom I ordered to be searched for, according to the Captain's directions; he was very unwilling to come up, but was forced—the carpenter was standing with his hatchet up, waiting for the command to cut off the dead Slave's head. The Slave, upon his coming on deck, immediately perceived the situation of affairs, and instantly made a violent exertion to disentangle himself from the sailors who brought him up, and knowing that they had unloosed the nettings for the purpose of emptying the tubs, he got from them, and flew to the place, and darted himself through the hole overboard. I immediately called aft, to the Captain or some one to bring the vessel to, telling them that a Slave had thrown himself overboard—this was immediately done in time to catch the Slave, and a man placed upon the main chain to effect it; the Slave, perceiving that he was going to be caught, immediately dived under water, and by that means made his escape, and came up again some few yards from the vessel, and made signs which it is impossible for me to describe in words, expressive of the happiness he had in escaping from us.—He again went down, and we saw him no more; which circumstance made us desist from our intended scheme, and for the future (as we saw they were determined to throw themselves overboard) we were resolved to keep a strict watch over them; but notwithstanding all the measures we took, they were so artful as to elude all our precautions, an instance of which I will mention. All the main deck was netted, and one part of the netting was lashed to the bulk-head, which separated the main deck from the quarter deck, and one of the tubs was unfortunately set in the corner next where the netting was lashed; some of the Slaves had premeditated their escape, and

and had agreed that one or two of them should go either to ease themselves, or under pretence to do so, whilst the others which were in the plot were to stand by to effect their escape likewise, and while they were sitting upon the tub they were secretly unloosing the lashings, which fastened the nettings to the bulk-head, and which they did unperceived by us—two actually did throw themselves overboard, and a third was caught when he was three parts overboard—the two were lost.

Did the Slaves ever attempt to rise in your vessel ?

We imagined that they meant to have risen upon us from a circumstance which I will mention, namely, the Slaves in the night broke the hatchways, and got down into the hold, and we thought with a view to sink her ; but fortunately for us there were some salted tongues just under one of the hatchways which they had broke, which enticed them to eat, and likewise to deliver some up into the men's room ; this was done without our knowing it, but quarrels ensued in disposing of the tongues amongst one another, which was the means of our discovering them, and putting it out of their power to execute their purpose.

Did the Slaves on board your vessel ever amuse themselves by singing ?

I believe they very seldom amuse themselves by it—they were ordered to sing by the captain, but they were songs of sad lamentations. The words of the songs used by them were, Madda ! Madda ! Yiera ! Yiera ! Bemini ! Bemini ! Madda ! Aufera ! that is to say, they were all sick, and by and by they should be no more ; they also sung songs expressive of their fears of being beat, of their want of victuals, particularly the want of their native food, and of their never returning to their own country—I could mention their own words.

Did the Slaves generally speak one language ?

They did generally ; but there was one man who spoke a language that was unknown to any one of them, which made his condition truly lamentable, and made him always look very much dejected—this I believe produced a state of insanity, and he never took any exercise, unless compelled—this Slave died in this state whilst we were at anchor at Trinidad.

Were the Slaves allowed a sufficient quantity of food ?

They had not a sufficient quantity, owing to the extraordinary length of our Middle Passage, which was nearly fifteen weeks ; of

course they were obliged to be restricted, though at first they had more than what they would eat, owing to their not being accustomed to that kind of food, but before the end of the passage they became accustomed to it, and I believe would have eat near twice the quantity allowed them.

Did you lose many Slaves in the early part of your voyage?

We lost a considerable quantity—I cannot tell the exact number. When we found, after being eight weeks at sea, that we were only three or four days sail from the place we at first set out from, we thought it necessary to see what food we had on board, and found, upon examining, that there was not meat to serve us for a month or five weeks at farthest, which made it necessary for us to procure more food, or to be put to an allowance. We tried to get food, but found it impossible, from two nations being at war one with another; and they would not let us have it, for fear we should supply their enemies with it; so we were obliged to ask for a supply from a Dutch vessel that was then lying there, but could only get a small bag of bread, and a sufficiency of water, with which we were obliged to depart. The food, notwithstanding the mortality which we had on board after that, was so little, that had we been a week or ten days more at sea than we were, we should (as I heard it talked of on board by the Captain and others) either have been obliged to have made the Slaves walk the plank, as it is called, that is, throw themselves overboard, or cast lots who should do so, or else to have eaten those Slaves which died.

Did you fall in with any other vessels, which had experienced a great mortality?

Yes, I did.—A vessel called the Hero, Captain Withers, came to the island where I was, which had lost, as nearly as I can remember, 360 Slaves; but I am sure more than half her cargo—this information I had from the surgeon of the vessel. The most part of them died of the small pox; and likewise the surgeon said, that the Slaves, when removed from one place to another, left their mark upon the deck, of skin and blood: and he added, that it was the most horrid sight that he had ever seen.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 11^o die Februarii 1791.

MR. CLAXTON called in; and further examined.

Had you on board your ship any boy and girl Slaves?
Yes; we had about 50.

Had they in general on board, their parents, or other near relations?

No, they had not, but in one instance, which was that of two sisters.

Did the Natives of Africa, whilst you were on the Coast, come on board your vessel without any apparent apprehension?

They had some apprehension, an instance of which I will relate. When we arrived at a place called Rumbie, the Natives were very apprehensive that we were going to war with them, and did not come off the Coast till after we had been there some time. At length two canoes made their appearance at the head of the vessel, and hailed us, asking, in their language, whether we were coming to war or trade with them. We convinced them we came only to trade with them. They came very deliberately, and with great apparent fear, to the side of the vessel, and attempted to get on board, but hesitated a little, and asked the Captain if he had not two tongues. The Captain assured them that he would not hurt them; upon that one of them ventured on board, saying, that if he did kill him, there were others in the canoes who would kill us. They all followed; and after being convinced that we were going to trade with them, they wished that two of them might stay all night, to examine what goods we had to give in exchange for Slaves; but at the same time letting us know, that we were to send two of our men as pledges for their safety, and which we did. I know another instance of the same kind.

Did any instance come to your knowledge, whilst on the Coast, of Europeans being cut off by the Natives?

I have only heard of such an instance.

When did you hear of it?

Whilst we were laying at the Battu Islands.

Was

Was the account authenticated to you in such a way as to leave in you no doubt of the truth of it?

It appeared to me sufficiently convincing, both from the account which I received from a person that was close by at the time, and from the terrors the Natives were thrown into on the vessel making its appearance. The account was in no way particularly related to me how they came to be cut off, but that there had been a boat's crew cut off a little time before, and the Natives were very apprehensive lest we should destroy the whole island.—We could see them armed all night, which obliged us to be in arms likewise.

Did the Natives of Africa appear generally disposed to traffic with Europeans, in the various articles their country afforded?

They have a particular pleasure in bartering any thing they have for European goods of any kind whatsoever.

Were there any instances of Slaves appearing particularly concerned to be parted from those by whom they had been brought on board?

I have already mentioned an instance of this kind.

Were any Slaves sold by you in the West Indies in an infectious state?

There were.

Were any sold in a state that gave you reason to believe they would not recover from their disorders?

There were instances of this kind where I was convinced, and told the seller's agent, that they were going to die; one strong instance of this actually happened, for there were only four lived out of fourteen that were sold; to which he answered, the best method would be to dispose of them immediately; but there were some that I had hopes of their recovery, which he desired me to purchase for him; which I did.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. JOHN SIMPSON, Lieutenant in the Marines, called in; and examined.

Were you ever in Africa, when, in what ship, and in what parts?

I was in Africa in the years 1788 and 1789; went out as marine

marine officer of His Majesty's ship Adventure; I was at most of the settlements from Settra Crue on the Windward Coast, to Accra on the Gold Coast.

From what you had an opportunity of learning whilst in Africa, is it your opinion that the Slave Trade is the occasion of wars among the Natives of that country?

It is; and from what I saw I had every reason to suppose so.

Did you obtain any information on this head from any persons on whose accounts you could rely?

I understood from the Natives on the Windward Coast, that almost all the villages were at war with each other; and on asking the Black Traders and others the cause of those wars, I was informed that the kings wanted Slaves. I have often observed, when a canoe of Natives have been along side to sell their different commodities, that if they have observed a larger canoe coming from a village they were at war with, they have immediately fled with great precipitation, sometimes without receiving the value of the goods which they had sold;—upon enquiring afterwards the reason, I was informed that, if taken, they would have been made Slaves of.

Did you hear any thing on this subject on any other part of the Coast?

I have understood at Cape Coast Castle, and other parts of the Gold Coast, from the Black Traders whom I have repeatedly questioned, that the Slave Trade made wars and palavers. I also was informed by Mr. Quakoo, Chaplain at Cape Coast Castle, that wars were made in the interior parts of Africa for the sole purpose of procuring Slaves.

Did any thing come to your knowledge, whilst on the Coast of Africa, which induced you to believe that crimes are sometimes falsely imputed, with a view to sell for Slaves the persons who may be convicted of them?

There were two crimes, which seemed to me made on purpose to procure Slaves; one of them was adultery, and the other was removing their Fetiches. With respect to the crime of adultery, I was cautioned to avoid having any connection with women that were not particularly pointed out to me; for the kings kept a number of women, who were sent out as baits to allure the unwary, and that if I was found to have any connection with them, I should be seized, and forced to pay the value of a man Slave.

With respect to the Fetiches, when I have been walking near Cape Coast Castle, I have repeatedly observed various things laid in the paths through which I was forced to pass. Sometimes pieces of earthen pitchers, sometimes pieces of wood, old remnants of tin kettles, and various other things of the same nature, which I was particularly cautioned to avoid kicking out of the way, being informed, that if I had done it, there were natives on the watch that would seize me when I returned to the town, and make me pay the price of a man Slave. This is what is called Fetiches.

Did you understand these baits to be laid for the Europeans only, or that they were intended to seduce the natives also, and that they had the desired effect?

I understood that they were laid both for Europeans and Natives. That Europeans, on first coming on the Coast, often incurred the penalty, but the Natives were too well acquainted with the law to be entrapt, as I have observed them walk round the Fetiches with the greatest care, fearing they should touch them. I have also understood that adultery brought the same penalty upon the Natives as well as Europeans.

Did you see reason to believe that the Natives are ever forcibly or fraudulently carried off by the Europeans?

I understood, on that part of the Windward Coast where there was no English factory, that it was sometimes the case; and I was confirmed in that opinion from observing the disinclination the Natives shewed to coming on board before they were convinced that we were a man of war. They kept their canoes at a distance, and repeatedly enquired, whether or not we were a Slave ship; and upon being convinced that we were not, they readily came on board, and being well treated, the next day large numbers came on board, and it was with difficulty we got them out of the ship.

Did any thing fall within your knowledge which induced you to believe, that acts of violence are sometimes committed on the Europeans, by way of reprisals for injuries of this sort?

Yes; we were informed by the Albion Slave ship at Cettra Crue, that two chiefs were at variance. One of them had seized five of the other's party, and sold them as Slaves to the Albion; the party from whom they were taken seized three of the Albion's seamen, and would not release them without the slaves were returned to them.

Is it your opinion, from what you saw of the Natives of Africa, that if the Slave Trade were abolished, their indolence is such as would prevent any commerce with them in their native produce?

It is not; for from repeated enquiries made of the Black traders, of what they would do if the Slave Trade was abolished, they answered, they did not care, they should soon find some other trade to live by.

What judgment did you form concerning the general treatment of seamen on board Guinea ships?

Several instances came under my notice, which convinced me their treatment was very bad. On my first voyage, laying at Fort Appolonia, the Fly Guineaman was in the roads. On the return of the Adventure's boat from the fort, they were haled by some seamen belonging to the Fly, requesting that they might be taken from on board the Guineaman, and put on board the man of war; for that their treatment was such as to make their lives miserable. The boat, by direction of Captain Parry, was sent to the Fly, and one or two men were brought on board us. In my second voyage, I recollect, that on first seeing the Albion Guineaman, she carried a press of sail, seemingly to avoid us; but finding it impracticable, she spoke us, the day after which the Captain of the Albion brought a seaman on board the Adventure, whom he wished to be left there, complaining that he was a very riotous and disorderly man. The man, on the contrary, proved very peaceable and well behaved, nor was there one single instance of his conduct from which I could suppose he merited the character given him. He seemed to rejoice at quitting the Albion, and informed me, that he was cruelly beaten both by the captain and surgeon; that he was half starved; and that the surgeon neglected the sick seamen, alledging that he was only paid for attending the Slaves. He also informed me, that their allowance of provisions was increased, and their treatment somewhat better, when a man of war was on the coast. I recollect another instance of a seaman with a leg shockingly ulcerated, requesting a passage in the Adventure to England; alledging, that he was left behind from a Guineaman—he alledged various instances of ill treatment he had received, and confirmed the sailor of the Albion's account, that the allowance of provisions were increased, and treatment better, when a man of war was on the coast. During our stay at Cape Coast Castle, the Adventure's boat was sent to Annamabo to the Spy Guineaman; on her return, three men were concealed under her sail, who had left the

the Slave ship—they complained their treatment was so bad that their lives were miserable on board—beaten and half starved. There were various other instances, which now escape my memory.

When you have fallen in with vessels in other trades, have you heard similar complaints from seamen on board of them?

I never heard any complaints from West Indiamen or other merchant ships—on the contrary, they wished to avoid a man of war; whereas, if the Captain of the Adventure had listened to all the complaints made to him from sailors of Slave ships, and removed them, he must have greatly distressed the African Trade.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

I have been there twice—once at Jamaica, and once at Barbadoes.

What impression was made in your mind concerning the treatment of Slaves, by their general appearance?

When I first landed at Bridge Town, the impression was but trivial; most of the Slaves being Natives, and being household servants, their labour very light. But I was impressed with the strongest sentiments of horror on viewing the Field Slaves; some of whom work in irons, under the lash of an inhuman Negro driver, and their backs, in general, much lacerated from the blows they had received from the drivers. I never saw a gang of Negroes at work without one or two of these tormentors snapping their whips, and threatening every moment to make them feel them.

Did you hear whether the planters generally aimed at keeping up their gangs by breeding?

I understood from one planter, to whom I spoke on the subject, that the Slaves in general were too hard worked to breed.

Had you an opportunity of seeing any Slaves purchased in Africa, by the European factors?

While at Cape Coast I saw some Slaves brought from the interior parts of the country, whom, I believe, were purchased by Mr. Norris, the then governor.

Did they appear concerned at coming into the hands of Europeans?

I examined them accurately, and it struck me they appeared very

very much so. Dejection and despair were strongly depicted in their countenances.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 12^o die Februarii 1791.

MR. SIMPSON called in ; and further examined.

Have you ever seen any diseased or disabled seamen in the West Indies, either in the hospitals or elsewhere ?

When at Barbadoes, I saw at the poor house in Bridge Town eighteen or twenty seamen belonging to different Slave ships ; they complained of ill-treatment, and of being left behind without any possible means of getting home ; they seemed very much emaciated, and some of them ulcerated ; they informed me that neither West Indiamen nor men of war would receive them, owing to the condition in which they were left ; and they related various instances of barbarity of their late commanders ; that they were not only much beaten, but nearly starved.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Doct^r HARRISON, M. D. called in ; and examined.

Have you ever been in the West Indies, or America ; when, and for how long a time ?

I was upwards of ten years in Jamaica, from 1755 to 1765 ; and in America from 1765 to 1778 ; in the medical line at both.

Had you any, and what opportunities of acquainting yourself with the situation of the Slaves in Jamaica ?

Every opportunity a man could have ; seeing them both in sickness and health, and seeing them frequently punished ; I have been upon several sugar works in different parts of the island, and at all times of the year.

For how long a time have you ever resided on a sugar plantation?

Two or three weeks, and sometimes only for a few days.

What do you know of the method in which Field Slaves are fed in Jamaica?

I know that they have a certain proportion of land allotted them to plant, sufficient for their maintenance and support, if they had time to cultivate it.

Do you not know of any allowance of provisions given them by their masters?

None upon the estates on which I was, excepting at Christmas, when they gave them either salt fish, beef, or pork; new Negroes were allowed a twelvemonth's provisions, till such time as they have cultivated their land, and by which time it was cultivated.

Do you know what was the time allowed to Slaves for the cultivation of their own grounds; and did it appear to you sufficient for that purpose?

Only on holidays and on Sundays, which was not sufficient; for they must be obliged to work after dark in order to cultivate their grounds.

Do you not know that Saturday afternoon was also allowed them for this purpose?

Upon none of the estates that I was acquainted with.

Was the general appearance of the Slaves such as led you to imagine they obtained a sufficient quantity of wholesome food?

They looked much better than any body could expect to have seen them, considering the severity of their treatment, but in general very indifferent.

Have you ever known instances of Slaves plundering the provision grounds of others for their support?

I believe that is frequent upon all estates; I know a particular instance of it, where a Slave was detected stealing from another's grounds, and was cut nearly all to pieces for it.

Was it from this instance alone, that you formed your opinion of the frequency of it?

That was the first time I knew of it; but afterwards coming
[M] more

more acquainted with the plantations, I heard and knew it to be frequent.

Was there any attention paid to the religious instruction of the Slaves?

Not the least.

How were they lodged, and had they sufficient bedding or clothes?

Very badly lodged and clothed, having nothing but what they procured from their own extraordinary labour and industry; excepting at Christmas, a couple of frocks and a couple of pair of Osnaburgh trowsers for the men, and two coats and two shifts for the women; and some estates gave them a couple of handkerchiefs to wrap round their heads. In general they have no bedding at all given them by their masters; sometimes the new Negroes have a few blankets, but that practice was not general.

Was any attention paid to induce the Negroes to marry and bring up families?

There was no such thing as marriage amongst them, nor was any encouragement given to bring up families; the general opinion being, that it was better to purchase new Negroes, than to rear Negro children.

From what did you gather that to have been the general opinion?

By hearing people of all denominations give it as their opinion, that the expence attending the bringing up of Negro children exceeded the purchase of a new Negro.

What were the peculiar indulgencies, in point of remission of labour, or less severity in the infliction of punishment, which were given to pregnant women?

If they had an humane overseer, they were allowed some indulgencies; that is, as soon as they complained, of retiring from work; but I have seen women with child labouring in the field, who seemed to have but a few weeks to go—the general practice was to work them as long as they were able.

Did it appear to you, that proper care was taken to rear the children?

I do not think that proper attention was paid to them.

Did you apprehend, that the labour in which you saw pregnant women engaged was such as to be injurious to their health in that situation?

I think that at some times it must have been injurious to them.

Were Slaves, when old and unable to perform their accustomed labour, equally well taken care of by their owners?

No; if they had not relations or friends to give them necessities, they must have wanted every thing.

Do you speak of this as having happened only in a few instances, or do you believe it to have very generally occurred?

I believe it to have frequently occurred, having seen a number of those objects upon different estates.

What were the usual hours of work on the sugar plantations?

From the rising of the sun to the setting of it; sometimes thirteen or fourteen hours, including two hours allowed for dinner. In Crop time they work night and day, without cessation.

Was grass picking performed within the hours you have spoken of, or was it usually extra labour?

It was always extra labour wherever I saw it, after their day's work was finished, and upon some estates it was a cruel hardship.

Did they constantly work under the whip of the driver?

I have always seen the driver with a whip in his hand, and sometimes exercising it severely.

Do you know any thing of the mode or degree of plantation punishments?

The plantation punishments are severe whippings, chaining them by the leg and neck, putting heavy irons on their legs, called boots, and irons on their necks, called pothooks, and putting them in the stocks.

Have you ever seen any of these punishments inflicted with what appeared to you capricious or unnecessary severity?

Often.

Do

Do you recollect any particular instance on any plantation?

Yes; upon an Estate at Liguanea I saw the overseer punish several old decrepid women very severely, by whipping, only because they had not picked cotton enough—I have frequently seen Negroes in chains emaciated and half famished, scarce able to drag one leg after the other, and yet compelled to go into the field.

Do you know any thing of the method in which the Negroes were punished at Kingston?

The methods of punishing the Negroes at Kingston, were, flogging them in the gaol, round the town, and on the wharfs—the gaol whippings, and whipping round the town, were the severest, and in my opinion too severe to be inflicted upon any of the human species. I attended myself a man who had been flogged in gaol, between five or six weeks before he was well; and I could lay two or three fingers in the cavity of the wounds occasioned by the whip—I know of many other instances similar to this.

Was this a punishment inflicted by order of the magistrate for some public crime, or by order of the master only?

It was by order of the master, for neglecting to come when he was called.

Did you understand that those whippings in the gaol, and on the wharfs, were usually inflicted by the order and at the discretion of the master only, without the intervention of the magistrate?

In general they were executed by the order of the masters or mistresses—sometimes by the magistrate, but in general the magistrate orders them to be whipped round the town.

Have you ever been witness to regimental punishments?

Very often.

What comparison did they bear, in point of severity, with those which you have seen inflicted on the Slaves?

The punishments of the soldiers were generally mild, compared with the whipping of the Slaves in gaol or round the town.

What degree of legal protection were Slaves understood to enjoy against the injuries from their masters or other White persons?

I never

I never knew they had any—the only protection they ever had, was from their masters against any indifferent person.

Were you acquainted with any instances of violences unredressed committed against Slaves, which induced you to form this opinion?

A multitude—amongst them two very remarkable ones: A mistress flogging her Negro to death; I don't mean by her own hands, but by her orders—she stood by to see the punishment—the Negro died a few days after in consequence of the whipping. The other instance was that of a Negro man being put upon the picket so long as to stop the circulation of his blood, and occasioned a mortification in his foot and hand, upon suspicion of his having robbed his master, who was a public officer, of a considerable sum of money, which money it afterwards appeared the master had taken himself; nevertheless, the master was privy to the punishment, and the unfortunate Slave had no compensation whatever.

Was this torture to extort confession inflicted by order of any magistrate?

No; it was by order of his master, who did not at that time chuse to make known he had made use of the money for himself.

Was any public prosecution instituted against either the mistress or the master in the instances you have just related?

None.

Have you ever heard of persons buying Negroes with whom they have been offended, for the avowed purpose of punishing them?

Several. One in the case of a Negro, named Monday, who a gentleman bought, notwithstanding the Negro desired that he would not. The consequence of it was, that Monday cut his throat.

Do you know that the person who bought him had conceived any previous offence at his behaviour?

Yes. He was offended at Monday's mimicking him.

Did he in fact punish him for having so done after he had bought him?

After he bought him he ordered him to be flogged, and the suicide was the consequence.

What opinion has your observations led you to form of the capacities and of the dispositions of the Negroes?

I think their abilities and capacities are equal to our own, and their dispositions much the same.

Do you conceive them to be in general so averse to labour, as that they could not be induced to perform it by the same motives as influence other people in the lower orders of society?

The free Negroes are as willing to work, and are as industrious as the Whites; and it is my opinion that Slavery is the cause of the unwillingness of the others.

Have you ever observed them to be incapable of attaining the mechanical arts to any degree of perfection?

In general they are not so good workmen as the White mechanics, which I conceive to be from the same cause as I have just mentioned. Many of the free Negroes are very good mechanics.

Whether you ever observed in any of them a strong sense of the debasement of their condition, and strong expressions of aversion to Slavery?

I have often heard them lament their unfortunate situation. A particular instance in a Negro man, who addressed me by asking, whether the old gentlemen of the country had not a great deal to answer for, for not instructing them in the principles of the Christian religion, and for treating them so cruelly as they frequently did, not giving them an opportunity to obtain their own freedom when they merited it.

Did you ever know Negroes commit suicide, and under what circumstances?

A Negro boy of my own detested the idea of Slavery to such a degree, that he refused all kind of support, which brought on a dropsy, and terminated in his death. Another instance was a Negro who had been a man of consequence in his own country. He refused to work for any White man, and being therefore punished by the overseer, desired him to inform his master that he would be a Slave to no man. His master ordered him to be removed to another plantation; his hands were tied behind him; in going over a bridge, he jumped headlong into the water, and appeared no more. These are two instances of my own knowledge, out of a great many which I cannot now recollect.

Did

Did you ever hear from any Slaves, of the manner in which they have been brought from their native country?

Yes, in a great many instances. A Slave of my own informed me she had been kidnapped, by being put in a bag or sack. Another instance, a man who was kidnapped in the interior parts of the country. This man informed me, that he was a great many months in travelling from his own country to the sea shore, and that there was a regular traffic carried on for Slaves to sell to the White people, even beyond from whence he came, and that kidnapping was a common practice there.

Have you ever known the Slaves of an estate exposed to sale in consequence of the distress of the proprietors?

They were frequently in all parts of the island.

In such cases, were the families always sold together?

No; frequently separated; and I bought a Negro woman and child out of compassion, that she might not be taken from her husband.

Do you mean to say, that in general it depended upon the choice of the purchaser to buy a family together, or to separate them?

When Negroes are seized for debt, the marshal, that is, the sheriff's officer, takes them as he can find them, which generally leaves a part of the family on the estate; but where he chances to seize the whole family together, I have known them all put up in one lot.

As far as you were acquainted with these circumstances, did it more frequently happen that he was able to seize a part of the family only, or the whole of it together?

Generally a part only.

What description of Slaves do you apprehend to have been worst treated when you were in Jamaica?

Field Slaves.

What did you understand to be the opinion of persons well acquainted with the cultivation of the island, as to the possibility of diminishing the labour of the Slaves, by the introduction of the plough, or other implements of husbandry?

I have heard several overseers say, that the use of the plough would save a great deal of labour of the Slaves, and lament that it was not put in practice.

Have

Have you any knowledge, either from your own observation or from the information of other competent judges on the spot, of the comparative advantage of severe or lenient treatment of the Slaves, in the cultivation of the estate?

The generality of opinions was in favour of those overseers who made the most sugar, paying little or no respect to lenity; but I knew a particular instance of one overseer, who was remarkable for his kindness and humanity to his Slaves, and who made more sugars with fewer hands than other overseers did with a larger proportion of Slaves. My opinion is, that if more encouragement was given to the Slaves, by treating them with more humanity, they would do considerably more work.

Do you recollect whether the Slaves of the Planter in embarrassed circumstances were not generally supposed to meet with worse treatment in consequence of his distress?

Certainly their treatment was worse, because their distressed circumstances obliged them to work their Slaves beyond their strength, to make sugars to pay their debts.

Do you recollect whether the residence of the Planter was usually apprehended to be productive of advantage to his Negroes?

The residence of the Planter on his own estate was of the greatest advantage to his Slaves, as they were always used better for it, and were shewn more attention in every respect.

Had you any reason to believe that the conduct of attornies was frequently inconsistent with the interest of the non-resident proprietor?

Yes; and it was the general opinion it was so; and upon many occasions very injurious to their owners.

Did you ever hear, or was it generally understood, that Negro Women had any security against the violation of their persons?

It is well known in that country they have none, except their masters chuse to protect them.

Did your observation lead you to judge that Free Negroes were sufficiently protected against injury or insult from the Whites?

I never thought they were, because their oaths were not allowed; it is only in cases of debt where their oaths would go.

Had you any reason to apprehend that the sailors of Guinea ships were ever left in Jamaica, and in what condition?

Whenever I have been on the out skirts of Kingston I have always seen several emaciated and diseased sailors, who were left on shore by the masters of Guineamen.

What opinion has your own observation led you to form as to the difference of the situation of the Slaves in Carolina from those of Jamaica?

The Slaves in Jamaica were in general treated very ill, and only individuals treated them well; in South Carolina the Slaves were in general treated very well, and only individuals treated them ill.

In what particular points did the difference of their treatment consist?

In South Carolina they were well fed, well cloathed, less worked, and were never severely whipped; in Jamaica they were badly fed, indifferently cloathed, hard worked, and severely whipped.

Was the plantation business in South Carolina carried on by day or by task-work, and were the Negroes under the lash of the driver?

By task-work, which was often finished by three or four o'clock in the afternoon, which enabled the Negroes to cultivate their own land, and to hunt and fish for themselves. I never saw a driver with a whip, for in general there was no occasion for it, as they worked by task.

In your opinion, as a medical man, is the climate and cultivation of Jamaica more or less favourable to the increase of Negroes than that of Carolina?

The climate of Jamaica is more favourable to the increase of Slaves than that of Carolina, notwithstanding which disadvantage of climate, Carolina increased in Slaves while those in Jamaica decreased.

Is it your opinion, that sufficient attention was paid to the rearing children even in Carolina?

No; sufficient attention was not paid to the rearing of Negro children in Carolina, because they were of opinion it was cheaper to purchase new Negroes than to rear children.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 14^o die Februarii 1791.

DOCTOR JACKSON, M. D. of Stockton upon Tees,
called in; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies?
I went out to Jamaica at the beginning of 1774.

How long did you continue on the Island, and where did you reside, and in what capacity?

I remained on the Island about four years. I resided chiefly at Savannah la Mar in Westmoreland, and acted as a medical practitioner.

Did you make frequent excursions into the country, bordering on Savannah la Mar, so as to see any thing of the state of the Plantation Negroes?

The exercise of my profession led me daily to the distance of eight, ten, or more miles, so that I was tolerably acquainted with the state of the Plantation Negroes in that range. I have likewise upon occasion, for a short time, been at most parts of the Island.

What were the impressions, respecting the treatment of the Negro Slaves, excited in your mind, on your first going to the West Indies?

I soon perceived that the condition of the Negroes was hard, and that their treatment was cruel.

What circumstances most attracted your attention?

The thing that first struck me as extremely shocking was a Creole lady, of some consequence in the Island, superintending the punishment of her Slaves, male and female, ordering the number of lashes, and with her own hands flogging the Negro driver, if he did not punish the Slaves properly.

Were these punishments inflicted with severity?

In some instances they appeared to me extremely severe; the blood flowed at every stroke, and if the Negro appeared to be too much exhausted, that he could not without danger to his life go through the whole of the punishment allotted to him, he was put into the stocks for some days, till he should be somewhat recruited,

recruited, and then the remaining part of the punishment was inflicted upon him.

Did you understand that it was a common thing for women in a superior station of life thus to superintend the punishment of their male and female Slaves?

I believe that it was not an uncommon thing, but I had not the opportunity of seeing any other lady actually so superintending their punishment.

What was the mode of administering this punishment?

In some instances the offending Slave was tied, and stood upright; but the severer punishments were inflicted upon Slaves stretched between four stakes, so tight that they were not able to shrink or move; the instrument of punishment was a whip such as the waggoners generally use in this country; the distance at which the flogging Negro stood from the Slave whom he flogged was three or four paces, which of course greatly increased the weight of the lashes.

Was any particular experiment practised in the punishment of pregnant women?

When they were so far advanced in pregnancy, that the size of the belly prevented them from being stretched flat upon the ground, I have understood that a hole has been sometimes dug to receive the belly. I never saw it; but I am as certain as a man can be certain of a fact that he has not seen, that it has been sometimes practised.

Were the ladies (who, you have said, superintended the punishment of their Slaves) worse received in society on that account?

I could not perceive that they were. It might be said that such a woman was a termagant, but she was not upon that account less respected; it was thought necessary, indeed, for an industrious wife to be severe and rigid in the punishment of her Slaves.

Do you apprehend that whippings were ever so severe as to be the occasion of the Slave's death?

I have reason to think that they sometimes were. I recollect one instance, where the Negro died either immediately under the lash, or very soon after the punishment was inflicted; it was generally said and reported, that the Negro was actually killed by the flogging.

Was

Was any attempt made to bring to legal punishment the person by whom the whipping had been inflicted?

None, as far as I know. People said that it was an unfortunate thing, and they were surprised that the man was not more cautious, as it was not the first thing of the kind that had happened to him; but what they chiefly dwelt upon was the loss that the proprietor sustained.

Was it generally understood that Slaves might have legal redress, in case of ill-treatment by their masters, or any other White persons?

I have not known an instance where a Negro has lodged a complaint with a magistrate against his master. I do not know whether the laws of the colony gave them a power of complaining; but instances are extremely rare, if they do actually exist, of a Slave ever coming forward with such complaints, in consequence of the most glaring ill-usage.

Question repeated?

I think it was not generally understood so; if the Negroes had such a power they were ignorant of it.

Was there any other severe punishment inflicted on Slaves, which occurs to your recollection?

I have seen Slaves with a leg cut off, which I have been informed was a punishment for repeated running away; the laws of the colony gave the proprietor the right of this punishment. I have likewise heard of Negroes having been castrated for trespass on the Black Mistress of the overseer. This was an act of violence, but no account was taken of it.

Was any attention paid, in the case of Slaves, to religious or moral instruction?

Not in general; there may be some individual planters who are careful in instructing their Negroes in what is right, with respect to God and man, but the duties of religion are scarcely ever attended to on sugar plantations—the man who would attempt to speak of religious duties to a Negro would meet with ridicule from the generality of planters. They have no mode of worship for the Negroes, and in the district where I resided, the church was never opened, except for a company of soldiers, who were quartered at that place.

Did you perceive any attempts made to introduce regular marriages among the Slaves?

This was an object not in general attended to—Negro men cohabited with whom they pleased, as long as they pleased, and when their fancies changed they went to others.

Was there also much promiscuous intercourse between the White people and the plantation Slaves?

There was no restraint.

In what estimation was the race of Negroes commonly held when you were at Jamaica?

They were generally esteemed as a species of beings inferior to the Whites—as a race of people whom the right of purchase gave the owner the power of using according to his will.

What opinion did you form of the capacity and disposition of the Negroes?

In capacity I could not perceive, after a good deal of knowledge and acquaintance with them, that they were at all inferior to unlettered White men. With respect to disposition, the Africans possess many amiable qualities—they are charitable to all persons in distress—parents have a strong attachment to their children, and in many instances Negroes have given the strongest proofs of gratitude and attachment to their masters. I can mention an instance of the last of a Negro who attached himself to me, during the war in America—In the action at the Cow Pan, the Negro, with the fugitives of the army, had escaped for the distance of two or three miles; when he understood from some of the soldiers, that they had observed me unhorsed, I was informed that he returned to the field of action, in order to search for me, in consequence of which he was made a prisoner by the enemy. I endeavoured to recover him, but could not effect it.

Do the Negroes ever seem to feel their own degraded situation, and to suffer from the sense of it?

They complained frequently that they were an oppressed people; that they suffer severely in this world, but expect happiness in the next, whilst they denounce vengeance of God Almighty on the White men their oppressors. If you speak to them of future punishments, they say—“Why should a poor Negro be punished; he does no wrong; and that fiery cauldrons, and such things, are reserved for the White people in the other world as a punishment for the oppression of Slaves.”

Do you conceive, that if the Slaves were well treated they
[P] would

would keep up their present numbers without fresh importations from Africa?

I can conceive no reason why they should not; they are naturally prolific, and the islands of the West Indies are in general healthy and congenial to their constitutions.

So far as you had an opportunity of hearing, was it deemed more profitable to look to breeding for a supply of Negroes or to the Slave Market?

The latter plan was more generally adopted, principally, I conceive, owing to this reason, that imported Slaves are fit for immediate labour—Slaves that are reared from childhood are liable to many accidents, and cannot make any return of labour for many years.

Do you apprehend that infants are often lost from their mother's not being allowed a sufficient cessation from the labours of the field?

I should suppose that they frequently are; the mothers being obliged to perform work while they are nurses, the same as if they were not, they naturally become indifferent to the rearing of their children.

Do you then suppose that Negro mothers are deficient in parental affection?

I should not suppose that they are naturally so, but hard usage, and the idea of raising children to be subject to cruel treatment, often renders them indifferent, or even gives them the desire that their offspring may fail; I have heard them wish that their children were dead, or that they had not borne them, rather than be obliged to witness their daily punishments.

Do you apprehend that this motive ever is the occasion of the women procuring abortions?

It is reasonable to suppose it is so—I will add another reason why Negro women of good form are unwilling to have children; that it diminishes their charms for the White men.

Do Negro Slaves suffer when their masters circumstances are embarrassed?

They generally do—you may in general know from the appearance of the Slaves of a plantation, whether the master is thriving in his circumstances or not; when the master is embarrassed, the Negroes are badly clothed, and shew in their countenances the marks of hard labour and poor feeding.

Do

Do you apprehend the labour of Field Negroes to be above their strength?

I do not apprehend that the quantity of labour which a Negro actually performs is in general above his strength, or even sufficient to require an exertion of his strength, but the mode of performing it seems to be that in which the hardship lies. A White man in England would certainly perform with facility the work of three Negroes in the West Indies, though not superior in bodily strength. The reason is, that the Negro knowing that there is no end to his labour, stands over the work, and only throws the hoe to avoid the lash of the whip; he shews the appearance of working without actually performing it.

What did you in general collect to be the criterion of a manager's merit?

Increasing the number of hogsheds of sugar.

In estimating his merits, did the keeping up of the number of Slaves by breeding appear to you to enter into consideration?

It was not the thing principally looked to.

Does not a sense of real interest induce the proprietor to be satisfied with moderate returns, and to abstain from such excessive pressure on the Slaves as must create the necessity of buying fresh hands, and consequently bring on expences more than adequate to his immediate gains?

His interest, properly understood, certainly would incline him to act in this manner; but the truth is, there are few planters whose actual circumstances permit them to do so; the generality of them go beyond their ability from eagerness to encrease their estates, so that they only look to the immediate returns of the season; the other is a view too distant for the greater part of West India planters.

Have you observed the Slaves of resident owners to be better or worse treated than those of absentees?

I have in general observed them to be more satisfied, and frequently have heard them wish for the return of their master when he happened to be absent.

Have managers of the estates of others generally or often Slaves of their own?

Almost always.

What

What did you see reason to believe in general was the extent of the property of Field Slaves?

A certain portion of land is allotted to each Negro, sufficient, if in good culture, to produce plantains, yams, and so forth, for his own subsistence, with something to spare to carry to market, to enable him to purchase a few small necessaries. Many of them are likewise allowed to have a breeding sow, or some poultry, but in general they do not possess other property.

Speaking as a medical man, Do you apprehend that White Men, without material injury to their health, could work as artificers in the West Indies?

They may, and actually do.

Do you apprehend that they could also perform any operations in the field, if they were to work only in the mornings and evenings?

I believe that Europeans are capable, with care and circumspection, to perform the ordinary labours of the field, without any material injury to their health; this is an opinion contrary to common belief, but it is likewise an opinion which has never been put to experiment. I can speak from personal experience, that an European might travel on foot from twenty to thirty miles a day, or upwards, without being injured by it, and the analogy is obvious, that if a man can travel so far, he can likewise work in the field.

Do you not know that there has been a great mortality amongst the troops employed in the West Indies?

I know it has been great, almost to the extinction of a corps; but that I apprehend to have arisen more from defects in management, than from the real pernicious effects of the general climate.

To what particular circumstances do you ascribe this mortality?

To the undisciplined state of the soldiers who were sent on that service; to the accidental encamping upon an unhealthy situation; to the free use of spirituous liquors, and perhaps to want of exertion in the medical department.

What is the situation of the Slaves in general as to medical treatment?

In that I could not perceive any great defect; every estate is provided

provided with a medical person, who visits the Negro Hospital at stated times in the week, at the same time, that if any thing extraordinary occurs he gives his attendance immediately on being sent for. The Manager is equal to the management of slight complaints, having attended the surgeon in his visits to the sick from the time of his first entering as a book-keeper.

Is there any one on the spot who is in general equal to bleeding, and other common operations?

There in general is a Negro or Negress on every plantation, who is equal to the management of that business.

Can you give the Committee any information respecting the general state of superannuated Slaves?

If they have no immediate relations among the other Slaves who will take them under their care and protection, they are frequently, I believe, placed at the corner of a cane field, and supplied weekly with a few plantains, to preserve them from dying with hunger.

Does their appearance often indicate their not being treated with sufficient tenderness?

Such as I have seen in that situation were generally dirty and emaciated to the last degree.

How do Negroes carry any weights they have to convey from one place to another?

On their heads.

Can they carry considerable weights in this mode?

Very considerable ones.

Do the Maroon Negroes in the Island of Jamaica receive accession to their numbers from the runaway Slaves?

I should conceive that they do not, having entered into an agreement with the islanders to return all such as come to them.

Do they in fact bring in the runaway Slaves?

They certainly do.

Were you ever in America?

I was.

When, and in what part?

[Q]

I went

I went to America early in 1778, to join the 71st regiment, at York Island. I went with the regiment to Savannah, travelled through all the southern provinces with the army to York Town in Virginia; after the Capitulation at York Town I went through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Jersey, to New York.

What judgement did you form concerning the state of the Negroes in America, compared with what it had appeared to you in Jamaica?

The Negroes of America appeared to great advantage compared with those of Jamaica; their ideas were more expanded, and their bodily exertions appeared to be greater.

Was the number of domestics kept in Jamaica much greater than would be kept in England to do the same work?

I should suppose three times as many.

How long is it that a vessel with Slaves arrives before they are offered for Sale.

I do not know.

Was you ever on board a Slave ship before the Slaves were sold?

I never was; nor was I ever present at a sale.

Were there many Slave ships came to that part of the island where you resided?

Very few; not more than two or three during the four years, and those were ships, I believe, with only the remains of the cargo, the principal part of which had been sold at Kingston.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Martis, 15^o die Februarii 1791.

CAPTAIN ROBERT ROSS, of Dalkeith, called in; and examined.

Was you ever in the West Indies?

Yes.

When, in what islands, and in what capacity?

I was, from the year 1762 till 1786, at Jamaica. I was first a book-keeper for three years and a half upon Mr. Dawkins's estate; I then went to be overseer on Mr. Morant's, and from that to Lord Dudley's, from thence to Dr. Ross's at St. Thomas's in the East, and from that to Mr. M'Lallans, and after that, had the command of a company of rangers for six years: I settled a property of my own in 1775, on which I resided from 1781 to 1786, when I returned home.

What was the impression concerning the treatment of the Negro Slaves excited in your mind on your first going to the West Indies?

I thought within myself that they were cruelly treated, and that they might have done their master's work with less severity; not taking the whip to them.

Did any instances of any severe punishment or wanton cruelty come to your knowledge then, or during your subsequent residence at Jamaica?

Yes; I have seen a Negro woman that was flogged with ebony bushes, that all the skin that was on her back, down to her heels, was taken off; and after that, was turned round, and flogged from her breast down her belly, to her waist; and I saw her, in consequence of the punishment, walking upon all-fours, not being able to get up. I have also seen a Negro man that was tied up by the wrists of his hands, naked, picketed, and flogged with two whips. The manager desired the driver to stop for some minutes, and then to begin again. As near as I can guess, the time the punishment lasted was for near an hour and half.

Was this a private punishment, or inflicted by order of a magistrate?

It was a private punishment by the overseer.

Do any other instances of particular severe punishment occur to your recollection?

Yes; I have seen a Negro at Kingston punished by his master, who took a two-inch rope, and flogged him from his neck to the waistband of his breeches, so that his back rose in lumps as big as a man's finger, and what appeared of his body was all in the same state. I have even seen several Negroes on different estates flogged till they were incapable of working for some days after; and some were so severely flogged as not to be able to do any work for some weeks after.

Did

Did you ever see Slaves with one or both ears cut off?

I have seen a Slave with whose master I was acquainted, and knew that he cut off his Slaves two ears for having run away—this the master acknowledged to me; I saw the Slave before with his ears on, and afterwards with them cut off. I have seen several others with one ear cut off.

Do you believe the punishments were ever so severe as to occasion the Negro's death?

I do; because I have known Negroes that have been severely punished, which, with bad care afterwards, was the occasion of their death, in many places.

Was not the number of lashes to be given in private punishments limited by law?

Yes; the law says, the Negro should receive but thirty-nine lashes at one time; but I have known Negroes receive two hundred at a time, by the command of the overseer, for some crimes for which the law would only have inflicted thirty-nine lashes.

Did you ever know an overseer brought to punishment for inflicting a greater number of lashes on a Negro than is allowed by law?

Never.

Are you sure that the crime for which you have known an overseer inflict two hundred lashes, was not of such a nature as that, if the Negro had been brought to a legal trial, he would, in case of conviction, have been condemned to death?

I am sure it was not.

Was it commonly understood that a Slave could obtain legal redress in case of excessive punishment, or wanton cruelty, on the part of his master, or other White person?

No doubt but it was, if the Slave applied to a magistrate.

Do you know any instances of Slaves so applying?

Not in the country—but in towns they do it frequently.

What is the mode generally practised of punishing Slaves in the towns?

They generally send them to the wharfs or the workhouses, and they are there punished at the discretion of their masters or mistresses.

Do

Do the magistrates give redress to the Slaves, applying as before mentioned?

I understand that they did in the towns, where the magistrate was nigh at hand.

Did you ever reside in any of the towns at Jamaica?

I have resided near the towns for some years, but not in them.

Did any instances of severity fall within your knowledge, during that period?

Yes; I have seen numbers of Negroes carried to the wharfs to be punished at different times.

Were then the ear croppings, and the other circumstances of extreme severity you have before mentioned, all practised in the country?

Yes; they were.

Were the generality of the field Slaves marked with the whip? More or less marked at every Place I was.

Did suicide ever happen amongst the Negroes?

I have known several that have destroyed themselves on their first arrival, when they understood that they were in a state of slavery; and some made away with themselves when they saw their fellow creatures punished, and that they thought it might be the same case with themselves in a short time.

Did similar motives often cause Slaves to run away?

Yes; Negroes have often run away for fear of the whip, and for neglect of duty, for fear of being flogged afterwards.

Would not the Slave, if excessively punished, dread, in many cases, that if he were to complain to a magistrate, the overseer would afterwards revenge himself on him; and would he not from that motive be deterred from seeking legal redress?

The common case is, in regard to that, the overseers are frequently turned out of their places for over whipping, when there is a complaint made to their master or magistrate, and on that account the overseers are now more lenient with regard to punishments, than they were in former times.

Were the overseers sufficiently attentive to promote the keeping up the stock of Slaves by breeding?

They are more so now than they were in former times.

Do you know any instances wherein the stock of Slaves was kept up by breeding only?

I know none, except on Lord Dudley's estate, but which were obliged to buy Slaves.

Did you know any estate, wherein a difference of management was productive of a considerable alteration in this respect?

Yes—I have known the estate of Messrs. Muir and Atkinson, where the Negroes had been taken very great care of; and a great deal of increase of Negroes, by the care of the overseers of the estates; likewise Messrs. Malcomb's, where there was great care taken of their Slaves, both young and old, by the attention of their overseers: it was their constant study to promote their master's interest. These are the only instances, of late years, with which I am acquainted.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 16^o die Februarii 1791.

CAPTAIN ROSS called in; and further examined.

What induced you to think, that in case of excessive punishment, a Slave could obtain legal redress?

A Negro can have no redress for a punishment from a magistrate. What induced me to think a Slave could obtain legal redress was, that a Negro was flogged at a wharf at Kingston; after he was flogged, he was knocked about the head with a stick, and his eye was knocked out, which laid upon his cheek. He said that he would go to Mr. French, and would let him see that his eye was knocked out. Mr. French kept a Negro wench, and on that account he had a great attachment to Slaves. But in regard to his having any redress from Mr. French, as a magistrate, I never understood he could get any.

Did you know whether the person who beat out this Slave's eye was his owner, or only a person who had hired him?

I cannot say.

Was the fact committed in the presence of any White person or persons?

I suppose there were above a dozen present.

Did you hear that in fact this man was ever called to any account for having so done?

Not to my knowledge.

Did you apprehend that any law existed in Jamaica, by which owners were forbidden to give their Slaves above thirty-nine lashes for one crime, or at one time?

There was such a law.

Did you understand that a person transgressing against that law might be called to account before a magistrate, if sufficient evidence of the fact were produced?

I have no doubt but they might.

Did you apprehend that the evidence of Negroes would be sufficient to convict them of the fact?

I never understood that the evidence of a Negro would be good against a White Man.

Have you known overseers guilty of executing this punishment, and of their treating the Slaves cruelly in other respects?

Yes; I have seen overseers give the Slaves above 200 lashes, and flogging them afterwards with a cow skin about the head and shoulders.

Did you ever know or hear of any such overseer being called to account before a magistrate for having so done?

I never did hear of an overseer being called to account for it before a magistrate.

Did you ever know an owner order a Slave to be whipt more than once in the same day, and for the same offence?

Yes; I have known Mr. John Shackle, a magistrate in Jamaica, flog a Negro three different times in one day; I was upon the estate at the time;—he flogged him at breakfast time, at dinner time, and at about six o'clock in the evening. To this I was an eye-witness.

Where was the Negro in the time between his floggings?

In the stocks.

Was any public notice taken of this?

None in the least.

Have

Have you ever known persons who were known to have been guilty of great severities to their Negroes, and who were commonly reputed to have murdered some of them?

* * * * *

he had hanged a Negroe Man on a post close to his house; and in the course of three years he destroyed forty out of sixty by severity.

* * * * *

Was he ever called to any account for having committed the two facts you have mentioned?

I never understood or heard that he was.

In what manner were those Slaves treated, after having been severely punished, whose death you have attributed to punishment and want of care afterwards?

I have known Slaves severely punished, and then put into the stocks, afterwards had a cattle chain put on of about sixty or seventy pounds weight, and a large collar about their neck, and fifty-six pounds weight put at the end of the chain when they were drove to the field. Often, owing to the severe punishment, they die in a few days for want of proper care. My meaning in that case is, that they get little food, and little care being taken of their sores to keep them clean after the whipping, their death is often the consequence.

Have you ever known Negroes flogged in the field because they were supposed to be lazy, when in fact they were unable to work through sickness?

Yes; I have known Negroes in different fields flogged, it being thought that they were unwilling to work for their masters, when they were really sick, and could not work for many weeks afterwards; and often the cause was, the want of food.

Are Negroes used the best on those estates which are strong handed, or on those which are weakly handed?

Where there are a great many Negroes on an estate, their work must be lighter.

Whether, in general, when an estate is fully handed, the Negroes are

are not treated better than on those estates which are weakly handed?

It depends upon the lenity of the overseers on particular estates.

Did you ever buy African Negroes on their first importation?
I have bought fifty-nine.

Were you ever required by the sellers of Negroes to buy a man or woman on account of any relationship between them and one whom you had before bought?

I never was obliged to buy any Negro against my own inclination.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, That such part of the Minutes taken this day, from the question ending with the words "murdered some of "them," to the words "he had" in the answer thereto, together with the two next questions and answers, be expunged;

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Mr. HENRY COOR, of Settle, Yorkshire, Gentleman,
called in; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

Yes.

In what Island, how long, and in what capacity?

In the island of Jamaica for fifteen years, ending in the year 1774, and in the capacity of a millwright, chiefly in Westmoreland. I did business in three other parishes, but my residence was in Westmoreland.

Had you any Slaves under your immediate superintendence?

Not till I had been near eighteen months there, and from that year I had from sixteen to twenty, more or less.

Had you, during any part of that time, any Slaves of your own?

I had, to the number of about twenty.

[S]

How

How were they employed?

I employed them among Mr. Beckford's Negroes, and learnt them to be millwrights and carpenters. After they became perfect in their business, I entered into partnership with one David Thomas, who took upon him the direction of my Slaves, with a few of his own.

Had you opportunities of observing the treatment of Field Slaves?

Yes; I had as great or greater opportunities than any other person in that part of the country had; for my business being to keep the mills in repair, I was frequently upon two or three, sometimes five or six plantations, in one day, and had people constantly employed there. I also generally breakfasted, and often dined with some of the overseers, which gave me an opportunity of seeing all their actions, as much as was possible that any one man could do. In the mornings, as I frequently passed through the plantations, the overseers were generally setting their Slaves to work, which was mostly attended with loud peals of whipping (I make use of that word, on account of the sound which the whip makes at every stroke, that you may hear it at a great distance). I observed, when the overseers came early into the field, all the Slaves which came afterwards were sure of having some of that discipline, and the method was in this case to whip them on the outside of their clothes, which is in general of a coarse linen for breeches for the men, and a petticoat of the same fabric for the women. On their coming into the field after the overseer, a few steps before they join the main gang, they throw down their hoe, and clap both hands upon their heads, and patiently take from ten to fifteen or twenty lashes; but those who have not the resolution to stand without shrinking were sure to be stretched upon the ground, or holden by four of their fellows at each extremity, till they had received their complement. This sort of slight whipping, as they generally call it, is carried on in the field, more or less, all the day. In a gang of about 100 Negroes, more or less, there are generally four or five Black men, called drivers, with each a whip; there are also in most of the fields one or two White men, who are called White drivers. These White drivers only carry a stick or staff to lean upon, and stand promiscuously here and there, as they think proper, along the line, at the same time directing the Black drivers to touch them up, where they think them remiss in their work. It generally happens about eight o'clock, that the overseer goes home to breakfast, and if he has any criminals at home, he orders one of his black drivers to follow him; for not
having

having time to take those out of the stocks that were confined the night before, it is always customary to have them brought up to the overseer's house at breakfast time, and there flogged; and the method generally is this, a ladder is placed on the ground, and the delinquent is stript and laid upon it, his legs tied to the sides, his arms stretch'd above his head, and tied, and sometimes, if the overseer thinks he will be refractory, a rope is tied round his middle to prevent his stirring any way; in this situation the driver begins to whip him on the bare skin, and if the overseer thinks that he does not lay it hard enough on, he will sometimes knock the driver down with his own hand, and at other times make him change places with the delinquent on the ladder, and there receive a severe whipping; I have known many of these poor creatures, who have been whipt upon the ladder to the number of 100 to 150 lashes, and sometimes to the amount of two cool hundreds, as they are generally called by the overseers; I have known many of these poor creatures returned to the place of their confinement, and in the space of one, two, or three days, at the overseer's pleasure, have been brought out to the ladder again, and have received the same complement, or thereabouts, as before; and they generally make a point never to take these tortured creatures off the ladder till all their skin, from their hams to the small of the back, appears to be nothing but raw flesh and blood, and then to wash over the whole parts with salt pickle, which, while the pain lasted, appeared to me, from the convulsions it threw them into, to be more cruel than the whipping; but this was done to prevent a mortification. I have known many of them, after being whipt in this cruel manner, sent to the field under a guard, and there worked all the day without meat or drink, save water, and what little their ship-mates or countrymen might be pleased to give them out of their own poor pittance; and I have known them returned to the stocks again at night, and worked out again the next day, successively. This cruel treatment of whipping, hard-working, and starving, has, to my knowledge, made many of them commit the dreadful act of suicide. I have been often called as a juryman upon those occasions, and I never remember that a verdict was ever given in any way but *felo de se*; and, except on one time, I never knew it opposed, and that was a slave upon an estate called William's Field, that was ordered a whipping by the overseer. His cruelty did not stop here; but when he had whipped him, he beat him with a staff in the most inhuman manner over his head. The Negro held up one hand in order to ward off the blow, till he cried out "Overseer, you have
" broke

"broke my arm." This did not stop him; he kept on beating him, till the man made a spring, and ran away. He was that night missing in his family; the next morning he was found hanged on a tree on the road-side, near the overseer's house. A young man, who staid by the whole time the overseer was whipping of him, was called as an evidence, and he declared, that it was his opinion, that the Negro's arm was broke; and he further thought, that the overseer's cruel treatment had made him commit that crime. Some of the jury alledged, that if the arm was broke, he could not have tied the rope in the manner in which it was found. A doctor was called to examine the arm; he agreed that it was very much swelled; but he could not say it was broke. The matter was canvassed a long time; but was concluded, as usual, self-murder. I often observed, that those distressed creatures, when they have been driven by a state of despair, by whipping, hard working, and starving, that they either cut their throats or hanged themselves. The Gold Coast Negroes always cut their throats in this case, and those of the most inland country mostly hang themselves.

Have any instances fallen within your notice, wherein, besides regular punishments, Negroes have been treated by the overseers with capricious cruelty?

Yes; I will relate an instance of it. One day, when I was dining with an overseer, an old woman was brought home, who had run away for a few days. The person that brought her had tied her hands across behind her back with an end of a long rope. After dinner was over, the overseer got up, took one of his clerks with him, named Bakewell, and took the old woman, thus tied with the rope, to the hot-house, a place where the sick Negroes are kept, and where the stocks are in one of the rooms. I went to my work in the mill, about an hundred yards from the place; I heard a most distressful cry from that house; I enquired of my men who and what it was, they told me they thought it was old Quasheba (the name of the old woman.) About five o'clock the noise ceased, and about the time I was going from work, Bakewell, the clerk, came to me, apparently in great spirits, and said, "Well, Mr. Coor, the old woman is dead." I said, "Who is dead?" not thinking any thing about her; and he said, "Old Quasheba;" and, says he, "I'll tell you how it was—We took her to the hot-house, in the stocks room, where there is a beam—the overseer threw a rope over it, and I was Jack Catch, and hauled her up, till her feet was off the ground; the overseer locked the door, and took the key with
" him,

“ him, till I just now returned with a Slave into the stocks, and
 “ found she was dead.” I said, “ You have killed her; I heard
 “ her cry all the afternoon.” He answered, “ Damn her for an
 “ old bitch, she was good for nothing, what signifies killing such
 “ an old woman as her?” I said, “ Bakewell, you shock me;”
 and then I left him. The next morning I enquired of my men
 if they had heard any thing more of old Quasheba. They told me,
 that they had assisted in burying of her last night—so here it rested
 for a while, till another affair happened, that brought it again upon
 the carpet.—The overseer kept a young girl of about eleven or
 twelve years old, to follow his poultry—it happened that a young
 duck died—she brought it to the overseer, in order to clear herself
 of having destroyed it; but that did not satisfy him—he gave her
 a very severe beating with his own hand, and then told her, that
 if she did not eat it up raw as it was, head, feathers, guts, and
 the whole, as it died, he would give her five times as much more
 beating. The girl thinking that more would kill her, she tore
 with her teeth, and eat every bit of the duck. In the evening she
 complained to her mother how she had been treated. The mother
 took the opportunity, at night, to go to Hertford, where Mr.
 Beckford’s attorney resided, and there complained of the ill-treat-
 ment her daughter had received from the overseer; she also told
 him of many other acts of cruelty that the overseer had committed,
 and particularly for one, the story of old Quasheba, as before
 related. She told him also, that Coor, the Millwright, could
 give proof to that story, as well as many others, for that he was
 upon the estate all the time. The attorney sent for me that night
 to wait on him the next morning, which I did. He asked me if
 I knew any thing of the story about old Quasheba. I told him I did,
 and related to him, as near as I can recollect, in the manner I
 have just related it. He appeared to be very angry at me, and
 asked how I could see my master’s Slaves murdered in that man-
 ner, and not let him know of it; I told him it was not my bu-
 siness to acquaint him of it, but cruelties of that kind were so
 common in the plantations, that I had thought no more about
 it.

Was the overseer brought to legal punishment?

He was not—the attorney appeared to be very angry with him
 at the time; but all was settled, and he went on as usual, till
 something happened about half a year afterwards, but I cannot
 tell exactly what it was, for which he was discharged.

Was the treatment by the overseers in general very severe?
 I thought it so.

[T]

Could

Could you relate any other particular instances, which fell within your knowledge?

I remember fourteen Slaves that, it was generally said, and I believe it was, from bad treatment, that made them rise in rebellion on a Sunday, who ran away into the woods, and all cut their throats together.—I could relate several other instances.

Did it seem to you necessary to treat the Slaves with severity, in order to render them useful in their situations?

It did not, from many good and substantial reasons which I could give. I proved it myself by ocular demonstration.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 17^o die Februarii 1791.

A Message was received from Mr. Coor, acquainting the Committee, that he was confined to his bed; on which account the remainder of his evidence is postponed to another day.

Mr. JOHN GILES, near Hay, Brecknockshire, Farmer, called in; and examined.

Have you ever been in the West Indies, when, and at what Islands?

In the Island of Montserrat, from the beginning of the year 1757 to the latter end of the year 1762; in Grandeterre, in 1763; in Grenada, in 1764, and part of 1765; and in North America the remainder of the year; from 1766 to 1772, in Saint Croix; in England in 1773; and in Saint Croix, from 1774 to July 1778, when I returned to England, and have not been abroad since.

What was your first impression, on going to the West Indies, respecting the appearance and treatment of the Slaves?

That they were cruelly and inhumanly treated, severely punished for trifling offences, and not sufficiently fed.

Do you recollect the quantity of food which was at that time allowed in Grenada and Montserrat?

It

It was crop time when I first arrived, and there was no food allowed, except a furnace of horse-beans or potatoes, which were daily boiled to give to the weaker part of the gang;—there was no other allowance.

What was the allowance out of crop time at those islands?

Sometimes four and sometimes six pints of horse-beans, rice, or Indian corn, and four or six herrings, weekly, to each Slave.

What quantity of ground was allowed to the Slaves to cultivate for themselves?

They had a great quantity of ground allowed them that they might cultivate; but no time was allowed them for that purpose except the Sabbath, on which day they were also obliged to pick large bundles of grass, morning and night; also many of them were put as watches round the works to see that no accident happened, and which they took in rotation, no day being allowed them in the week in lieu of the time lost to them on these occasions. The picking of grass is at all times a great hardship upon them, particularly at dry seasons, when it is very scarce, and they are obliged to do it in the two hours allowed them for dinner in the week days, and after sun set.

Have you ever known Slaves driven by hunger to steal, or to feed on unwholesome provisions?

Yes; often to steal; but I never knew them eat unwholesome provisions, but have often heard of it.

Did you ever know any care taken to instruct the Slaves, or to induce them to marry?

I know of none.

What is your opinion of the capacity and disposition of the Negroes?

Their capacity is good, and their disposition better than might be expected from persons so untutored.

Had you reason to believe, from your own experience, that the severe treatment which you saw practised was at all necessary?

I have reason to believe that it was no ways necessary, as I found by experience, under milder treatment on two estates that I lived on, that the increase of the Slaves exceeded the decrease by one in one hundred annually.

Was there an equal quantity of work done, in as good a manner, on those estates where no severity was used?

There was; and I can take upon me to say, that there was more done, as the Slaves did not absent themselves from their duty as they used to do, when I had it not in my power to treat them so well on other estates as I had on those two.

Do you recollect whether the Slaves were severely treated on that estate in which you were at Montserrat?

I do recollect they were very severely and inhumanly treated.

Was the field Gang properly assorted as to strength?

They were not.

Were the weak Slaves obliged to do an equal quantity of work with the stronger?

They were.

Do you recollect any instances of shocking punishments on that estate?

I do recollect several instances; one in particular of four or five Negroes were in a chain in the dungeon. The Driver made a report to the Overseer at the dawn of day, that one of them would not rise; on which he went to the dungeon, and I went with him. He made the rest that were in the chain drag him out, and as he would not rise after he was dragged out, he ordered a bundle of canetrash to be brought him, which he had put round him and set fire to. As he did not then rise, he had a small soldering iron heated in the blacksmith's forge, which when brought him he ran between his teeth. As he still did not rise, he had the chain taken off him, and had him conveyed to the hospital, where he languished some days, and then died. The owner at the same time resided on the estate, and he never condemned his conduct that ever I heard of; if he had I must certainly have known it, as we were constantly together, he being overseer and I then apprentice on the estate. I could relate several other instances if necessary.

Was the overseer in any way whatsoever either punished or called to account for this action?

He was not. On the contrary, I found him always in great favour with his Master.

Did the Slaves frequently desert on this estate?

They did.

Were

Were they punished with great severity when retaken?

They were; by severe whippings, and being chained, and obliged to work very hard, and often not released from their chain till there was danger of their dying, they being so emaciated.

Did the mortality on this estate greatly exceed the births?

It did; in the proportion of rather more than two to one.

Did the estate prosper?

It did not; for I believe the gentleman was almost broke by it.

Do you recollect whether the mortality was chiefly among the grown Negroes or the children?

Chiefly among the grown Field Slaves.

To what do you attribute this?

From their being hard worked, cruelly punished, and sparingly fed.

Is it your opinion that the Slaves were often so fatigued by the Saturday night, with the labour of the week, as to be scarcely capable of cultivating their own grounds on the Sunday?

It is my opinion that they were.

Were the marks of the whip to be seen on a large proportion of the Field Slaves?

The marks of the whip were to be seen on almost all of the Slaves of the weaker part of the gang, by whipping them in order to oblige them to keep up with the rest of the gang.

Were pregnant women exempt from severe punishments?

I never knew pregnant women severely punished; punished they were; by making them hold their two hands over their head while the driver applied the whip towards their breech; I think this was severe enough, but it was not termed severe there.

When Slaves were so old as to be past labour, was their allowance of provisions continued to them by their owners?

It was not.

Was it your opinion, that the Negroes might be managed with comparative ease, if their temper and disposition were attended to by the overseers?

It was my opinion that they might.

Was it usual for the overseers to take the trouble of doing this, or were they all, indiscriminately, managed by the application of the whip?

It was not usual for the overseers to take the trouble of doing this. If they were to take this trouble, the business might be done in a better manner, without the application of the whip, so frequently as it is used.

Did you ever believe or hear that Slaves had any legal protection against the ill treatment of their owners, or those employed by them?

I did not believe or hear that they had any protection from ill usage by their owners or persons employed by them.

Did you ever know Negroes apply to any person, such as attorney or magistrate, for relief against such ill treatment?

I never knew of any so applying on any such occasion.

Did you ever know one Planter interfere with the management or treatment of the Slaves of another?

I never did.

Do you recollect whether the locked-jaw was frequent among the children when you were in the West Indies?

I never heard any thing of it. We have had children die sometimes; but neither the overseer nor the doctor ever interfered, but they were left to old women, the midwives.

Was the treatment in the island of Grenada, as far as your observation went, similar to that in Montserrat?

Exactly so. I saw no difference.

What, in your opinion, was the best recommendation of a manager, and the circumstance by which his merit was usually estimated?

His merit was estimated by the quantity of the crops which was produced on the estate.

Did you ever know a manager of Grenada commit any act of extraordinary cruelty?

I knew a man who told me of a great cruelty which he had perpetrated. The circumstances were as follow; he said that several Negroes and mules had died on the estate on which he lived as manager; and that an old Negro woman was suspected

of having poisoned them. I asked him, if they had not given her up to the law. He told me no; they had taken a shorter method with her; that they had taken her into a wood, made a bit of a thatched hut, put her therein with a parcel of combustibles about her, to which they set fire, and burnt her to death.

Was the manager discharged on this account?

He was not; by what I understood from him, it was done by the owner's desire.

Did he relate this fact to you as a secret?

Not in the least; for I had never seen him but once before; I was almost an entire stranger to him.

Did he express any disapprobation of this mode of proceeding?

Not in the least.

Do you know whether this man, at a subsequent period, was recommended as a proper manager to another estate?

I know he was recommended as a proper manager and refiner by a person of his intimate acquaintance, to whom I have not the least doubt that he had related the before-mentioned act of cruelty.

Why have you no doubt that he had communicated the circumstance to the person you have mentioned?

Because he told me that it was common with the French, when they had any suspicion of any Slave poisoning the others, to use them in this manner.

Was not the island at this time under the English government?

It was.

Did you ever hear, while in the West Indies, of any care being taken, in the sale of African Slaves, to prevent the separation of relations?

I never did hear of it.

Have you ever taken notice of the behaviour of the Free Negroes?

Never, in the British islands.

Did

Did you ever observe, or know of any attempts made to improve either the implements of husbandry or the mode of cultivation, with a view to save the Negroes labour?

No other than in the implements of husbandry by a machine to cut the cane tops; as to the mode of cultivation, I never knew any pains taken to improve it.

From your knowledge of the islands of Grenada and Montserrat, and of the mode of cultivation in this country, is it your opinion that the plough could be applied with advantage to any considerable part of the lands in those islands?

Undoubtedly it might be applied with very great advantage in the easement of Slaves on a very considerable part.

Do you think that other improvements might be made in their implements of husbandry, and in their mode of cultivation, to great advantage?

I am of opinion there might be improvements made to a very great advantage.

What is your opinion respecting the treatment of the Slaves in the island of St. Croix?

That they were better treated there than in either of the British islands that I resided in, but by no means so well treated as they ought to be, if the planters considered their own interest; and if properly treated, I verily believe that the increase of them would be general throughout all the West Indies.

Did you know of any legal protection given to the Slaves in Saint Croix?

I never heard of any protection given to the Slaves in Saint Croix.

Can you recollect any circumstance, in which the Planters of Saint Croix differed materially from those in the English Islands, with which you were acquainted?

The difference is, their residing on their own estates, and not living so extravagant.

Do you remember any instance in that Island, in which a difference in the treatment of Slaves produced a difference also in their numbers?

I do remember an instance upon an estate that I lived on as manager. In crop time, the Slaves were obliged to be up at two o'clock

o'clock in the morning, when we were cutting canes on about eighty acres of the said estate, that lay on a rising ground, to carry them down about half a mile on their heads, for want of a sufficiency of mules upon the estate. In that year, from the severity of this labour, the Slaves decreased; but as I prevailed on the owners to purchase six mules more against the next crop, the Slaves increased that and the following year in the proportion of one in an hundred.

Was this alleviation of their labour attended with so much advantage to the Slaves, as to convince you that it was the cause of their increase?

I am perfectly convinced that it was.

While you resided on the Island of Grande Terre, did you understand that the Slaves derived any material benefit from the provisions of the Code Noir?

I do not understand that they did; nor did I ever hear talk of the Code Noir, though I have reason to believe, if it had been usual for the Slaves to be in any way relieved by it, that those that belonged to the man, with whom I was concerned in the distillery, would have sought redress for the very severe usage that he gave them, for he had made himself very obnoxious to the Commandant of the quarter, by speaking disrespectfully of him to all persons, and in every company where he went, and therefore the Commandant would undoubtedly have taken cognizance of his behaviour to his Slaves, had it been usual so to do, as I never saw a man severer to his Slaves in all my life.

Did it appear to you that an unnecessary number of domestics were retained by the Planters of Montserrat and Grenada?

It did appear to me that there was an unnecessary number retained; and that one half of the number retained would have been fully sufficient.

Who were the judges of the courts of justice, during your time, at Montserrat and Grenada?

At Montserrat the chief judge was the Honourable John Dyer, and Grenada was under a military government while I was there.

Were these Judges Planters?

They were.

Are the Judges in those islands removeable at pleasure ?
I presume they are, at His Majesty's pleasure.

Were the Judges gentlemen bred to the law ?
They were not, as far as I know.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. MATTHEW TERRY, a Land Surveyor, of Askrig,
Yorkshire, called in ; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies ?
Yes.

How long ; in what island ; and in what capacity ?
I was four years in Dominique, as book-keeper and overseer ;
one at Tobago, in His Majesty's service, as a land surveyor ; and
seven in Grenada, ending in the year 1781, as a colony sur-
veyor.

In the exercise of your trade, had you frequent opportunities of
observing the situation and treatment of plantation Slaves ?

The nature of my business gave me ample opportunity of
observing the treatment of the Slaves on the different planta-
tions.

Did they in general appear to you to be treated with mildness or
severity ?

They appeared in general to be treated with great severity.

Was it or was it not generally understood among the Slaves,
that they had a right to legal redress in case of ill treatment from
their Master, or other White person ?

I believe that it was generally understood by the Slaves, that the
Manager or other White person was restricted by law from in-
flicting more than thirty-nine lashes.

Was this restriction in fact observed ?
Not in the least.

Can you speak of your own knowledge of its being frequently
broken through ?

Yes ; I have seen many instances of it.

In

In these cases did the Slaves obtain that legal redress to which they conceived themselves entitled ?

I never knew any redress obtained.

Was it usual, after whipping the Slaves, to rub their backs with brine ?

It is very commonly done, and particularly after severe punishments.

Were there any instances of persons who were generally believed to have committed great acts of cruelty on their Slaves, and against whom no legal redress was attempted to be obtained ?

I do not recollect any particular person who might lay under that imputation.

Was there, in your time, at Grenada, a French Planter of the name of Rochard ?

There was.

What was his general character ?

He was generally supposed to be very cruel in the treatment of his Slaves ; and for very trivial offences to cut off their ears and legs, and otherways to mutilate their persons.

Was this generally believed of him ?

It was the general opinion.

Were any attempts made to bring him to legal punishment ?

None, that I ever heard of.

Did any thing fall within your own notice, which tended to confirm the general report of his cruelties ?

Yes—I saw upon his plantation two men Slaves with wooden legs.

Was it common, in your time, for the Field Slaves to acquire and possess considerable property ?

I never knew a Slave possessed of more than two pigs and a little poultry.

Was there, in your time, considerable attention paid to the breeding and rearing of the Slaves ?

Little or no attention was paid.

Was

Was it in general the Planter's aim to keep up his stock of Slaves by breeding, or to recruit it from time to time by the purchase of imported Africans?

The Planter appeared, from his treatment of his Slaves, to depend on supplies from Africa.

Had you any other reason, besides your observation of the treatment of Slaves, to believe the planter placed his chief dependence from this source of supply?

I have no other reason.

Did you ever hear any owners or overseers express their opinions upon this subject?

I never did.

Did the Planters, so far as you could observe, appear more solicitous to buy males or females?

They appeared very desirous of having as many males as possible in the lot purchased.

Did it appear to be generally a matter of satisfaction, when the women on the plantations became pregnant?

On the contrary, the Planters regretted the consequences of their pregnancy.

To what consequences do you allude?

The child-bearing, and the loss of labour consequent upon it.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 18^o die Februarii 1791.

MR. TERRY called in; and further examined.

Was there any difference made between such Slaves as were pregnant, and the other females, in the article of punishment?

Little or none.

Were considerable losses common among the newly imported Africans?

Yes,

Yes, very considerable; from my own observation I can venture to say, that one third of the number imported die within the first year. I purchased a lot of six Slaves, two of which died within the first year; and, at the expiration of five years, there were only two surviving out of the number.

Is suicide common amongst the Negro Slaves?

Yes; particularly so among the Ebo Nation.

Have you known any instances of suicide among the Creole Slaves?

I never knew or heard of a single instance.

Do you esteem the Creole or the African Slaves to be most industrious?

The Creole, as being inured to industry from their infancy.

Do you know whether the Creole or the imported Slaves have been most disposed to running away or insurrection?

The Creole Slaves are seldom or ever guilty of running away. I hardly ever knew an instance of it; and insurrections are wholly confined to the Africans, as the Creoles are never known to rebel.

Did the Slaves suffer when their master happened to be embarrassed in his circumstances?

I have known one instance of Slaves having been ill-clothed and badly fed, which was generally supposed to be in consequence of the Owners embarrassed affairs.

Does not a sense of interest induce the Planter to treat his Slaves well?

It would appear, from the Planter's treatment of his Slaves, that he preferred the increasing his crop to the increasing of his Slaves.

Do you apprehend that Field Negroes often acquired and possessed considerable property?

By no means; the Slave has it not in his power to acquire considerable property.

Have you known any instances of a Slave purchasing his freedom?

I never knew one single instance of it.

[Y]

Was

Was any grain or flour allowed in your time to any but to the newly imported Negroes?

To none but to the newly imported Negroes; but I have known a bunch of plantanes given to each Negro once or twice in the course of a year.

How long might this bunch of plantanes last them?
It is thought to be sufficient allowance for one week.

Can you say, from your own personal experience and observation, whether White Artificers can work at their trades without injury to their healths in the climate of the West Indies?

The business of a land surveyor is exceeding laborious in the West Indies; I pursued that employment for the space of seven years, and suffered no inconvenience in my health from it; and I have frequently seen millwrights work at their business exposed to the sun, and whose healths was not injured by it.

Were there any other trades at which White people worked in the West Indies without injury to their healths?

Yes; blacksmiths and coopers; but the latter only direct the Negroes who work under them.

Were there many jobbing gangs in your time?

Yes; three or four in Grenada at the time I was resident there.

Have managers generally Slaves of their own?

Many of them are possessed of Slaves, which are their own property.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. COOR called in; and further examined.

The following question and answer being read to the witness:

“ Did it seem to you necessary to treat the Slaves
“ with severity, in order to render them useful in their
“ situations?
“ It did not, from many good and substantial reasons
“ which I could give; I proved it myself by ocular
“ demonstration.”

The

The witness was asked,

What were the particulars of the proof to which you allude?

One George White, who had superintended a gang of Slaves, which fell under my care afterwards, kept up so sharp a discipline over them, that he construed the smallest fault into a capital crime, for which he generally gave them a very severe flogging. He kept up this discipline to such a degree, that he reduced them both in their persons and their faculties. They were never clean from the sores occasioned by this cruel treatment. At the small spaces of time that they had allowed to work in their little plantations, which was their principal support for daily food, the before mentioned floggings quite disabled them. By this means they became poor, both in their bodies and their properties; on which account they became subject to stealing; but I always looked upon it to be mostly from want of necessary food; for, on account of their sores, occasioned by their beating, they were indolent, and not willing to stir, when they had any relaxation from their master's business. Afterwards, these Slaves fell under my care; I changed their mode of treatment by kind usage, excusing small faults, and promising them rewards for fidelity and good behaviour; these were such as, allowing them time to work in their little plantations. My first care was to see that they made a good use of such time as I allowed them; but after they found their little plantations in a thriving way, I had very little more to do in that case, and in the space of a few months, from a poor, scabbed, ill-looking, dispirited gang of Slaves, they became fat, sleek, lively, and went through their work with as much cheerfulness and mirth as ever I saw in a number of workmen in my own country. I found that this treatment had so good an effect, that I could have performed more work with those Slaves in one-third less time than their former master could have done, with all the force of the whip added thereto. Another good effect it had; it changed their very morals. I could have trusted them with any thing. At a time when there were some outlaws in the woods, I then bore a lieutenant's commission, and being ordered out by the Colonel, he gave me liberty to make choice of a serjeant's guard of white men, called the militia. I told him, if he pleased to give me liberty, I would arm these Slaves, and trust myself with them, in pursuit of those outlaws, which I did, and found as great fidelity in them as I could have expected from my own countrymen.

How

How long had you these Slaves under your superintend-
ance ?

Thirteen years and six months.

Can you recollect how many floggings you were under the ne-
cessity of inflicting on them during that period ?

None at all—that good treatment had so good an effect upon
them, that they would have been more ashamed of a small tap
with a supple jack from my hand, than they would have been of
100 lashes from their former master.

Did they seem to entertain a grateful sense of this kind of treat-
ment ?

They did, to the highest degree ; and very often on a Sunday
would bring me a fowl as a present ; they never killed a hog but
they saved some choice part for their master.—I forgot to men-
tion, that when I was in the woods after the outlaws with these
Slaves, that they pitched their tents all round mine, saying, that
they would all die before I should be hurt ; in short, I could
mention a variety of other instances of their gratitude and affection
to me.

Besides this personal experience of your own, did it fall in
your way, on any other plantations, to see the contrasted effects of
mild and severe treatment ?

Yes ; I have taken notice of several plantations where they
have been well treated, and of the good effects that have in my
opinion arisen from it—I will instance one of an estate at which
I had business at times, in my neighbourhood, belonging to a Mr.
Dunn ; when I first came into the country it was called a small
plantation, not from the smallness of ground, of which they had
plenty, but from the small stock of Negroes upon it ; it then
made about fifty hogsheads of sugar ; he worked his Slaves very
moderately ; he was a married man, and his wife took particular
care of the sick, the lying-in-women, and the infants. To my
knowledge, in a few years this estate doubled its produce, without
purchasing any Slaves from Africa, excepting six, the whole du-
ration of my stay there. Little children appeared to me to swarm
upon this estate ; and I never heard any complaint of the lock-
jaw at this place ; and before I left the island he had settled
another thriving estate under the care of his eldest son, which was
then making about 60 hogsheads of sugar ; and all, to the best
of my knowledge, had arisen out of the small stock of Slaves
(excepting

(excepting the six before-mentioned) that could not make above fifty hogsheads when I first knew them.

Would you have known it, had Slaves been purchased?

I certainly should; because I was very often upon the plantation, and new Slaves are very remarkable; and when a cargo comes in, it is the general talk, that such and such plantations have purchased so many Slaves. A neighbouring estate to the one I have just mentioned, whose situation, and many other advantages, were far superior to the last, both for health to the Slaves, and convenience and ease in coming at their provisions, lying upon a gentle descent, and the provision grounds forming a semicircle on one side of it. With all these advantages this estate was perpetually decreasing in its number of Slaves;—it was not only my opinion, but that of many other humane people about, that it proceeded from cruel and inhuman treatment. The owner of the estate, and who managed it himself, very often, to my knowledge, purchased twenty, thirty, or forty new Slaves at a lot, and in the space of about ten or eleven years the estate was very much reduced, both in produce and number of hands; and from his being in good circumstances, as I understood, when I first came to the country, he was in that space of time reduced to a very low ebb in his credit. His bills upon England came back protested, and very few people would give him any credit; all which I do very believe arose from the ill-treatment of his Slaves. It will be to no purpose to tell the particulars of their ill-treatment. Some instances of his capricious cruelties are too bad to relate.

Did it generally appear to be the object of the managers who managed the estates of absentee proprietors, to keep up the stock of Slaves by breeding, without importations from Africa?

It was not. I have many times turned my thoughts upon that subject, I mean the rearing of children; I have always thought it an object well worth the Planter's notice, but so far did I always find them from paying due attention to this, that I have heard many of the overseers say, that they would far rather the children should die than live; nor did I ever see any proper preparation for the reception of those infants. The houses or huts wherein they are born, are on the sides no more defence against the cold damps of the night, than one of our pasture hedges; bedding they have none, they generally lie upon a board or bafs mat. As soon as the child is born, the midwife goes to the overseer for something for the woman, which is generally a bottle of rum, and two or

three pounds of salt beef—this does well enough for the women, for they seldom fail to recover. But with respect to the infant, which I mean to speak of, they have a custom of never setting it to the mother's breast till eight days be over; a nurse is ordered for that time, which is a woman out of the field, that probably has a child of two, three, or four months old, and here I think it would be proper to leave it to the gentlemen of the faculty to judge what effect the milk from a woman who has been exposed to hard work and poor living, and drinking nothing but water under the perpendicular rays of the sun, would have; whether that could be suitable for a tender infant, just come into the world; they mostly die convulsed, and generally about the eighth day. I am of opinion that the hard poor milk of the nurses would have a very bad effect upon a stronger person; it is more lamentable to think that they do not take proper care of these infants, not only from humanity, but from their own interest, for if they survive the eighth day, they mostly do very well afterwards; and I very seldom remembered any dying from the eighth day to the eighth year; and what convinces me further that it is for want of care, is, because where proper care has been taken by warm houses, kind treatment, and the infant set to the mother's breast, I very seldom knew any die; and what still added more to my wonder that they did not take greater care of them was, because it was neither labour nor expence to raise them after the fatal eighth day was got over. It is my firm opinion, that with kind and judicious treatment of the infants, the number of Slaves upon the whole island of Jamaica will increase without any importations from the Coast of Africa.

From any thing that fell within your notice, can you say whether it was more the object of the overseers to work the Slaves moderately, and keep up their numbers by breeding; or to work them out, increasing thereby the produce of the estate, and trusting for recruits to the Slave Market?

It was more the object of the overseers to work the Slaves out; and trust for supplies from Africa; because I have heard many of the overseers say, "I have made my employer twenty, thirty, or forty more hogsheads per year than any of my predecessors ever did; and though I have killed thirty or forty Negroes per year more, yet the produce has been more than adequate to that loss."

When the Slaves are ill treated by the overseer, cannot they obtain redress from the attorney of the estate, provided he lives nigh enough to be applied to?

The

The Slaves can expect no redress but from the attorney—the misfortune generally lies here; many of the attorneys have commissions upon the produce, and if he gives ear to the complaints of the Slaves, the overseer will tell him he will not stay any longer upon the estate. If the overseer be a person that makes a great quantity of sugar, I have often observed that the attorney winked at his pressure upon the Slaves to perform more work than human nature was able to do.

Were the generality of Field Slaves marked with the whip?

Yes, most of them; not only the Africans, but Creoles also. I have known many very good disposed Creole Negroes that have had wheals from their hams up to the small of their backs; but this is nothing thought of, as it is so common among all Plantation Negroes.

Do Slaves often suffer from their masters being embarrassed in their circumstances?

It is natural to think that they will suffer, for they are generally hard worked, bad clothed, and ill fed. I could mention two or three neighbouring estates, where it was generally the case.

Were domestic Slaves often treated ill from being subject, without redress, to the effects of their master's caprice?

Yes, very often; and I have heard many of them say, that they would rather continue under the hardship of the field, than be what is there called a House Negro; and here I will give an instance of one person, at whose house I was boarded about six months. He was a doctor, who treated his Field Slaves ill, but I had an opportunity of seeing how his domestics were treated daily. A boy that waited on him, he made no more of knocking down than if he had been a piece of wood, for what I mostly thought was no fault at all; there were two house wenches he served in the same manner. One evening one of them had either broken a plate, or spilt a cup of tea, which raised his passion so much, that he took a hammer, and a tenpenny nail, and nailed one of her ears to a bullet-tree post. I remonstrated, and did all in my power to have the poor girl released from the post, but all to no purpose. We went to bed, and left her standing there; in the morning we found she was gone, having torn the head of the nail through her ear. As soon as the Doctor knew, he dispatched a man, who brought her again, and when I came to breakfast about eight o'clock, I found he had given her a very severe whipping. His fury did not
stop

stop here ; he had taken a pair of large scissars, and clipt both her ears off close to her head, and she was set picking feeds out of cotton, among three or four more that had been emaciated by his cruelties till they were fit for nothing else.

Did this girl ever apply for legal redress ?

No, she did not. It was generally thought among the Negroes, that they could have no redress but from their masters or attornies.

Do you know whether the woman appeared publicly afterwards so mutilated ?

Yes, she did, and went many times, generally weekly, to Savannah-le-Mar, which is our assize town for the county. She afterwards lived there with the Doctor, and after his decease with his wife.

Was any notice taken of it by any magistrate or officer of justice ?

I really believe there was no more notice taken of it than if I had cut off the ears of my dog.

From any circumstance, do you believe that it was known to any of the magistrates ?

I am of opinion that some of them could hardly miss knowing it, for several of the magistrates visited at the Doctor's, and I know that she was continued a House Slave, and waited at table during the remainder of the Doctor's life. I have seen magistrates there when the girl waited at table with her ears off.

Did you know many instances of Field Slaves being possessed of considerable property ?

I never did know them possessed of any thing more than a breeding sow or a few poultry, and I look upon it as impossible for a Field Slave to be possessed of any property. I never knew even tradesmen possessed of any thing, though they have more opportunities of accumulating than it is possible for a Field Slave to have.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Sabbati,

Sabbati, 19^o die Februarii 1791.

MR. COOR called in; and further examined.

Was it common for the Slaves, and for your Slaves in particular, to carry little articles to town to sell at the Sunday market?

Very common; they were obliged to carry something out of their provision grounds in order to make money of it to buy some sort of salt meat, such as beef, pork, fish, &c. to support them all the week following; they carried plantains, yams, cocoas, bananas, cassada, and such things as they could spare from the bread in their own family; one Negro would carry as much as he would sell for about four bits, more or less, according to the fluctuating price of the market; this money they laid out in eatables as beforementioned, or in something of wearing apparel; for in general they were allowed no more than five yards of cloth, worth about seven pence or seven pence halfpenny per yard.

How were the Slaves generally fed?

They were fed in many different ways, but the most common way was, that they depended on the produce of their little lots of ground; the poorer sort, who never had spirits or ability to cultivate their own allotment, depended upon some one of the plantation Negroes, for whom they worked all the little time that they were excused from their master's business; I don't speak now of the Slaves just imported from Africa; for they are generally distributed to different plantation Negroes that have the best grounds, under whom they work all the little time they are excused from their master's business; they have an allotment of land allowed them, and it is generally thought by the Overseers that they should bring it into some perfection while they remain under the before mentioned Negroes; but it too often happens, that some quarrel or other arises between the master Slave and them before the ground is brought to any perfection; then they are turned out of doors, and obliged to steal or beg, or get their food any way that they can come by it; this in my opinion is the greatest reason why there are so many bad Slaves.

Is the Slave's allowance of ground commonly sufficient for his maintenance?

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It is quite sufficient ; they have in general as much ground as they can work, in all the parts of Jamaica where I have been ; but the great misfortune is, that they have not time to work it.

How were the dead cattle commonly disposed of in your time ?

They were all burnt, under the inspection of a White man. If they had been buried, the Negroes would have dug them up in the night, in order to eat them through hunger ; mules, horses, cows, or any other animals.

What makes you think that this was the reason of their being so burnt ?

It was generally said to be to prevent the Negroes from eating them, lest it should breed bad disorders.

Did any instance come to your knowledge of any manager or overseer being actually the cause of a Slave's death ?

I can mention one on an estate called Shrewsbury. The overseer sent for the Slave on some business, and as he was talking to him in the piazza, he hastily struck him upon the head with a small hanger he had then in his hand, and then gave him two stabs about the waistband of his breeches. The Slave said, " Overseer, you have killed me !" He pushed him out of the piazza. The Slave went home, and died in the course of the night. He was buried, and no more was said about it. My house was upon this estate, a little distance from the overseer's house. About six months afterwards, this same overseer moved from that estate to one called Anchovie Bottom ; but for what reasons I cannot tell. I know it was not for killing the before-mentioned Slave. This happened about the year 1770. He was called a very valuable overseer, as he worked the Slaves hard, and made a great quantity of sugar. It was generally believed that he had killed two more Slaves at Anchovie Bottom ; as a proof of this—it being whispered among the neighbours, that these two made three Negroes he had killed, and it being looked upon by us at that time, that the killing of Three Slaves was a capital crime, he thought proper soon after this to go privately away, and, during the time I remained on the island, I never heard more of him.

Did the first murder come to the knowledge of the attorney ?

There was a Mr. Foot, who acted under Mr. Herring as an inferior

inferior attorney, and I am clear that Mr. Foot knew the particulars, as I have often conversed with him on that and many similar subjects; but I am not certain whether he mentioned it to Mr. Herring.

Was any attempt made to bring the overseer to punishment?

None at all; I never heard the least motion of any thing like it. I have heard Mr. Foot say, that he was a very good overseer, but a damned wicked dog when he was drunk; and I am pretty clear that he was drunk when he committed that action.

Was it understood amongst the Slaves, that they could have legal redress, in case of ill treatment by their master, overseer, or other White person?

It was quite clear to me that they knew nothing of having redress from any person but their master or attorney.

What was the Slave's common allowed provision at Jamaica?

It was mostly herrings. I have known about two barrels of herrings divided amongst 100, or 150, or 160 Slaves at a time, about once a month or about once in six weeks; and this I am very clear in, that every common man's share very seldom amounted to above seven or eight of these herrings at a time. The Field Negroes had no other allowance; and sometimes I have seen the herrings so rotten in the barrels, that they have divided them out by measure, when they all appeared mashed up like a porridge.

Have you reason to believe that expedients are practised on board Guinea ships to suppress and suspend the disorders with which the Slaves are infected?

Yes, I have; and I will mention one reason.—I made a purchase of six boys and two girls from a guinea ship—they were from the Gold Coast. I took a Slave with me that had been in the country so long that he spoke English very well, and he enquired of these Slaves whom I purchased if they had had the yaws; they all told him they had, their skin being then very clean and black, and quite free from all manner of disorder of that kind; but in about six weeks or two months after, they every one broke out with the before-mentioned yaws, to a very great degree; they then spoke a little English, and I asked them if they had not the yaws in their own country; they said, yes, they had, and all the way till they came within a few weeks of Buccra country, when
the

the Buccra on board the ship rubbed them with something that made their skin clean as they were when I purchased them. I have known several Guinea ships that have laid for two or three weeks in port before they have declared sale, or allowed any of the inhabitants to go on board (they never allow any of us to go on board till they have declared sale), and it was always reported that that delay was in order to get the Slaves in proper trim for the sale.

Were the jobbing gangs on the increase or decrease when you left Jamaica?

Very much on the increase; every overseer or White Man, who had money or credit, purchased some new Negroes in order to job them out on account of the great profit arising therefrom. I could have had £. 14 per cent. for my money if I had laid it out in that way, and have had it insured; but those masters that work them themselves in that jobbing way make much more.

Are epidemic disorders generally more fatal among the poor and the ill fed, or among the well fed and hearty Slaves?

A great deal more among the poor and ill fed; there is but one epidemical disorder that ever made any great destruction among the Slaves while I was there, and that was a flux, which went through all ranks, both Whites and Blacks, rich and poor; and it was generally the poor and ill fed Negroes that died of it; few of the well fed Negroes ever died of it, and not one White person.

Are the Negroes provision grounds often at any considerable distance from their huts, or from the works?

On some estates they are tolerably near, but I know on several estates that they were to the distance of four or five miles, and on others close at hand round their plantation.

Does it usually happen that the Negroes are willing and industrious in the cultivation of their own grounds on the Sunday?

I always observed those that had grounds in tolerable order to cultivate it with great pleasure; but those who were turned into them only covered with woods and bushes had very ill heart to begin upon them, and generally were obliged to spend that time which should have been laid on their grounds, in labouring under some other Negro for a present support.

Have

Have you ever known different offices on a plantation filled by the same person?

Very often; I have known one man overseer and doctor; another, overseer, attorney, and doctor.

Do runaway Slaves ever take refuge among the Maroon Negroes?

No, they never do; the Maroon Negroes are a check upon them; for as soon as any Slave has eloped, the master writes to the Maroon Town to go in search of him; they have £. 3 per head for taking of them, and one shilling per mile for the distance they bring them.

Was the religious or moral instruction of the Slaves much attended to while you were in Jamaica?

I never knew it any where but on one estate, where they were most of them christened and instructed by a person sent from Europe, and they appeared to me to be always the best-disposed Slaves in that neighbourhood; but in all the other plantations that I was acquainted with, I never heard such a thing named. Of a number of Slaves that were taken from Guadaloupe, one family was purchased by a neighbour of mine; and I was told by the doctor, that the father of that family had prayers in his house every night and morning, and that he pronounced the Lord's prayer in French as well as he himself could do.

Do you recollect whether these circumstances had any influence on their increase or decrease?

In answer to this I can only say, that I do not remember their purchasing any new Slaves, and they were always very strong-handed. I was very well acquainted with the whole gang of Slaves on this estate, as I took care of their mills and other works for most of the time that I remained there.

Was promiscuous intercourse general, both amongst the Slaves and between the White men and Negro women?

Very common—there were no restrictions, it was the greatest disgrace for a White man not to cohabit with some woman or other.

Were any attempts made to induce the Men Slaves to connect themselves with one, and to restrict themselves to her alone?

None at all; it was not looked upon as any ways disadvantageous to an estate for the men to have a number of wives, from one,

two, three, or four, according as they had property to maintain them. What I mean by property is, provisions on their little spots of ground.

Were the wives of the Negroes secure from any attempts, either of the manager or the book-keepers?

Not at all; for though a man might know of his wife having laid with the overseer or book-keeper, he dared not resent it, neither to his wife nor to the said overseer or book-keeper; for if he did, he would be sure of having a very smart flogging for it, though very probably couched under the name of some other misdemeanor.

Did you ever know Negroes sold under writs of Venditioni exponas?

I have heard of many that have been so sold; but none came under my personal observation.

Have you ever been in North America?

Yes.

Did you remark any difference between the appearance of the treatment of the Slaves there, and those of the West Indies?

The treatment of the Slaves in those parts that I was in; viz. Boston, Rhode Island, New York, New Jerseys, and Pennsylvania, was much in the same way as our farmers servants are in England.

Do you think any good effects resulted from this mode of treatment?

I do; I saw several carry on their masters business just in the same way as one of our principal farmers servants do; and where a master has had three or four, or more of these Slaves, mostly one of them was a leading man; and I have frequently conversed with the head man on the arts of farming and managing all kinds of cattle, ploughing, &c. and I always found him very intelligent.

Does then your observation of the Negroes, in various situations, lead you to conclude that their behaviour generally corresponds with the treatment they receive?

It does; I think I have answered this question already in the course of my evidence; for a great deal of my evidence has, in my opinion, tended to shew that to be so.

Has your observation led you to conclude, that by living constantly among Slaves, and being perpetually in the practice of enforcing the usual discipline, men become less and less sensible of the inconveniencies and sufferings to which the Slaves are exposed?

Yes; at my first coming to the island, a common flogging of a Negro would have put me in a tremble, and disordered me so, that I did not feel myself right again generally the remaining part of the day, but by degrees and custom it became so habitual, that I thought no more of seeing a Black man's head cut off, than I should now think of a butcher cutting off the head of his calf.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Captain HALL, of the Royal Navy, called in; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

Yes.

When, and in what parts?

From 1769 to 1773, at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands; and from 1780 to 1782, at those places, and at Jamaica and Saint Domingo.

What appeared to you, in general, to be the treatment of Negro Slaves in the British Islands?

In the towns their treatment was tolerable—on the plantations rather inhuman.

Did the punishments, when inflicted, appear to you severe?

Very much so—so as to be shocking to persons not used to see them.

Were they more severe than those on board a man of war?

Very much so.

Did the generality of the Field Slaves appear to you to be marked with the whip?

Those that I have seen were generally marked, and I have had opportunities of seeing a great many.

Was it understood, that the Slaves could obtain legal redress when ill-treated by the master, or other White person?

As

As against their master it was generally understood that they could not obtain redress—against other persons their master assisted them to get redress.

Do you think that this severe mode of managing the Negroes was necessary, or that it was conducive to their masters interest?

I think the contrary exactly, for that a more lenient method would be more conducive to the masters interest, and the general good.

What are the grounds of that opinion?

From my having seen the good effects of it in the French West India Islands.

Do you recollect any particular instance wherein this good effect was more than commonly evinced?

Yes, I do; upon the Marquis de Rouvray's estate at Saint Domingo—the Marquis was particularly attentive to the population of his estate, and the good treatment of his Slaves; in their work they were never hard pressed; he never suffered any improper intercourse between the male and female Slaves; every man had his own wife, and no white person was suffered to disjoin that union; and the parties themselves were punished for separating without just cause. Hospitals were built for the care of the sick and pregnant; when the mothers were from their pregnancy past the state for working with propriety, they were taken into the hospital, where they were employed in trifling labour, such as they could perform until their time of delivery, and from that time until the child might be supported without the help of the mother, they remained there, having this choice, either to remain there, not seeing their husbands, and being excused from field labour, or immediately, as soon as they could move after their labour, to return to their husbands company with their child, and take the chance of work; the consequence of all which was, that the Marquis for some years past had not had occasion to purchase any new Negroes. Some years ago it happened that he left his estate to the care of his nephew, and upon his return to his estate, after the absence of two years, he found, instead of that happiness that reigned when he left it, nothing but misery and discontent; the white men had seized upon the pretty women, their husbands through discontent ran away, and the labour falling the heavier upon the remaining Slaves, they of course were discontented, and their work badly carried on; and it took him two years before he could in any degree establish any kind of order. It was a pleasure
to

to walk through the estate, for the Slaves used to look up to him as a father.

Was breeding generally the object in the British islands, or did it seem rather to be the system to work out the Slaves, and trust to the Slave Market for recruits?

Breeding was by no means thought desirable, as they rather thought it a misfortune to have pregnant women, or even young Slaves. They esteemed the charge of rearing a child to a state of manhood more troublesome, and greater, than the buying a Slave fit for work; and it was no uncommon thing for them to give away a child of two years old, as you would a puppy from a litter.

What are the grounds of this your opinion?

From having heard an overseer of some consequence express that opinion. It was his system, in fact, to prevent population as far as it was in his power, for the reasons before mentioned.

Did you understand that this was a singular opinion in him, or was it esteemed the general system amongst the overseers?

I have understood it to be a general system.

Did proper care seem to be taken of infants?

It appeared that they were very much left to chance on the parts of the overseers, and that the mothers, from little attention paid them, deemed it a misfortune to have children.

Were the mothers allowed proper recess from labour to suckle and take care of their infants?

No; for after the month they were sent to field labour with their child on their backs; and so little time was given them to afford their children nourishment, that I have seen a woman who had seated herself for the purpose of suckling her child, roused from that situation by a severe blow from the cart whip.

Do you apprehend that the domestic Slaves increased by breeding, or decreased?

They were generally understood to increase, and that from the general good treatment they received from their masters and mistresses.

Did it appear to you, from any thing besides the instance you have mentioned of the Marquis de Rouvray's estate, that the Slaves

suffered from their owners being absent, and the plantation being under the management of an overseer?

Yes; it was the overseer's business, for his own character, to make as much sugar as possible; and, to effect that purpose, it was his business to work the Slaves to the utmost, it being of no concern to him whether they died under their work or not, as he was sure to be supplied with others.

Do you apprehend, that if the Slave's death had followed, in any instance, from being severely punished, the master would have been called to legal account?

I believe not, as, from an instance which passed under my own knowledge, I know to the contrary.

Have you ever had the opportunity of forming any judgment whether the Slave Trade may be considered as a nursery for seamen?

From what I have seen, I conceive it to be quite the contrary. Having been employed in taking men out of merchant ships for the King's service, I have, in taking a part of the crew of a Guinea ship, (whose numbers then consisted of seventy) been able to select but 30 who could have been thought capable to serve on board any of His Majesty's ships of war, and when those thirty were surveyed by order of the Admiral, I was reprimanded for bringing such men into the service, who were more likely to breed distempers than to be of any use.

Was this at a time when seamen were much wanted for His Majesty's service?

They were so much wanted that almost any thing would have been taken—it was in the year 1782, when we had not men to man the prizes which were taken on the 12th of April.

Was the state of the Guinea ship last mentioned a singular instance, or was that of Guinea ships in general much the same?

Generally so; I had many opportunities, between the years 1769 and 1773, of seeing the great distresses of crews of Guinea ships, when arrived at the West Indies.

Did any thing ever fall within your notice, which enabled you to judge whether seamen are better or worse treated on board Guinea ships than in other trades?

I have great reason to believe that none are so badly treated, from their always flying to the men of war for redress and protection, whenever they came within their reach; on the contrary,
we

we seldom or ever meet with a man from a West Indiaman to apply to a man of war on the like occasion.

Do you restrict this better treatment to West Indiamen only?
No.

Did you ever hear of a peculiar mode of punishment being adopted on board a Guineaman?

I once saw a man chained by the neck in the maintop of a Guineaman, when passing under the stern of His Majesty's ship the Crescent, when laying in Kingston Bay, St. Vincent's, and was informed by part of the crew taken out of the said ship, at their request, that the man had been there 120 days.

Is it your opinion that White men might do the lighter sorts of field labour without injury to their health, provided they were to be allowed an interval during the middle of the day?

I am clearly of that opinion; for our seamen go through very heavy work, without any apparent injury to their health.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 21^o die Februarii 1791:

CAPTAIN GILES, of the 19th Regiment of Foot;
called in; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies?
Yes.

When, how long, and in what islands?

In Barbadoes, Antigua, Saint Lucia, and the Island of Jamaica, from June 1782 till the 1st of April 1790, except for about fourteen or fifteen months that I came to England.

So far as you had an opportunity of observing, was the treatment of Negro Slaves mild or severe?

Generally severe, as I thought.

Were the generality of the Field Slaves marked with the whip?
Yes.

Did

Did you ever see the punishment of whipping inflicted on Slaves?

Yes.

Did it appear to you more or less severe than army punishments of the same kind?

More severe, although they did not receive so many lashes; yet the punishment was more cruel, on account of the size of the whip with which the punishment was inflicted.

Had you the opportunity of observing the situation and treatment of jobbing gangs?

Once I had.

Will you describe what they appeared to you?

I have thought their labour was more than human nature could support for any considerable time, because their allowance of provisions, which I had daily an opportunity of seeing, was not equal to support them under it.

Did you understand this to be a singular case, or that it was pretty generally the situation of jobbing gangs?

I understood it to be generally the case.

Did you ever hear of any calculation, as applied to this subject?

Yes; I understood that it was calculated that seven years was the term which a jobbing gang would last. I suppose this upon an average, so as to bring a profit to the owner.

Was the jobbing gang, which you had an opportunity of observing more particularly, allowed the same recess from labour during the middle of the day, which was understood to be common on settled plantations?

Yes; the same as the other labouring Negroes; but as some of them would eat their week's allowance in three or four days, they were under the necessity to labour between the hours of twelve and two for the soldiers and soldiers wives, by carrying wood and water for them, for which they always received provisions in return.

Did it appear to you that superannuated Slaves were properly taken care of by their owners?

I cannot say that I ever had an opportunity of seeing that they were not.

Did any thing fall within your notice, which enabled you to judge concerning the sufficiency of any laws for the protection of Slaves from ill usage on the part of their master, or other White Person?

More instances than one. I was informed by the proprietor of a plantation, when he went to his Mountain, he understood that one of his Negroes was dead, and from the information he received from the Slaves upon the estate, that it was owing to the cruel treatment of the overseer; and that that overseer could not be punished, because no White Evidence could be found to prosecute. Another instance, where a Free Woman and her two children had been claimed by a person in the island of Jamaica as his property, and he secured her and her two children in a place of confinement, in order to be sold to the Spaniards.—Fortunately I heard of the circumstance myself, and interfered, knowing the person could have no possible claim either to the woman or her children. The consequence of my interference was, that after two trials at the Surrey assizes at Kingston, I had the woman and the two children rescued from slavery; but had Black Evidence been admitted, the woman must have been liberated in a few minutes.

Who was this woman, and by what Black Evidence could she have been liberated?

She was a woman who, with her husband, had joined the royal army in South Carolina; her husband was employed in one of the public departments, as a carpenter and a driver; the woman laboured upon the lines at the Quarter House Camp, about six miles from Charles Town;—the Black Evidence which I could have produced, were people who were bred up on the same estate with herself, and from the neighbourhood of that estate, who also had free tickets from Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor of Jamaica. Another instance, previous to this, and under similar circumstances, was of a woman who had been claimed by some person in Jamaica, but being supported by Major Nesbit, of the 19th regiment, she was also rescued from Slavery after a trial at the Surrey Assizes.

Do you conceive that it would have been possible for the woman and her children, who were rescued by your interference, to have been otherwise saved from being transported to a state of slavery in some foreign island?

I don't believe it was possible, because I undertook the whole management of the business myself, and because I think there

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was

was no other person in the island so well acquainted with the circumstances as myself, happening to have been upon duty upon the plantation in Carolina, from whence she came, more than once.

Did any peculiar punishment for running away come to your knowledge?

Yes; I recollect perfectly well, that when the barracks at Stony Hill, at the island of Jamaica, were building, I observed a Negro mason with a wooden leg. I asked one of the White people who superintended the work, how that Negro lost his leg; his answer to me was, that it was for no good, for that the fellow used to run away for four or five months at a time, which I concluded was the reason of his having his leg taken off.

In the case you have mentioned in the former part of your evidence, wherein you said a Planter had told you, that his Slaves had informed him one of his Negroes had died in consequence of the cruel treatment of the overseer, did he relate any circumstance which corroborated the Slave's account?

Yes; he told me that the body had been examined after it was buried, and there was found upon it some kind of chains or fetters?

Do you not conceive the Slave's situation and treatment will vary according to the disposition and circumstances of the owner?

No doubt of it; for on one or two estates in the neighbourhood where I was stationed (that is, Mount Canaan, and an estate belonging to a Mulatto Man) the Slaves were well treated.

Did they appear to you to be better fed upon those plantations?

They appeared to me much happier than on several others adjoining—consequently, I imagine better fed.

Were they obliged to have recourse to the same expedients, in order to eke out their provisions?

I don't recollect that we had any reason to suppose, that the Slaves upon those two last mentioned estates were concerned in stealing, in order to supply their wants.

Was this often the case with other gangs in your neighbourhood?

Frequently.

Had

Had you any opportunity of seeing the Slaves go to market?
Every week.

From what distance did they go to the market?
I suppose from fourteen or fifteen miles.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. JOHN TERRY, of Askrig, Yorkshire, called in; and
examined.

Have you been in the West Indies, for what period, and in
what capacity?

Yes; I was in the Island of Grenada from 1776 to 1790; first
as an overseer for about seven or eight years, and the remainder
of the time as a manager.

What opinion did you form, on your first going to the West
Indies, of the situation and treatment of the Slaves?

I thought it a very bad treatment, and it hurt my feelings
very much.

Did you grow less sensible to the severity of their treatment
during your residence there?

I did; and in time became more inured to it.

Have you ever known Slaves punished by managers severely
or wantonly on account of trifling offences?

I have.

Was it usual on such occasions for the Slaves to make com-
plaints?

They made no complaints to their owners.

Do you know why they did not?

For fear of being treated in a worse manner.

Did you ever know an instance of Slaves complaining on such
an occasion, and what was the consequence?

Yes; and the consequence was, they were punished by their
owner, and sent back again to the plantation.

From your knowledge of the treatment those Slaves had re-
ceived,

ceived, did you think they had complained without sufficient cause?

No; I think they had cause to complain.

Is it usual for the Field Slaves to bear upon them marks of the whip?

Yes.

If a manager were to attempt to debauch the wife of a Slave, do you think she would be afraid of refusing to comply?

Yes; if he was a severe manager she would be afraid of being punished for refusing.

Did you ever know or hear of a Slave complaining to a magistrate against his owner, the attorney, overseer, or manager, of the plantation?

I never knew an instance of it.

Did you ever know the same person act as attorney, manager, and doctor, on a plantation?

Yes.

Did you ever know one Planter or Manager interfere with the treatment of the Slaves of another?

No; never.

Were you acquainted with any particular estate, where the Slaves were worse fed and worse clothed, than on the generality of the neighbouring plantations?

Yes.

What was the character which those Slaves bore?

Great thieves.

Have you ever known them driven to supply their hunger by any methods to which well fed Slaves would not, in your opinion, have resorted?

Yes; such as eating putrid carcases.

What is the general object of plunder among the Slaves?

Food; provisions.

Is the plundering for provisions attended with any considerable danger?

Yes; it may be attended with the loss of life.

At

At what hours of the day are they usually sent to pick grass?

They are generally sent at noon, during the hours allowed them for dinner; and at night after they have done work, after sun-set.

Do you consider this picking of grass, thus managed, as any considerable addition to their labour?

Yes.

Did you ever know an instance of very extraordinary cruelty committed by a manager on a Negro?

Yes; I have heard of one of an overseer, Mr. Coghlan, who threw a Slave into the boiling cane liquor; in consequence of which he died in about four days; the only reparation he made for the loss of the Slave was to supply his place with another Slave.

Did he suffer any other punishment besides paying for the Slave, and being discharged from the estate?

None.

Did not this happen on the very estate on which you were?

Yes; it did.

By whom were you informed of the fact?

By the son of the proprietor, and likewise by the carpenter of the estate, and by a great number of the Slaves; I have heard them frequently mention it.

Have you ever known entertainments given among the Negroes?

Yes; I have.

What do you suppose may be the cost of such an entertainment to the Slave who gives it?

About a thirty-six shilling piece.

What, agreeable to your observations, may be the usual earnings of a Field Slave, for his own benefit?

About six bits per week.

Do you mean of a Field Slave, placed in advantageous circumstances?

Yes; I don't mean the commonalty.

[E e]

What

What stock were the Slaves generally allowed to keep ?

They were not allowed to keep any sheep upon any plantations that I was ever acquainted with ; upon some plantations they were allowed to keep two or three goats, which they were obliged to tie with ropes about their necks, to prevent their getting into the canes or provision grounds ; but very few planters allow the Slaves to keep goats. Some keep a few pigs, and they are all allowed to keep poultry that are able to buy any.

Have you known any Slaves that were not able to buy poultry ?

Yes ; I have.

Did you ever know one single instance of a Field Negro purchasing his own freedom ?

No ; I never heard of such an instance.

Do you think that entertainments, which cost the Slave so much as thirty-six shillings, were frequent ?

No ; very rare.

While you were a manager, did you ever receive directions to pay any very particular attention to pregnant women or their children ?

No ; never.

Have you ever heard other managers express any opinion respecting the pregnancy of women, or the rearing of children ?

Yes ; their opinion was, that it would be cheaper to buy Slaves from Africa than to breed children.

Did you ever hear them say any thing about young children ?

Sucking children I have ; they have said, that they had rather they would die ; for they lost a great deal of the mother's work during the infancy of the child.

What, as far as you understood on the spot, was the greatest recommendation of a manager ?

That he made the most sugar.

On the estates with which you were acquainted, do you think there was any great disproportion of the sexes ?

I think they were much upon an equality.

Which

[III]

Which do you think, of the imported Africans, had the best chance for life; men or women?

The women.

As far as your observation went, do you think that deaths were, in fact, more frequent among the men or women on those plantations with which you were acquainted?

Among the men in general.

Was it your opinion, that a great many children died of the lock-jaw?

I never knew any.

Was it usual for the manager or overseer to enquire of what the children died?

Yes; it was.

Were the Free Negroes in general as orderly and well-disposed a set of people as most other in the same rank of society?

They were.

What were their usual employments?

Those who were brought up to a trade worked as journeymen with white people of the same trade, and those that were not, commonly employed themselves in fishing.

Did they gain more by fishing than they could have done by hiring themselves to field work?

Yes.

Is the whip of the driver a very severe instrument?

Yes, it is; it will bring blood through the breeches; and 20 strokes over the bare breech will lay them up for two or three days, if the driver chuses to lay it on severely.

Were you in Grenada when the last Slave Act passed; and what opinion did you hear given in the island respecting the operation of the act?

The opinion of it was, that it never would have the effect intended.

Did your observation of what passed after the act, lead you to think that it had produced much alteration for the better, in the treatment of the Slaves?

I did

I did not see any difference, excepting in the half days in the week.

Did the clergyman of the parish in which you resided perform the duty imposed upon him by that act?

No; never.

Were any complaints made against him for the non-performance of that duty?

Never, that I heard of.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. JOHN BOWMAN, Clerk to a Ship Builder, called in; and examined.

Were you ever in Africa?

Yes.

When; in what part; and in what station?

From 1765 to 1774, in the African employ, chiefly on the Windward Coast, as third, second, and chief mate.

What was the business of your station?

I was ordered to go as a trading mate up the country, to purchase Slaves, ivory, and camwood.

Were you ever any considerable distance up the rivers?

Yes; from twenty to between forty and fifty miles.

What rivers were these?

Scaffus, Sierra Leone, Junk, within the rocks of Grand Bassau, and Little Cape Mount River.

Did you ever stay any time up the country?

Yes; eight months, as a factor at the head of Sierra Leone River, and between seventeen and eighteen months at the head of the river Scaffus. At Junk, Grand Bassau, and Little Cape Mount Rivers I traded in a boat.

Were you sent from the ship that was on the Coast to settle in the interior country?

Yes;

Yes ; I was ordered up to keep a factory with ten Slaves money, and I proceeded up to the head of Scaffus, and settled.

Were you to send down to the ship the Slaves you might purchase ?

Yes.

What were the directions given you by your Captain when you went on this employment ?

To proceed up to the factory ; there I was to settle myself as a trader amongst the inhabitants. My orders were, to encourage the town's people, by supplying them with powder, ball, and ammunition, to go to war, and to give them all the encouragement that laid in my power to get Slaves.

In consequence of these instructions, what steps did you take on your arrival at Scaffus ?

As soon as I settled myself at the factory, I sent for the king and several gentlemen to come to the factory, and which they did. I told them the instructions I had from the Captain, and that I was come to live among them as a trader.

What did they say in reply, and what steps did they take in consequence ?

They informed me, they would instantly go to war in two or three days time—in the mean time I was setting the factory to rights, and getting every thing ready for trade ; in the course of that time they came to the factory, and told me they were going to war, and wanted some powder, ball, rum, and tobacco—they were all dressed with some kind of skins, and with great caps upon their heads, and with their faces painted white, in order to make them look dreadful ; they asked for a drink of rum, which I gave them, and they instantly went off.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Martis, 22^o die Februarii 1791.

MR. BOWMAN called in ; and further examined.

How many of them were there that so went off ?

Between twenty-five and thirty men.

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How

How long were they absent?

At the end of six or seven days some of them came back with two women, and a girl of about six or seven years old.

Did you ask them how they had got these Slaves?

Yes; and they said they had surrounded a small town in the night, and took these two women and the girl out; there were some men in the town at that time, who got clear of them, but they expected that the rest of the party whom they left behind would come in about three or four days, and bring the men. When the other party returned, they brought two men with them, and I was much surprised to find that they were two men with whom I had traded before; and in asking them questions, I found that the women I had bought before were their wives; I brought the women to them, and they were so overjoyed to find I had bought them, that they seemed to be more easy and composed, finding they were to go down to the ship together, and not to be separated again. I kept them a fortnight till I had purchased four or five more Slaves, and then I sent them down to the ship; on parting with me they made the greatest lamentations; I encouraged them up by telling them they were going to a good country, which made them more easy.

Had you frequently traded with the two men, and what had they sold you?

Yes, frequently; and they sold me ivory, camwood, yams, cassada, rice, fowls, and all kind of necessaries, which their country produced, and which they brought me in abundance.

Did the two women above-mentioned, when they were brought in, acquaint you with the manner of their having been seized?

Yes; as far as I could understand their language, and which I then spoke a little. They told me, that as they were sleeping in their beds they were surrounded by the war-men, who dragged them out of their houses and brought them off.

When the two men were brought in, did they confirm this account of the women, and mention their having so lost their wives?

Yes; and they told me, that they were taken in the same way themselves at night—that there were so many war-men that they could not find their wives among them, but they hoped to see them in my factory, as I always had behaved well to them while I traded with them.

Did

Did the war-men go out frequently during your stay at Scaffus?

Once or twice in eight or ten days.

Did you understand from them, that they constantly got Slaves in the same manner?

Yes.

Had you ever an opportunity of knowing, from your own personal observation, that the accounts they uniformly gave you were true?

Yes;—just before they went to war, it was always their custom to come to the factory, and demanded of me powder, ball, gun flints, and small shot, likewise rum, tobacco, and a few other articles I had in the factory. If they could meet with no Slaves at that time, they would bring me some ivory, camwood, &c.

Did you ever see any of these transactions with your own eyes?

Yes.—As soon as they were ready to go to war, they blew the horn, and made the war cry; and after I had supplied them with what was necessary, they went off. I used to go with them about half a mile out of the town, and then I left them, and came back to the factory.

Did you ever go with them still farther?

Sometimes about a mile, but never farther, till the time I went to war with them, in order to see how and in what manner that these poor unhappy creatures were taken. As soon as we had got out of the town, there might be between twenty-five and thirty men, armed with bows and arrows; some of them with muskets. We travelled all that day, till towards evening, when we came to a small river. I asked the war-men how far we had got to go; they answered, only a little way, but that they would not go over the river till it was dark. As soon as we had got over the river, which was about the middle of the night, I was afraid to go any further, and desired the King's son to leave me a guard of four men, which he complied with; he took the rest of the war-men with him, and left me. In the space of half an hour I heard the war cry; I asked the people that were left with me, what was the meaning of that cry? they told me that they had got to the town, and were making war, and that by and by all the war-men would come back. In the space of half an hour they came back to the place

place where they left me, and brought with them between twenty-five and thirty inhabitants, men, women, and children, and several young children at their mother's breast. At this time I saw the town in flames, which seemed to me very dreadful; and besides this, the poor unhappy creatures made the greatest lamentations. As soon as we got to the river on our return, one half of the war-men got over first, and left the other half behind, for fear any of the prisoners should get from them, and run into the woods. Some of the war-men took the little children from their mothers, and carried them over the river. After we had all got over, it was then just day-light, and we made the best of our way back to the town, where we arrived about the middle of the day; all the Slaves that we had taken at that time were carried to different parts of the town.

How were the captives commonly brought in by the war-men?

With strings about their necks, and some with their hands tied across.

During your residence at Scaffus, were there any persons convicted of crimes, and sold for Slaves in consequence?

No.

Did you ever see any fires in the night besides that you have lately mentioned?

Yes; whilst at the factory I have been called up in the nights to see fires. I asked the town's people the occasion of the fires; they told me that war was carrying on.

Did you ever see any remains of villages that appeared to have been burnt in such a way as to confirm this account?

Yes; in all the parts that I have been up the rivers before mentioned, we used to go by several deserted villages. I asked the people I had in the boat with me the reason of those towns being burnt and destroyed. They told me that war had been there, and had taken the people and carried them as Slaves to the ships then lying off the Coast.

Did you ever see any thing of this kind upon the sea coast itself?

Yes; at the time I was trading at Grand Buffau, as soon as I came to anchor in the boat I fired a gun, and a canoe came off with four black traders, with whom I went ashore; they asked me, when I got on shore, if I would go to the town, which was

about a mile from the shore; with which I complied. As we travelled along upon the sand, we came to a town that had been destroyed; there were two or three houses standing; it seemed to me to have had been a very fine town, as there were two very fine plantations of rice ready for cutting down. We travelled some time longer upon the sand, and came to another village, which was much in the same manner as the former. I asked them, if the inhabitants of these towns were taken in war, or left to go into the country; they told me, the first town I came to was taken by war, as there were a great many ships then lying at Buffau; the inhabitants of the other town had moved higher up into the country, for fear the White men should take them. We proceeded on our journey, till we came to the Traders Town. As we passed along, we saw several deserted villages. The traders informed me it was war that had destroyed all the villages, and the inhabitants taken out and sold to the White men.

Were you ever up the river Sherbro'?

No.

You have explained your mode of proceeding at the factory, at the head of the river Scaffus, and the way in which Slaves were there obtained by the Natives; Was the way of obtaining them the same up the other rivers on the Windward Coast, the heads of which you visited?

Yes.—As soon as we got to the head of the rivers we went ashore, and took rum, tobacco, &c. to the gentlemen of the place; and then the war-men go out as before-mentioned.

On what did the inhabitants of Scaffus, and the other places where you resided, subsist?

On rice, yams, cassada, fowls, fish, deer, and an animal called tomboes.

Did they cultivate any more rice, &c. than was sufficient for their own consumption?

Yes.

How did they dispose of this surplus?

They sent it down to the ships, then lying in the rivers, in large periocas or canoes, carrying about eight or ten men.

Are you sure that they sent these things down from such distances up the rivers as you have mentioned?

[G g]

Yes,

Yes, I am.—At the time I was in the factory at Scaffus, I wrote several letters to my agent at Sierra Leone, about sending a fresh supply of goods up to the factory, and to send them up by these people, whom I found to be very honest and good men.

Were rice and other articles also carried about for sale inland?

There were such quantities of rice and provisions in all parts of the town, that I have seen several countrymen, not war-men, but trading men, with every one a basket of rice, which contained forty or fifty pounds weight, besides fowls, eggs, and all kind of provisions, which I have purchased, and in return gave them tobacco, and all sorts of beads.

Whence did you understand they brought this supply of rice, &c.?

I understood it was the way that the Natives traded with the White people, in regard to purchasing necessaries for their use; it was brought from the inland country.

By whom were the rice fields cultivated?
By the inhabitants of the country.

Had the inhabitants any Slaves of their own?
None that I know of, except two or three old men that lived at Scaffus, who belonged to the king.

Did you understand why these old men were kept?
No.

Did the inhabitants appear to you industrious, and disposed to trade in the articles of their native produce?
Yes.

Did you see reason to believe they would have cultivated more ground, if a larger supply had been wanted by ships on the coast?
Yes.

What made you think so?
I have often asked them, when I have been in conversation with them, if they liked to trade with White Men in their own produce. They said, Yes, with good White Men they should, and they would soon make more plantations of rice.

Did

Did you ever know any instances of an European ship carrying off, or attempting to carry off, any of the Natives in a fraudulent manner?

Yes; at the time I belonged to Captain Strangeways, then lying in the river Sierra Leone, being called from the factory to make all ready, as our people were all dead on board except six, five besides our Captain, I came down, when he sent me ashore, and desired me to give his compliments to two traders, and invite them on board; we were then lying at a place called White Man's Bay, and at that time under single anchor, ready to sail. I went ashore according to his orders, and brought on board with me the two gentlemen traders. The Captain took them down into the cabin, and made them drink to such an excess, that they were unable to stand. It was then almost night, and the land breeze making down the river—we were then employed in getting sail upon the vessel, and making all ready to purchase our anchor. In the mean time, a canoe came along side us; the men came on board to bid our Captain farewell. Our Captain ordered some rum, and tobacco and pipes to be given to these men. As soon as they had got these few articles, they went again into the canoe, and made the best of their way to shore. Then the Captain ordered us to weigh our anchor, and we got out to sea. After we had got settled, the Captain called me down into the cabin, and pointed to the sail case, and told me to look into it, and see what a fine prize he had got; and I was much surprised to find there the two men I had brought on board, whom he had made drunk, and concealed therein. They were still laying fast asleep, till, about three hours after, they waked, and found themselves out at sea. They were ordered upon deck, put in irons, and sent forward amongst the men Slaves, and on our arrival at Antigua, were sold as such.

What did the two men say when they came to themselves, and discovered their situation?

They made lamentations, and were sorry that white men should be such great rogues to take them from their own country, as they were free men.

Did the Natives of Africa appear afraid, at any time, to come aboard your ship?

Yes; when the ship was under sail, they were afraid to come along side. As I was going in a vessel to Old Calabar, off Grand Sesters, a canoe came off, and we might then be about two leagues

leagues from shore. After they came within hale, we could not get them to come along side, till shewing them several articles, and their hearing a person speaking in their own language, they ventured at last to come along side, but did not come aboard. We purchased every thing they had on board, and then they went off, seemingly greatly rejoiced.

Have you ever heard accounts on which you could depend, of the Natives having been carried off fraudulently by European traders?

I have heard, at the time I was trading among them, several reports of that kind related by themselves; that they had lost their own children, taken away by white men; but I have never seen any thing of the kind since I saw that of Captain Strangeways.

Were frauds practised by Europeans in their commercial dealings with the Natives of Africa?

Yes; in mixing their rum with water; in their powder kegs, which appear large on the outside, but hold only a little; in false steelyards and weights.

Were the inhabitants of the villages in which you resided in different parts of Africa of a friendly and hospitable disposition, or the reverse?

They were friendly and hospitable.

Did they seem to be just and punctual in their commercial dealings?

Yes.

What might be the number of inhabitants in the village at the head of the river Scaffus, when you first went there to settle as a factor?

Only a few; about twenty five or twenty-six men, women, and children, and about six or seven houses.

What might be the size of the village, and the number of the inhabitants at the time of your leaving it?

There might be between forty and fifty houses; as to the number of inhabitants I cannot exactly say; but I believe about 120 or 130.

When you arrived at Scaffus, and found it so small a place, did you think you could establish a factory there to advantage?

Not at first, till I got ashore and went to the King, and asked him, If there would be strangers come to settle there, as a White man was come to trade with them? He said, Yes. The few men that belonged to the town at that time went up into the country, and told them that a White man was come to live with them, and had brought a great deal of goods; and in the course of a few days several people came to build houses there, and they inhabited it very fast, which gave me a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

Yes.

In what islands?

At Jamaica, Antigua, Grenada, Saint Vincents, Dominique, and Barbadoes.

Have you, in most of those islands, seen Guinea seamen lying about in an ulcerated abject state, without the means of supporting themselves?

Yes.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. JOHN DOUGLAS, Boatswain of the Ruffel Man of War, called in; and examined.

Have you ever been in Africa?

Yes; in the year 1771.

In what vessel?

In the Warwick Castle Slave ship.

Did you only go one voyage?

Only one; because I could not bear with the nasty filthiness and disagreeableness of the voyage.

Were the seamen as well treated on board your ship as in others of which you had any knowledge?

The seamen were well treated on board our ship.

Were you suffered to lodge between decks?

Not when the Slaves were on board.

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Do

Do you recollect how many seamen you had on board, and how many died?

The number on board were fifty-three, and the number that died during the voyage were seven.

Had you plenty of provisions?

Yes.

Have you reason to think that the seamen on board the other Slave ships, with which you met on the Coast of Africa, were as well treated and as well fed as they were in your own?

I have reason to think not; because there were ships, the Gregson, of Liverpool, and others which I cannot mention, whose boats frequently came on board the Warwick Castle, and whenever they did, the seamen were begging provisions of us; on which we applied to our Captain, and begged him to put us to an allowance of provisions, as the boats were so frequently coming on board and begging provisions, and greatly destroyed our provisions, to such a degree, we were afraid of the Captain finding fault with our making away with so much provisions.

Do you know any thing of the manner in which the Slaves were procured?

Yes; I went ashore at Bonny Point with a boat to haul upon the beach to be cleaned, and I saw a young woman come out of the wood to the waterside to bathe; afterwards, I saw two men come out of the wood, who seized the woman, secured her hands behind her back, beat her, and ill-used her, on account of the resistance she made, and brought her down to me, and desired me to put her on board, which I did; for it was the Captain's orders to the ship's company, whenever any body came down with Slaves, instantly to put them off to the ship.

Have you any reason to think that other persons were taken in the same manner?

Yes.—When a ship arrives at Bonny, it is the custom for the king to send his war canoes up the rivers, where they surprize and take all the people they can lay hold of. We had a young man aboard that was taken by them, together with his father, his mother, and three sisters. The reason of my knowing this was, the young man was very shortly learned to speak English, and was sold at Montego Bay, and attended a wharf. The ship lying there near six months, this man frequently came on board to see us, and he has often told us the manner in which he was taken.

Did

Did he inform you that this was a common practice?
Yes.

Have you frequently seen the war canoes go out?
Yes.

Did they always go armed?
Yes.

Were any Slaves brought on board your ship, besides those who came in the king's canoes?
Yes.

Do you recollect any difference, as to the manner or the time of such being brought?

Yes; those sent by the king came on board openly in the day-time; those that did not come in then, came on board in the evening, with one or two Slaves bound hand and foot, and lying in the boat's bottom, covered over with mats.

Did you ever know or hear of kidnapping, or attempting to kidnap, Negroes by the Guinea ships?

Yes; near Cape Coast it is customary for the Natives to make smoke on shore, as a signal to trade; we saw the smoke, and stood in shore with the ship, and a number of canoes came off. We got pipes, tobacco, and brandy on deck, in order to entice them on board; unlaid the gratings, cleared the Slave room, and made every preparation to seize them, had they come on board. They would not come on board, although we so endeavoured to entice them.

Did any of them come up the ship's sides?

Two only, and stood in the main chains; but as soon as we attempted to go near them, they jumped overboard, and all the canoes made for the shore.

Did you know of any vessel which had succeeded in seizing many of the Negroes?

Yes; the Gregson, of Liverpool, came into Bonny while we lay there, and her people came on board us, and informed us they had kidnapped, in running down the coast, thirty-two Slaves.—She had Slaves on board, for I saw them.

Was

Was it not then usual for vessels bound to Eonny to stop to trade for Slaves before they got thither?

No.

Do you think that the Slaves were much subject to sea-sickness?

I do not; for I always observed they eat their victuals heartily.

Have you been often in the West Indies, and in what employ, and in what year?

Yes; from 1766 to 1782, in the merchants and king's service.

Have you ever seen Guinea seamen in the different West India Islands, lying or wandering about the streets or wharfs in a diseased and miserable condition?

Yes; I have seen them frequently; mostly in Jamaica.

Do you know of any particular name by which they were known?

Yes; they were called Wharfingers.

Do you recollect whether Captains of men of war were willing to take Guinea seamen on board?

They were not.

Do you recollect on which side of Jamaica you have seen most of these people?

On the north side.

Do you think that those whom you have seen on the north side of the island, were in a condition to be capable of walking to Kingston to obtain relief?

Many of them were not capable.

Have you ever seen the funerals of Guinea Negroes in the West Indies?

Yes; I recollect having seen three.

Did you observe whether there were any rejoicings?

Yes; I saw rejoicings.

Were you informed of the reason of those rejoicings?

Yes; they sing and are merry; and, mentioning the name of the deceased, they say he is going home to Guinea.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw:

Mercurii, 23^o die Februarii 1791.

MAJOR General TOTTENHAM called in; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

I was.

When, at what islands, and how long?

I went out in the year 1779, with four regiments under my command; I was about twenty months in the island of Barbadoes, some time at Saint Lucia, Saint Kitts, and Saint Eustatius.

Did it appear to you that the Slaves in the British islands were treated with mildness or severity?

I think in the island of Barbadoes they were treated with the greatest cruelty; I was there a considerable time. I am no judge of the other islands, not being there any length of time.

Did the punishments appear to you to be severe?

All those I saw were remarkably so. I will mention one instance, which I attended out of curiosity. I was at a Planter's house when the jumper came. I heard him ask the master of the house, whether he had any commands for him, he said no; the jumper then went to the mistress, and asked the same question, the mistress replied, yes;—she directed him to take out two very decent women who attended at the table, and to give each of them a dozen. I expostulated with her upon the occasion, but it had no effect. They were taken out to the public parade, and I had the curiosity to go and see the performance. The jumper carried a long whip, much such an one as our waggoners carry; he ordered one of the women to turn her back, and to take up her clothes entirely, and the jumper gave her a dozen upon the breech; every stroke brought flesh from her; she behaved with

astounding fortitude. After the punishment, she, according to the custom, made a curtesy, and thanked him. The other received the same punishment, and behaved in the same manner. I saw the consequence of another punishment, but which I did not see inflicted. About three weeks before the hurricane, I saw a young man, about nineteen years old, walking the streets in a most deplorable situation—he was entirely naked—he had an iron collar about his neck, with five long spikes projecting from it; his body before and behind, his breech, belly, and thighs were almost cut to pieces, and with running ulcers all over them, and you might put your fingers in some of the wheals. He could not sit down, owing to his breech being in a state of mortification, and it was impossible for him to lay down, owing to the projection of the prongs of the collar round his neck. The boy came to me, and asked me to give him some relief. I was shocked at his appearance, and asked him, what he had done to suffer such a punishment, and who it was that inflicted it upon him. He told me it was his master, who lived about two miles from the town; and that as he could not work, he would give him nothing to eat.

Did the generality of the Slaves appear to you to bear the mark of the whip?

Very few of them that did not—if it is severely laid on, they retain the marks for many years.

Did the punishments appear to you to be more or less severe than regimental punishments?

There is no comparison at all—the plantation punishments being so much more severe, and for this reason, our punishments only cut the skin, and theirs cut out the flesh.

What was the general estimation in which Negro Slaves seemed to you to be held among the Whites?

The Field Negroes were treated more like brutes than human species—the House Negroes are clothed, and better fed.

How did the Slaves in general appear to you to be fed?

Very ill; from the information I could get, the allowance of each Slave for twenty-four hours was a pint of grain, which they boiled; and sometimes they were allowed half a rotten herring, when they were to be had—when they were not fit for the White people, they were bought up by the Planters, and given to the Negroes.

Did

Did it appear to you, that in general proper care was taken of such Slaves who were superannuated and past labour?

No; there was no care taken of them—they are turned adrift, and obliged to live by plunder—I have seen them myself—I remember in particular seeing an old woman who was passed her labour, and she told me she was set adrift by her master to shift for herself—I remember seeing her about three days after, lying dead in the same place.

Did it seem to you that attention was paid to the keeping up the stock by breeding?

Not at all; on the contrary, I believe several of them discouraged it; I saw very few children in proportion to the number of Slaves.

Did the people express themselves to be anxious and attentive to this subject?

Not in the least.

Did women before and after child-birth appear to be treated with peculiar tenderness, or to be exempted from the lash?

With respect to the lash I can say nothing; with respect to their treatment, I have seen them work with the hoe, and their naked infants lying on the ground close by them.

Had you ever an opportunity of seeing the situation of refuse Slaves?

Yes, I have; in the year 1780, there was a Dutch Guineaman taken and brought into Barbadoes; as well as I can recollect, they had about 270 Slaves on board; I attended the most part of the sale of these Slaves; I observed a number of sick Slaves that were landed from the ship; they were brought into the yard adjoining the place of sale; those that were not very ill were put into little huts, and those that were worse were left in the yard to die, for nobody gave them any thing to eat or drink; and some of these lived three days in that situation.

What in general appeared to you to be the disposition of the Free Negroes?

They seemed to me to be very industrious; the greatest misfortune of all Negroes is, that nobody will take the pains of enlightening them; they are kept in darkness. I observed a vast difference between the Negroes at Saint Lucia and any others, owing to the care and attention of the priest, who instructed them in religion and morality.

Did

Did you ever see, whilst in Barbadoes, Guinea seamen lying about in an abject, neglected state?

I have seen a great many English seamen in great distress, for the Captains of the merchantmen frequently set them ashore, and leave them there to shift for themselves. I cannot say from what ships they came, but that they came from the merchantmen.

Did you, whilst in the French islands, see the sailors in the same situation?

I was only in Saint Lucia, and that was a conquered island, and in the hands of the English, and there I saw several English seamen lying in the same situation.

Did it seem to you that the owners of Slaves were anxious to prevent promiscuous intercourse, and to keep the Slaves to regular marriages?

No; there was no sort of pains taken to prevent it, not even with domestic Slaves waiting on their mistresses.

Can you be sure that the impression on your mind concerning the ill treatment of the Slaves was made at the time, and on the spot?

Yes; I am very positive of it, for I repeatedly told the people of Bridge Town, that I hoped to live to see the unfortunate situation of those poor wretches taken up by some Member of the British Parliament; that should such an event take place, I should look upon it as a duty incumbent upon me to offer a voluntary declaration of what I knew of the matter.

Do you think that an immediate abolition of the Slave Trade could take place, without material injury to the West India islands, and to Great Britain?

I think a present abolition would be attended with very serious consequences; but if those unfortunate beings were put under proper regulations, not left to the tyranny of their cruel masters, and should be instructed to know the difference between virtue and vice, and the propagation of them was properly encouraged, and encouragement held out to them to behave well, I think that at a future period, that the Slave Trade would die away of itself.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. ROBERT FORSTER, of Heblethwaite, Yorkshire,
called in; and examined.

Have you ever been in the West Indies, when, and in what islands?

Yes; in all the British islands, except in Jamaica, from the beginning of the year 1772 to some time in 1778, in all about six years; I was the first four years as an apprentice, in a store in Saint John's, Antigua; for the remainder of the time, a midshipman, and second master and pilot of the King's brig the Endeavour.

What opportunities had you of gaining information of the state of the Town and Plantation Slaves?

By living amongst them in the towns, and by frequently going into the country to collect debts, and visiting the managers; and while in the King's ship I used to spend a great deal of time among them, having been acquainted with them before.

What was the opinion you formed at the time, of the general situation and treatment of the slaves?

The general idea impressed on my mind was, that they were severely treated, and appeared in a low depressed situation.

What do you know respecting the situation of the plantation Slaves in particular, in point of food, work, treatment, and punishment?

In Antigua, the common allowance was seven pints of corn, or horsebeans, for all able working Negroes, with about three or four herrings per week, and occasionally a little salt, and sometimes I have observed them with rum, but that not very common. Their work is hard. The bell calls them to work at day-break. They have two hours at noon allowed them, and from thence they work till sun-set; but it is expected that during the hours of rest they should pick grafts. They are treated without any regard or respect to them as fellow creatures, but merely as articles of property, and they are severely punished for slight offences.

Have they not some ground allowed them to cultivate for their own benefit, and what time is given them for that purpose?

They have a small plot of ground, not many yards square, allowed them by their owners, to cultivate for their own advantage. They have no other time but Sundays to cultivate it; but

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there

there were a few exceptions, in which they were allowed the Saturday afternoon.

Is it your opinion, that the implements of husbandry and the mode of cultivation were such as to diminish as much as possible the labour of the Slaves?

No, they were not. The plough might be introduced to advantage in performing several operations in their agriculture, and though perhaps not entirely to supersede the use of the hoe, yet might ease the Negroes of many difficult and laborious parts of their manual labour; also in grinding their own corn, which they were obliged to do in the night by hand, and which during crop time was a great hardship; they might be much relieved by some trifling mechanism applied to the sugar mills, and in many other instances. In general, they seem to have no idea of introducing any improvements to alleviate the labour of their Slaves.

Do you know of any opinion which was esteemed generally to prevail, and which you conceive to have been an obstacle to the introduction of such improvements?

I have understood, and I believe that it was the general opinion, that if Negroes were not constantly kept at hard labour, they would become insolent and unruly.

Is the instrument with which they are punished of such a nature as to cut into the flesh, and leave indelible marks?

Yes, it is.

What attention was in general paid to marriage, or the rearing of children?

There was no attention paid at all to marriage. It did not appear to me, that there was as much attention paid to the rearing of their children as we pay to rearing of our calves.

What attention was paid to instructing them in the principles of religion or morality?

Little or no attention was paid in the instructing them in religion and morality.

Have you known exceptions, in which attention was paid to all or any of these particulars, and what were the effects of such a difference in their treatment?

I have known exceptions. As to their paying attention to breeding

breeding and rearing infant Negroes, it has been attended with great success and great increase.—A widow Shervington was left in embarrassed circumstances with five or six Negroes, and by kind treatment they increased in the course of fifteen or twenty years to about fifteen or more; and several other instances of the like kind I remember, which it is superfluous to relate. As to plantations, upon the whole of Colonel Farley's plantations they had no necessity for a supply of new Negroes; I have heard him say, that there was a considerable increase upon one in particular. There was also a Mr. Thomas Gravener, whose Negroes increased. There was also a Captain Thomason, of Sea Cow Bay, in Tortola, whom I personally knew, and who never has wanted a supply of new Negroes for many years past. With respect to instructing them in religion and morality, where it has been attempted, as I know it has upon several estates on the island of Antigua, it was attended with an evident advantage, as was apparent both in their manners and behaviour.—It was the Moravian missionaries who were encouraged to instruct them. This proves that their minds are open to instruction.

Was it usual for the established clergy, in the island of Antigua, to bestow much attention in the instruction of the Slaves?

I believe that they did not pay any at all.

Was it generally imagined, that those estates were in the most flourishing situation which bought the greatest Number of African Negroes?

By no means; it was exactly the reverse.

Did you ever know or hear of a single instance of a Field Negro purchasing his own freedom?

No; never.

What, in your opinion, is the situation of the House Negroes, or Town Slaves, and in what points did it appear to you to differ from that of the Field Negroes?

The House Negroes have much less labour; but their situation, in some respects, is perhaps more hard; for they are placed immediately under the hand of very capricious and passionate masters and mistresses, and are frequently punished not only corporally, but with numberless teizing mortifications, that are very painful to endure. They are likewise not so regularly supplied with food. Where they have a regular allowance, it never, that I know of, exceeded half a bit a day; and I believe frequently that some are

are under the necessity to have recourse to theft or prostitution for necessary food. The women domestics are expected to dress themselves neatly, and having no supply of clothes from their masters or mistresses, the consequence is, that they must betake themselves to indirect methods to obtain them.

Are they whipt publicly by order of their owners, and are those whippings severe?

Not often publicly; but their private whippings are very severe, and I have known a Creole woman drop hot sealing-wax on a Negro wench's back after a flogging. I also remember, with many other persons, seeing a young woman of fortune and character flog a Negro man very severely with her own hands. Many instances of the like kind I could relate, if necessary; they are almost innumerable.

Were the domestics, of whom you have been speaking, those of the towns or those on the plantations in the country?

I have been speaking, in general, to those of the towns.

What legal protection was a Slave understood to enjoy against his master?

None at all, for any injury short of murder.

Did you ever know of a murder committed by an owner on a Slave, and what was the punishment which ensued?

A little before I arrived at Antigua, a person called Patrick, an huckster, had been guilty of the murder of a woman Slave, with circumstances of the most atrocious and savage barbarity;—he was brought to trial, convicted, and fined.

Did you know this man?

Yes, very well; and the fact was universally known.

Did he pursue his business as usual?

Yes; and though he was universally blamed, he was dealt with as usual.

What redress can the Negroes obtain for injuries committed upon them by White persons not their owners?

They have no mode of obtaining redress; and even sometimes their owners cannot obtain redress for them.

Do such injuries frequently occur?

Yes; daily.

Did you ever know a Negro put to death by an indifferent person, without being brought to punishment?

Yes; I know two instances; one of a Negro woman, drowned by some seamen of the Favorite sloop of war; the other of a Negro man, knocked on the head and drowned, for stealing a piece of beef, alongside a merchantman, in St. John's Harbour. These facts were well known; but no further enquiry was made.

Have you ever known Negroes turned adrift by their owners when past labour?

Yes; but not many.

Do you know of any points in which Negroes are subject to very great hardships, by being considered, in the eye of the law, merely as property?

Yes; they are liable to be taken in execution for their owners debts, and are confined in a close disagreeable dungeon until the time of sale.

Have you ever known families separated at such sales?

Yes; there was no regard paid, that I remember, to selling families together. I saw a family of Mulatto and Black Slaves sold at vendue upon the wharf, and separated into different islands.

Did they discover any signs of uneasiness at being so separated?

Yes; and great sorrow.

Do you know of any particular circumstances usually attendant on the funerals of African Negroes in the West Indies?

Yes; they seem then to shew the most extravagant joy, by dancing and singing, from the hope and belief that the deceased is gone back to their own country.

Do you know any thing of the situation of Guinea seamen in the West Indies?

Yes; I have seen many of these deplorable objects, particularly upon the beach at Roseau, Dominique; and when we were in Careenage in Grenada, there were seven seamen from on board a Guineaman that was lying there, they were exceedingly emaciated and full of sores, and complained much of the ill treatment they had received during their voyage; in a few months time they were so much altered for the better that they scarcely could

be known to be the same men ; the Captains of men of war upon that station sometimes do take them for the purpose of recovering their wages from their masters, but generally don't chuse to keep them for fear of infection.

Do you know of any particular names by which those distressed seamen are known, either at Dominique or in the other Islands ?

In Antigua they are called Wharfingers, and in Dominique Scow-bankers.

Did you live at Lancaster at or about the time when Slave ships were fitted out from that port ?

Yes ; I did.

Do you know any thing of the ease or difficulty with which those ships were manned, of the treatment of their men, or of the proportion of the crews which found their way back to England ?

From the ill treatment they received, and from the small numbers that returned, the young men were discouraged from entering on that service, and they were therefore obliged to take some of their ships round to Liverpool to man them.

And the Witness desired to add to his evidence,

That the lives of a prodigious quantity of Negroes were carelessly and impolitically sacrificed in clearing the lee side of Dominique for sugar plantations—one instance I recollect of a Planter who was about clearing an estate on the south side of Prince Rupert's Bay, that purchased thirty new Negroes, and lost them all within the year.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 24. die Februarii 1791.

MR. FORSTER called in ; and further examined.

You have said, that instances daily occur of injuries committed against Negroes by White persons, not their owners, for which they are unable to obtain redress, can you specify any of those daily instances ?

Yes ;

Yes ; I am not going to speak to particular individuals, but generally. The Negro porters, who pay a sum to their master or mistress weekly, and employ their time to the best advantage for themselves, having no fixed rate of portage, are liable to, and endure great impositions and hardships—if they are offered an inadequate sum for their labour, and attempt to remonstrate, they are very frequently beat, and receive nothing ; and if they should refuse upon the next call from the same person, they are liable to be summoned before a magistrate, and be punished upon the parade for such refusal, and I have known instances of their being so punished—the Negroes that bring goods to town to sell, also suffer the like grievances, having frequently their goods taken from them without pay, and sometimes with a beating ; and the indignities the Negroes receive in the markets from the White sailors and others, are frequent, vexatious, and severe.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Captain JOHN SAMUEL SMITH, of the Royal Navy, called in ; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies ?

Yes ; in the year 1772, and in 1777 and part of 1778, at the Windward Islands, Antigua, and the islands contiguous, for upwards of a twelvemonth altogether.

Had you any opportunities of observing the state and treatment of the plantation Slaves ?

Yes, several ; from falling in with an old schoolfellow who was a manager, and who introduced me to many others of that description.

What were your first impressions respecting the situation and treatment of the Negro Slaves ?

That they were treated more like beasts than the human species.

Did you express to any of the inhabitants your sense of their treatment ?

Yes, frequently ; their reply was, Do not you frequently punish on board Ship ? My answer was, Yes ; but not to be compared with the cruel punishments inflicted on shore, which I have requested they would

would take an opportunity of seeing, by coming to be present at some punishments, should any happen, and of which I would endeavour to give them notice ; but none, however, did happen afterwards.

What was the usual mode of punishing the Slaves ?

The mode I have in general seen practised, was a Negro stretched on his belly on the ground, a man at each hand and a man at each leg ; the punishment inflicted by a Black man with a whip, whose thong was of considerable length, the thickest part of the size of a man's thumb, and tapering to a small lash ; at every stroke a piece of flesh was drawn out, and that with a degree of great unconcern to the director of the punishment.

What were the most frequent occasions of Slaves being punished ?

Grafs picking and thieving ; the theft generally of provisions of some kind. I speak from the best of my recollection ; some instances are fresh in my memory.

Did you apprehend that the Slaves stealing provisions had been owing to their being ill fed ?

Some instances of that I remember, and some when they have carried it to market, and sold it to other Negroes.

In what way was it that grafs picking became the frequent cause of the Slaves being punished ?

From some not getting so great a quantity as others, and that at a time when I have thought it impossible they could get half the quantity, having been upon the spot.

Was this grafs picking performed after their day's work, or did it constitute a part of it ?

In general after, which I have observed upon to the manager.

Was it before or after sun-set they went out grafs picking ?

They pick it as they come home from work in general, and I have frequently seen them not get home till near dark, but that depends upon the distance the works are from their habitations ; my idea is, that they seldom leave work till sun-set, let the distance be what it may, and they are obliged to pick grafs all the way home.

Were the generality of the plantation Slaves marked with the whip?

Very generally; the only instance to the contrary, is what I shall speak to on a plantation at Grenada. [*Vide p. 139, mark*.*]

Did it appear to you, or was it generally understood, that the Slaves could obtain legal redress in case of ill treatment on the part of their master, or other White Person?

No, by no means; one particular instance I wish to speak to, which was a Slave, who paid his master for leave to work for his own advantage, kept a shop with some Slaves under him, was employed on a job by a gentleman of property, who upon being displeased with the man's conduct, to the best of my recollection, for not having performed the job in the time he expected, sent for him, and punished him publicly in the manner I have before described, without the Slave's having the smallest redress, and this I have no doubt frequently happens. I have heard of many instances of the like.

Did the Slave ever appear to suffer in consequence of his master being embarrassed in his circumstances?

I have heard of many instances, and have heard it frequently observed, if you want to know the circumstances of a proprietor, you may judge of it by the appearance of his Slaves.

Did it appear to you, that the non-residence of Planters was generally injurious to their interests, and productive of ill consequences to the Slaves?

Yes; I should suppose the residence of the Planter a necessary check upon the manager, and this was so generally understood. I have seen instances of the managers paying particular attention to their own stock and Slaves, which I suppose he could not have done had the proprietor been on the spot; and this difference of treatment must, no doubt, cause much jealousy to the Field Negroes.

Did you observe any difference between the allowance of food made to the owner's and manager's Slaves?

Yes; I have frequently seen a greater proportion given to the manager's Slaves, and it is a common observation, that it is easy to know the manager's Slaves from the owner's, owing to their better appearance.

Do managers ever buy Slaves for the owners?

Yes; but it is generally in conjunction with the attorney.

[M m]

Do

Do the managers possess Slaves of their own?
Yes.

Is there not reason to believe, that they favour their own Slaves in the article of labour and other particulars, at the expence of their masters?

Yes; particularly in the article of grafts picking, which I have frequently seen, and have no doubt but the grafts in general is appropriated to the manager more than the owner; managers never employ their own Slaves for this purpose.

Do the managers always, or generally keep stock?

It is in general considered as a certain part of their income, and I have no doubt that the stock is fed at the expence of the proprietor.

Did it appear to you, that the planters attended with any great care to the keeping up their stock of Slaves by breeding?

No; never.

Did the managers appear to you more attentive to this object in the case of their own Slaves?

I always considered it in that light, having seen instances which have convinced me of it.

Did the managers seem to you in general to be in prosperous circumstances?

Yes; and that often when the proprietors have appeared to be going behindhand.

Did it appear to you that any attempts were made to check promiscuous intercourse among the Slaves, and to introduce regular and domestic habits?

No; never. I have known frequent instances, where people from the ships have visited the manager and overseer, and had opportunities given by them of selecting out such women as might answer their private purpose.

Were the Negroes wives secure from the White persons on an estate, if they wished to be faithful to their husbands?

No; I have known complaints made of the overseer having infringed in that particular, against the will of the woman, without redress.

Was

Was this promiscuous intercourse connived at by persons, from whom a conduct of this sort might be least expected?

Yes; in general it was.

Did it appear to you that proper care was taken of Slaves, when superannuated or past labour?

No; by no means. I have seen many instances to the contrary; and upon observing to the inhabitants the situation of such objects, I have been given to understand that building hospitals for such a purpose would be endless, as the Slaves would be induced to bring complaints upon themselves for the purpose of leaving the estate.

Was it a practice not unusual for women, in a respectable station of life, to stand by and see the punishment inflicted upon their own Slaves?

It was understood to be a practice very common. I have known instances of it myself.

What idea did you form of the capacity and disposition of the Negroes?

I always considered them as keen, sensible, and well-disposed people, where their habits were not vitiated by cruel treatment.

Did it then appear to you necessary to treat them with so much severity?

No, by no means; having seen an instance where the reverse treatment has produced a good effect.

Vide p. 137.

Did you ever mention that instance to any managers whom you saw proceeding on a different principle?

Yes, many times; and received for answer, it might be put in execution in particular instances; but that it would be impossible to get the work done if it was in general practised.

In that instance then, is the Committee to understand, that less work was done than on plantations in general with an equal number of Slaves?

No; I understood from the manager, that more work was done than on the plantations where the treatment was otherwise.

Do you know whether any attention was paid on that estate to the pairing of the Slaves?

No;

No ; I do not remember making that enquiry ; but I saw the principles of religion the first object of the manager, which appeared to me to have a very good effect.

Do you apprehend, that if the Slaves are ill used by the manager, they dare apply for redress to the attorney, except in very atrocious instances ?

No ; I firmly believe the opinion of the Slaves is, that the attorney and manager are one and the same thing, with respect to understanding each other.

Did you ever see any balls or recreations of that sort amongst the Field Slaves ?

I cannot say I ever did ; but I have frequently seen it amongst the House Slaves.

Did it appear to you, on the whole, that the state of Negro Slaves could bear any sort of comparison with that of the peasantry of this country ?

No ; by no means. I always considered them as treated and spoke of as cattle.

Had you any opportunity of judging whether the Slave Trade is or is not a nursery for seamen ?

Yes ; frequent opportunities, having been employed to board Guineamen, for the purpose of impressing men ; and although I suppose I may have boarded near twenty vessels at different times, I never was able to get more than two men ; and they turned out to be such cruel inhuman fellows, that we were under the necessity of dismissing them the ship, although good seamen. But the principal reason of my not being able to procure men was, the fear of infection, having seen many of them very much ulcerated and otherwise disordered ; and although frequently solicited by them for that purpose, and told, if I did not receive them, they should be sent ashore, and left behind in the country.

Have you, in the case of any other trade, received applications from seamen, requesting to be taken from aboard their own ships into those of His Majesty ?

No ; it is so uncommon a thing, that circumstances of that kind seldom or never happen.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. WILLIAM DUNCAN called in; and examined.

Have you ever been in the West Indies?

I have.

In what island, at what period, and for how long a time, and in what situation?

In Antigua, from January 1785 to July 1789, in the capacity of a clerk in a store, for six or eight months; afterwards as overseer, for about two years and a half; the remaining part of the time I kept a store for myself.

What was your first impression of the situation and treatment of the Slaves?

I thought they looked very poorly and ill treated.

What is the usual allowance of food given to the plantation Slaves in the island of Antigua?

A gallon of Indian corn or horse beans once a week, with sometimes a couple of herrings; at other times twenty-four pounds of yams, with a little salt.

Have they any, and what quantity of ground allowed them to cultivate for their own benefit, and what time is given them for that purpose?

I cannot exactly say what quantity each Negro had, but the whole of our Negroes, which consisted of 162, had only among them six or seven acres, and that but indifferent ground; they are allowed Sunday to cultivate it, and sometimes the Saturday afternoon, out of crop time.

At what time of the year do the Negroes appear in the best condition?

Rather towards the end of crop time.

Do they at other times appear ill fed?

Yes.

Are they ever driven by hunger to steal?

Yes; I should suppose so.

What is it usually that Negroes do steal?

Provision.

Do they often incur any great risk in so doing?

Yes; they run the risk of being cut and beat by the watchmen.

What, in your opinion, is the utmost sum which a common Field Negro, of an industrious disposition, is able to earn in a week, for his own benefit?

About fourteen pence sterling.

Have you frequently known entertainments given by the Negroes?

Very seldom.

What do you apprehend might be the utmost expence of such as you have seen?

About six dollars.

Have you ever known plantation Slaves possessed of any considerable property?

No.

Did you ever know or hear of a single instance of such buying their own freedom.

No.

Do you think that in general the allowance of provisions given by their masters, and the quantity they are able to raise in their own ground, is sufficient to support them and their families in a proper and comfortable manner?

No.

Have you ever heard any expressions from the Negroes which confirmed you in that opinion?

I have often heard them say, " Hungry kill somebody ;" and I have frequently heard them complain for want of provisions.

What did you think of the manner in which the plantation Slaves were usually treated?

I thought they were cruelly treated.

Did you think they were attended to, as it is incumbent on one man to consult the welfare of another?

No.

Do you recollect any thing of the manner in which pregnant women and their children are treated?

The

The pregnant women upon the estate where I lived did little work after they were four months gone with child;—did not come out till eight in the morning, and went home by four in the afternoon—if wet they did not come out at all; the women at times work a little, and their children were left with old women in the field; they are allowed to suckle them.

Did you understand that the general treatment of pregnant women upon the island was as good as that you have described?

Upon a neighbouring estate it was the same—I cannot say as to other estates.

What is your opinion of the work which the plantation Slaves in general were required to perform?

I look upon it to be laborious according to their strength and abilities to perform it.

What are the usual punishments inflicted upon Negroes?

Sometimes that of thirty-nine lashes, sometimes they are confined with chains and collars, and sometimes with iron boots upon their ancles.

Are their whippings severe, or otherwise?

They are severe.

Are they often disproportionate to the offences, or wantonly inflicted?

They sometimes are wantonly inflicted, and sometimes disproportionate to the offences.

Do many Negroes bear about them the marks of the whip?

Yes.

Have you seen them severely cut by the whip?

I have seen a Negro so cut that he could not lie upon his back, or set down.

Did you know of any protection which they had against ill-treatment from their owners or managers, or the overseers of the estates?

No.

Did you know whether the owner of a Slave was liable to any punishment for murdering him?

Yes;

Yes; I knew a white man, who was fined £.100 currency, and imprisoned for twelve months, for the murder of his Negro boy.

Was this man in good or in indifferent circumstances?
In indifferent circumstances.

Have you ever known Slaves ill treated by managers wantonly, and without any sufficient cause?

One night, in the crop time, the manager of the estate where-in I lived, came into the boiling-house (he seemed to be in liquor) and said he thought the copper was burning, and immediately beat the man that was standing over it very severely with a horse-whip. I verily believe that the copper was not burning, and that every thing was going on very well.

Was this man laid up any time afterwards?
He was, for some months.

Did he obtain any redress for this usage?
None.

Have you ever known the same person hold different offices on the same estate?

I have known the same person to be doctor and attorney, and manager and attorney.

What was the general opinion held among managers respecting the breeding of Slaves?

The opinion was, that a Creole Negro, by the time he was fit for work, costs more money than a Negro from Africa.

Were you acquainted with any estates on which the treatment of the Negroes was better than that usually practised?

The treatment on the estate where I lived was better than that usually practised.

What were the effects of that treatment?
They increased in numbers.

Do you know of any other estates, on which the numbers were either increased or kept up, without addition by purchase?

Sir George Thomas's Belfast estate, and Carlisle's, and several others I cannot mention the names of.

Did you know any estate, on which the treatment was worse than usual, and what the effects were that followed ?

On a neighbouring estate to where I lived the treatment was worse than usual, and the effect was, they decreased.

What was, in your opinion, the general proportion of the sexes in Antigua ?

Nearly equal ; but I believe most males.

What observation did you make on the capacity and disposition of the Negroes ?

Their capacities and dispositions are much like the Whites.

Did you know of any religious instruction which they received ?

They received religious instruction principally from Methodist preachers that went among them.

Were not the established clergy of the island attentive to give them such instruction ?

They were not so attentive as the Methodists.

Did you observe whether the Negroes so instructed were improved in their morals and behaviour ?

They were improved.

Did such pay more attention to marriage ?

They did.

Did you ever know Negroes desirous of having their children baptized ?

Frequently.

Do you know whether the clergy took any fee on those occasions ?

They usually took a dollar.

Have you known any thing of the separation of families, under sales by execution or otherwise ?

I have known them sent to different islands in consequence of such sales.

What opinion did your observation lead you to form of the Free Negroes, as to their behaviour, their industry, and their usual employments ?

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I have seen some very well behaved, and very industrious ; their usual employments are sometimes coopers, carpenters, masons, and hucksters ; I never knew them work in the field ; they would think it a disgrace to work with a Slave.

Were they not, in your opinion, capable of earning more money by pursuing the several occupations you have mentioned, than by field work ?

They can earn more by any of those employments.

Did you ever hear from any of the Negroes, of the methods by which they had been made Slaves in Africa ?

I have often heard from the Slaves, that they were kidnapped ; particularly from a woman who waited upon me, who said, she was caught when going on an errand, and put into a bag, and carried and sold ?

Is it your opinion, that much labour might be saved to the Slaves by the use of the plough ?

I see no reason why the plough might not be used, particularly in stiff land to loosen it, which would certainly save them a great deal of labour.

What neighbouring estate was that, on which you have said, that pregnant women were treated nearly as well as on your own ?

Sir George Thomas's Belfast estate.

Do you think that either on Sir George Thomas's estate, or on your own, the pregnant and lying-in women and infants were treated with as much tenderness and care as their situation required ?

I do not think they were.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 25^o die Februarii 1791.

CAPTAIN THOMAS LLOYD, of the Royal Navy, called in; and examined.

Have you ever been in the West Indies—when, and in what situation?

I was there in the year 1779. I commanded the *Glasgow*, and was burnt out of her in Montego Bay, in the north part of the Island of Jamaica.

What was the first impression you received of the situation and treatment of the Negroes?

The impression made upon my mind was, that they were very generally considered as black cattle, and very often treated like post horses.

Did you become acquainted with any circumstances of peculiar cruelty or hardship, during the time you staid in Jamaica?

I believe it was the first day I landed in Saint Ann's Bay, when I saw a man and woman in irons, bound together, leading to trial, and attended by very few people. I asked for what offence? and they said they were runaway Slaves. I was then in my way to a plantation, about four miles distant, where I dined; and on my return to the *Hercules Victualler*, in the evening, I asked one of the officers of the *Glasgow*, then aboard, what had been done with those two people. He said, they were both executed on the wharf, in the sight of the ship's company—that he was on shore at the time; and that the sister of the woman who was executed, bewailing her loss, the owner came to her, and said, Take care of yourself, you B—, you see how your sister is served. Upon enquiring of some of the Planters, the man had been hanged for running away, and the woman for secreting him. I could not help commenting on the severity of the treatment; and I was drily answered, that examples were necessary. Being at the house of a Mr. Winne, of Mammee Bay, I saw a woman with one hand only, crossing the court. I asked Mrs. Winne how she lost her hand; she said it had been cut off. Mrs. Winne had a female Slave in whom she placed great confidence, and to whom she trusted her linen and other valuable effects, from a suspicion she had that her indented white servant had abused that confidence; she directed

rected her Slave never to issue out linen without her positive orders. The white woman wanted a pair of sheets, as it was supposed, for the accommodation of a Mr. Tucker, who frequented the house in the night, which the Slave positively refused to lend. She attempted forcibly to take them away. A scuffle ensued, and six weeks after the supposed offence, at the suggestion of Mr. Tucker, the white woman swore, that the Slave had struck her, and she had her right hand cut off, Mrs. Winne having in vain endeavoured to delay the trial, and to suspend the amputation. Mrs. Winne spoke of this as an inhuman act, and as a great injury to her property. I was credibly informed, by a person on whose veracity I could rely, but whose name I wish not to mention, that it was the practice of a Planter, in the north part of the island, whose name was told me, but which I do not recollect, to frame pretences for the execution of his worn-out Slaves, in order to obtain the island allowance; and it was supposed he had dealt largely in that way.

Had you reason to believe that the Negroes were at any particular times worked to an unreasonable degree?

Captain Cornwallis told me, while I was there, that at a dinner with some of the principal Planters, the conversation turned upon the profit and loss of sugar plantations, and that a Planter of consequence, then present, said, that during the crop season he worked his Negroes twenty hours out of the twenty-four; another gentleman said, many of them must have died of fatigue; he granted that; but, upon the whole, it answered. Captain Cornwallis expressed his surprize, that a man who had been so liberally educated should have expressed such sentiments.

Did you ever see about the streets or roads, old Negroes unable to work, and deserted by their owners?

I have seen many such miserable objects, and I was told that many of them had their freedom given them when they could no longer work.—The most wretched object I ever saw was at Port Royal.

Had you any reason to believe that Negroes might be induced to do their work properly, without being severely treated?

Yes, I had;—a Mr. Greenland, who had but a few; and observing them to look well and happy, I asked him the reason; he said, he never punished them, and he did not find but that he was as well off as other people, who pursued a different conduct.

Were you acquainted with many persons, whom you had reason to believe competent judges, whose opinion it was, that the decrease of the Negroes arose from ill treatment?

I have heard sensible people ascribe the diminution of their numbers, on several plantations, to the severity of their treatment.

And the Witness desired to add to his evidence.

Many instances of the ill treatment of the Slaves have been told me by my brother officers upon the station; but why they keep back their evidence I cannot tell. I have heard of military combinations to obtain justice and to resist oppression, but this is the first instance I ever heard of associations for the suppression of truths.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

That this Examination of Mr. Storey, Mr. Towne, Mr. Claxton, Mr. Simpson, Doctor Harrison, Doctor Jackson, Captain Ross, Mr. Coore, Mr. Giles, Mr. Matthew Terry, Captain Hall, Captain Giles, Mr. John Terry, Mr. Bowman, Mr. Douglas, Major General Tottenham, Mr. Forster, Captain Smith, Mr. Duncan, and Captain Lloyd, be reported to the House.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported MARCH 1st, 1791.

Witnesses Examined,

Mr. STOREY,	Captain HALL,
Mr. TOWNE,	Captain GILES,
Mr. CLAXTON,	Mr. JOHN TERRY,
Mr. SIMPSON,	Mr. BOWMAN,
Doctor HARRISON,	Mr. DOUGLAS,
Doctor JACKSON,	Maj. Gen. TOTTENHAM,
Captain ROSS,	Mr. FORSTER,
Mr. COORE,	Captain SMITH,
Mr. GILES,	Mr. DUNCAN,
Mr. MATTHEW TERRY,	Captain LLOYD.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Veneris, 25^o die Martii 1791.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to
take the Examination of Witnesses on the
Slave Trade.

Veneris, 25^o die Februarii 1791.

LIEUTENANT BAKER DAVISON, of the late 79th
Regiment, called in ; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies ?
Yes.

When, how long, and in what island ?

I was in Jamaica from the middle of 1771 till the latter end of
1783, and never off the island but a few months, when I was
upon the Spanish Main.

Whilst you resided at Jamaica, had you frequent opportunities
of observing on the situation and treatment both of plantation
and town Slaves ?

I had very frequent opportunities, as I was quartered in many
different parts of the island—I resided some time at the house of

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the proprietor of a plantation, given to me for a barrack, as I had a wife and children, and the parish barracks being too small to contain all the officers.

What was the general impression concerning the treatment of Slaves made on your mind, on your first arrival in the West Indies?

That they were very cruelly treated, by being most unmercifully flogged by order of the owners.

Were not the punishments inflicted on Slaves by order of their masters restricted to thirty-nine lashes?

No, it never was—I understand there was such a law on the island, but I never knew it abided by where a Negro was really meant to be punished.

What was the mode in which Slaves were punished in the towns?

Sometimes the owners would order them to be flogged in their own houses, or send them to gaol and have them punished there, or have them tied up to a crane on the wharfs.

Have you often seen these punishments inflicted?
Very often.

Did they appear to you to be more or less severe than regimental punishments?

A great deal more severe—I once remember a new Negro girl being flogged to death—she was flogged by the order of her mistress, and died of a mortification from the wounds two days afterwards.

Can you be sure that the punishment inflicted on the wharfs, and in the gaols, as just mentioned, were by the order of the Slave's owner, and not by the order of a magistrate?

In the houses and on the wharfs always by order of the owners, and frequently in gaol.

What time of the day is it that the punishments are commonly inflicted on the wharfs?

I have seen it at all times of the day.

Were these wharfs places of common resort?

They were.

With

With what instrument were the Slaves commonly flogged?

In towns, generally with a cow-skin, and upon the estates with a long whip.

What was the usual mode of whipping on the plantations?

By fastening them to the ground to four stakes driven in for that purpose.

Were these regular punishments ever inflicted in the field?

I have seen it happen frequently.

For what offences?

Sometimes for neglect of work, or other offences committed on the spot.

How can you be certain that Slaves were whipt in gaol by order of their owners?

I have frequently seen them sent there.

Did you ever see the Slaves come back to the owners houses after their punishment?

Very often. Some persons belonging to the gaol are sent home with them.

Is the precise number of stripes the Slave receives in gaol ordered by the owner?

No; they generally told them to flog them well, according to the crime committed.

Did any particular instances of excessive punishment, or of wanton cruelty towards Slaves, fall under your knowledge?

I have already mentioned one Slave who died in consequence of her flogging. I have known many other cruelties, but not followed by the loss of life, particularly the clergyman's wife at Port Royal was a remarkable cruel woman; she used to drop scalding hot sealing wax on her Negroes, after having punished them by flogging, particularly one to whom I was sent for as surgeon, that had her breast terribly burnt with sealing wax. A woman who lived next door to me was frequently flogging her Negroes so cruelly, that I have gone in frequently and insisted upon her being quiet, but upon her still continuing, I complained to a magistrate, and he told me he had nothing to do with it.

Did

Did it appear to you that the Slaves treatment must depend altogether on the disposition of the owner?

I am very sure it did, as some of the owners were very cruel, and others not so.

Did you ever remonstrate to any owner or manager on this severe treatment of the Slaves?

I have very frequently; particularly the woman alluded to, whose Negro died, and to the clergyman's wife already mentioned, as well as the clergyman himself, who has said that they would not do without severe punishment, and even being half starved, which was the case at his own house, and which I have often known.

Do you remember any particular occasion whereon you remonstrated with the woman whose Slave died in consequence of her ill usage?

I do; particularly when I have seen the Negro at work, kneeling on her bare knees upon the pebbles; and I have often talked with the clergyman and his wife upon their Slaves being ill, owing to severe punishments and want of victuals.

What was the meaning of the Slaves kneeling on the pebbles?

As a punishment.

Did you ever see this practice in any other instance?

It is very common in houses there. I have seen it myself in a great many instances.

Was it understood amongst the Slaves that they had a right to legal redress in case of severe punishment or wanton cruelty?

I believe it was generally understood so, as I have had frequent complaints when I have been quartered up the country from different plantations.

Do you know any instance where legal redress was actually obtained?

I never did from Negroes themselves complaining.—When they are ill used by any other person, their owner takes care to obtain redress.

Did any instances of mutilation fall under your own personal notice?

It did.—I have known a woman order a Slave's nose to be slit in both nostrils out of jealousy, and I saw the Slave after it was done.

Was any attempt made to bring the woman to punishment?

There was not, as she was a woman of some consequence, being the wife of the engineer of the island.

Was it a practice not unusual for women in a respectable situation of life to stand by at the punishment of their own slaves?

It was very common.

Did it appear to you, that in general proper attention was paid to pregnant women?

I think not, as I have been sent for to several estates where the mother scarce had any clothes to cover her, nor any clothes for her child when born, and was in want of every kind of proper nourishment for her situation.

Were pregnant women exempted from the lash?

I have seen them not, as I saw several instances of women being flogged upon the estates, and a hole made in the ground to receive their belly.

Did any instance fall under your immediate notice, wherein the whipping of a woman in this situation was attended with fatal consequences?

It did; as I was once sent for to a woman who had been severely flogged, which brought on a miscarriage, when both child and herself lost their lives.

Did you practise surgery on the island of Jamaica?

I did, many years, before the French war.

Was the jaw fall fatal to Negro infants in many instances which fell under your notice?

It was; and I believe owing to want of proper necessaries, bad houses, and various other accounts; it is impossible to account entirely for it.

Had you any opportunity of observing whether this disorder was equally fatal to White children?

I am sure it was not, as we had a great many children born in the different regiments I was in, and I never knew one instance of

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a child

a child dying with it. We had a great many women in the regiments.

How did it appear to you that Slaves were in general fed?
I think in general very badly.

Did it appear to you, that when the master was embarrassed in his circumstances, the Slaves allowance of food was reduced?

It did, as we had several plantations in the neighbourhood I was quartered in, whose owners were very poor, and the Slaves used to come in the night time, and rob us of provisions of any kind they could lay their hands upon.

Did you observe that these thefts were more commonly practised by such Slaves as you knew to be pinched in their allowance, than from such as you knew were allowed by their masters a sufficiency of food?

They certainly were, as there were several plantations where I knew they were better fed, and who never troubled us.

Was it an universal practise to allow the Slaves the Saturday afternoon to cultivate their own grounds?

I am sure it was not, as I never knew it to happen, and had it been a common practice I must have known it.

Did any instance come to your knowledge, wherein Slaves were obliged to work for their master, even on a Sunday?

I have known it several times upon the estate where I resided, as the works were very near the house I lived in.

How late was it usual for the Slaves on that estate to work at the boiling house?

I have known them frequently work all night at the boiling house and the mill together.

Did you know any instances where Slaves were able to purchase their freedom?

I did; particularly one, who was a taylor, and worked for me the whole time I was at Jamaica. He was a Slave when I went there, and had purchased his freedom some years before I left the island, and was then master of some Slaves of his own.

Did you know any instances of this sort, in the case of Field Slaves?

I never knew a Field Slave purchase his freedom in my life.

Did any instances come to your knowledge of Slaves destroying themselves?

There did; particularly one at Port Royal, who had been punished over night, and was found hanging in his hut the next morning.

Were these instances chiefly in the case of African or Creole Slaves?

They were generally new African Negroes—the one I have just mentioned had not been a great while purchased.

Did you ever know an instance of a Creole Slave destroying himself?

I never did.

Was there in general sufficient attention paid to Negroes when superannuated and past labour?

I am sure there was not, as I knew two old men, who belonged to a woman in Port Royal, that used to subsist by begging.

Were the Negroes wives secure from the invasion of the White persons on the Plantations?

They were not; as I have known different book-keepers who have just come to the estate take their wives from them.

Was this a frequent cause of discontent amongst the Slaves?

I believe it was very often.

Were the generality of the Slaves marked with the whip?

I am sure they were, both House and Field Slaves.

You have said, that when you remonstrated on the ill treatment of the Slaves, you were told it was necessary: did any instance fall within your notice which disproved this opinion?

There has a great many, particularly in my own house, as I never was without five or six Slaves, and I never found it necessary to punish them, as I always used them well; and another, a Mr. Malcolm, who had a large estate, and would not suffer a Negro to be punished without his knowledge—that at the time of an insurrection at the north side of the island, I have expressed my surprize that he would leave his wife and family upon the estate when he
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was almost nine or ten miles from them. He told me, he was not afraid of his own Negroes, as he was very sure that they would protect his property as well when he was absent as when he was present; that I have been frequently at his house, and have known him most days go down among his Negroes, and would listen to any complaints they should make; that he told me he had not purchased a Negro for ten or twelve years; that they never run away from him, and that both his estate and stock of Negroes were considerably increased in that time.

Was there as much work done on his estate as on plantations in general?

I am sure there was; I have frequently heard him say so; his Negroes went always very willingly to work.

Do you know whether he paid any attention to the pairing of his Negroes?

Yes; I am sure he encouraged them in that, as he always gave his Negroes every necessary article in reason they wanted; that he always took care their houses were kept in good repair.

Did you know any other instance where the stock of Slaves was increased without the purchase of African Negroes?

I knew one estate where there was not one African Negro upon it; they were all Creoles.

Do you happen to know whether the Slaves upon that estate were treated better than common?

I am sure they were.

What was the ordinary employment and disposition of Free Negroes?

They were generally tradesmen of some kind, and very industrious.

Were you ever present at any sale of Slaves by vendue?

I have, very often.

At these sales did you ever see relations separated?

I did; I once saw a mother and her daughter separated.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Note.—For the remainder of Mr. Davison's Examination, see page 179.

Martis, 1^o die Martii 1791.

DREWRY OTTLEY, Esquire, His Majesty's Chief Justice of the Island of St. Vincent, called in ; and examined.

How long have you resided in the West Indies, and where?

I have resided in the West Indies since the year 1776 ; principally in the island of St. Vincent.—I have at different times visited the islands of Antigua, Tobago, St. Christopher, Grenada, and St. Lucia.—I was in England about ten months during the whole of that time.

Have you managed your own estates in St. Vincent's during the period of your residence in that island?

Yes ; I managed my own estates constantly, till I was appointed Chief Justice, then, as I was frequently obliged to be absent upon public business, I employed a manager, whose conduct I constantly superintended.

When were you appointed Chief Justice?

In the beginning of the year 1787.

Are you of the Council of St. Vincent's?

I am.

How long have you been so?

I was appointed a Member of the Council in the year 1784.

Are the provisions of the law respecting Slaves, their persons, property, and subsistence, in St. Vincent's, or other places you are acquainted with, just and humane?

The old Slave acts, which were the general laws throughout the islands, calculated for the regulation and government of Slaves, and which still continue unrepealed in many of the islands, always appeared to me to be in many instances very unjust and inhuman, as respecting the personal security of Slaves ; the only instances in which their persons appear to be protected by the letter of the law, are, in cases of murder, dismemberment, and mutilation ; and in these cases, as the evidence of Slaves is never admitted against White men, the difficulty of legally establishing facts is so great, that White men are in a manner put beyond the reach of the law ; however, supposing them to be fully established by evidence, the

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murder

murder of a Slave in some islands is only punishable by a larger fine, and the dismemberment and mutilation of a Slave by a smaller fine.—Some of the Slave Acts are silent upon the subject of the murder of a Slave, and therefore it has been supposed in those islands that the murder of a Slave was punishable by the common law of England; however, upon considering the latter part of the second clause in the St. Vincent's Slave Act, which is also introduced in some of the Slave Acts of the other islands, I am of opinion that, by the inference to be drawn from that clause wherever it is in force, the murder of a Slave is not punishable by the common law, as a capital offence.—There are no provisions of law for securing Slaves in the quiet possession of any property against their masters, nor against strangers, unless by the interference of the master, by bringing an action.—In regard to subsistence there are laws in most of the islands obliging masters to provide food and clothing for their Slaves.

Do the provisions of the law for the benefit of the Slaves in regard to food and clothing, contain such matters as to insure efficacy as to what has been so enacted?

I think not in general, on account of the difficulty of bringing proof of the breach and neglect of the law.

In what does it occur to you that the provisions of the law enact what is oppressive in regard to the Slaves?

Some provisions in the St. Vincent's Slave act appear to be oppressive and impolitic; particularly, the clause which obliges White persons on the different plantations, under a penalty, to search the Negro houses at least once in every fortnight, for runaway Slaves and stolen goods, whether there be any reasonable ground of suspicion or not that runaway Negroes or stolen goods are concealed in the Negro houses; the clause which prevents Slaves from hiring themselves from their masters to work on their own account;—the clauses which lay certain restrictions upon free Negroes, and deprive them in some instances of trial by Jury;—the clause which throws obstacles in the way of Slaves to prevent them purchasing their freedom, and some other clauses which I do not immediately recollect.

Do you confine yourself in your answers to the island of St. Vincent?

When I specify the island of St. Vincent, I do; and when I do not specify that Island, I mean to extend my observations to all the islands where the old Slave Acts are yet in force.

In what does it occur to you that the law omits provisions necessary and proper for the protection of the Slave, his person, property, and subsistence; and what alterations can you suggest?

The omissions in the old laws are so numerous, that it is difficult to ascertain them, I shall therefore speak to such alterations and provisions as appear to me to be necessary for the protection of Slaves. I should recommend, that in every island in the West Indies a Slave Act should be passed, repealing those now in force, and establishing regulations upon the same principle as they have been lately established by the legislature in the Island of Grenada. In order to obviate the difficulty of bringing evidence against White persons, on account of the ill treatment which Slaves are subject to receive from them, councils of protection or guardians should be appointed in each parish in the islands, whose duty it should be to frequently visit the plantations in their respective parishes, in order to inspect the treatment of Slaves, and to see that those provisions which may be made for their benefit are put in force. They ought to be vested with authority to inspect the provision grounds, sick houses, clothing, Negro houses, and the general condition of the Slaves, and upon all reasonable grounds of suspicion of ill treatment, to have authority to examine the White or other Free Persons employed on the plantations upon oath, touching the treatment of the Slaves, and to prosecute offenders where any violation of the law shall appear to have been committed.

Do you think the substitute which you have mentioned for the evidence of the Slaves against White Persons, as provided in the Grenada Act, is such as to insure effect to the humane regulations and purpose of that or any other similar law?

I think, if the guardians do their duty, and act with impartiality, that the substitute for the evidence of Slaves affords as great a degree of protection and security as persons in a state of slavery are capable of enjoying.

Can you devise any means of admitting the evidence of Slaves, so as to answer the purposes of substantial justice, by requiring a number of evidence to a fact by separate examinations, or by other means of giving to the testimony of Slaves the force of circumstantial evidence?

I can devise none which I think are likely to be adopted in the West Indies, considering the state of ignorance in which the
Slaves

Slaves are at present. The laws lately passed in the islands of Jamaica, Grenada, and Dominica, as contained in the report of the Committee of Privy Council, for the government and regulation of Slaves, have supplied most of those omissions which I have before adverted to, and have established many just and humane regulations for the protection of the Slaves; but, the Grenada law seems to be the one the best calculated to be enforced and have its full effect.

Are there provisions of law in the Slave act of St. Vincent's relative to the punishment of Slaves, in which such punishment is to be inflicted by the owners of estates, or their servants?

No, there are none; the punishments established by law are to be ordered by the justices of the peace.

When a Slave is guilty of any offence upon an estate, is he liable to be punished at the arbitrary will of his master, manager, or overseer?

I do not recollect any provisions in the Saint Vincent's law, which either limit the degree or ascertain the nature of the punishment which a master or manager may inflict, except those which relate to the murder, mutilation, and dismemberment of the Slaves.

Speaking generally, what is the nature, mode, and variety of punishments which have fallen within your own observation as a practice on West Indian estates?

Whipping, confinement in the stocks, or otherways, and sometimes by chains, or collars of iron fastened round their neck; this latter kind of punishment is not often inflicted.

Have such collars, in the instances you have known, been worn by the Slaves any considerable time?

According to the best of my recollection they have not, because they are generally considered prejudicial to the health of the Slaves.

Is the punishment of whipping often inflicted in a manner cruel and disproportionate to the offence?

Upon well regulated estates I think not; but this must depend very much upon the temper and disposition of the master or manager.

Is the Slave in fact often cruelly and arbitrarily treated, independent

pendent of punishments for offence, as for instance, by an overseer striking a Slave wantonly, or subtracting from his allowance from the estate, or by taking away the provision which he himself had raised?

The treatment which a Slave in these respects is liable to receive from a master or manager, must depend very much upon the temper and disposition of such master or manager. Upon all the estates that I have known, where the masters or managers were resident, the overseers were forbidden to strike any Slave, and were liable to lose their employments for so doing. Sometimes they do it, but I don't think it common.

Is the treatment of Slaves, as far as you have observed, generally humane?

Yes, I think it is in general.

Are instances of cruelty frequent?

Instances of cruelty do and will occur, but I don't think them common.

Are instances of cruelty to Slaves ever matters of notoriety in the islands, and yet unpunished?

I never knew but one instance where a man was punished by the law in St. Vincent's for cruelty to a Slave, and that was very lately. I have heard of other instances of cruelty notorious, which have gone unpunished.

Are the instances of cruelty so frequent as to bear the denomination of general usage, or of exceptions to general usage?

I certainly think them exceptions to general usage.

In fact, and law apart, have the Field Slaves of St. Vincent's generally property?

Those that are industrious are generally possessed of some property.

To what extent may the property be commonly estimated of an ordinary but good Field Slave in St. Vincent's?

As far as I can guess, an industrious but ordinary Field Slave may acquire property to the amount of six or eight pounds sterling per year.

On an estate well managed, and such as you have known, how many Slaves out of two hundred men, women and children in-

cluded, do you suppose may be possessed of the property you attribute to a Field Slave?

Of 200 Slaves on an estate, you cannot estimate more than one third Field Slaves, some of whom will be young people who do not trouble themselves much about acquiring property, and others will be idle and lazy; it is very difficult to say, but I should suppose from twelve to eighteen may acquire property to the amount I have mentioned.

Have you known particular instances of Field Slaves in St. Vincent's acquiring property to a much larger amount?

I have heard of such instances, but in general Slaves are careful in concealing their property from their masters.

How do such Slaves acquire that property?

By raising hogs, goats, and feathered stock, and by the cultivation of the grounds allotted them.

What quantity of ground is allotted to a Field Slave in St. Vincent's on such estates as you have known?

In general, the Field Slaves in St. Vincent's have more ground than they can cultivate.

Is that ground so allotted generally of as good quality as the other ground of the estate?

As good for the purpose of raising provisions.

What time is allowed on estates, under your observation, at St. Vincent's, to the Field Negro to work on his own account?

It is common during the time the Slaves are not employed in the manufacture of sugar, or crop time, to allow them one afternoon in the week, or one whole day in a fortnight, besides Sundays.

Do you consider the whole day in a fortnight more advantageous to the Negroes, than the half day in the week, and why?

I think the whole day in the fortnight more advantageous, because the Negro is able to go fresh to his work, and has more time to complete any particular job he may undertake.

In regard to family, is the Slave often married, or attached to one woman as his wife?

In St. Vincent's, the Slave is never married according to the rites of the church, but they are very frequently attached to one woman.

If

If so attached, is that woman or wife liable to be taken or debauched from him by a White person, and do such cases happen?

I know of no law to prevent it; but I do not recollect cases of the kind ever happening—they may have happened without my knowledge.

Are the Negroes among themselves licentious with regard to promiscuous use with their women?

As the females, who are not attached to one man, do not seem to set much value upon chastity, I should suppose that they are licentious with regard to women.

Are the instances of a man and woman living faithfully as man and wife frequent in general upon an estate?

They are frequent when the Negroes are past the time of youth—I cannot say it is frequent among the young people.

Are the Slaves much addicted to the use of spirituous liquors, and have they opportunities of supplying themselves?

The male Slaves are in general so addicted to the use of spirituous liquors, that they will get intoxicated whenever they have an opportunity.

Did the young women Slaves ever study to procure abortions?

I have heard that they do, but no instance of it ever came to my knowledge.

Do young women in the state of pregnancy make a practice of going to dances, and that at a considerable distance, in the night?

The young women are very fond of dancing, and I do not think that the state of pregnancy, unless very far advanced, would prevent them going a great way to dances.

Are dances frequent and common among the Field Negroes?

They are common upon the estates, under this prohibition, that Negroes from distant estates are not admitted.

Are the Slaves generally of a harmless and peaceable disposition, or not?

I think in general they are very harmless and peaceable, because I never knew an instance, even where they were reported to be ill treated, of their having attempted materially to injure the property of their masters, from motives of revenge, and they have frequent opportunities

opportunities of doing so if they were badly inclined, particularly during the crop months.

You have mentioned the Negro Slaves to be a harmless set of people:—can you speak in the affirmative of their being a race of people who shew general good-will or philanthropy, when they are not exasperated by ill treatment?

Yes, I can.—That upon all occasions of sudden emergency or distress, such for instance as a sudden fire upon a plantation, which frequently happens, I have always observed the Negroes of the neighbouring plantations, even in the night, are ready and active in doing all in their power in relieving the distress of the moment, and this without being called upon to do so. I have been materially benefited myself at different times by the assistance of neighbouring Negroes of their own accord. One instance particularly occurs to me, which happened in 1785;—a sudden fire broke out amongst my canes at a place the most distant from where my own Negroes were at work; Sir William Young's Negroes, who were working near to the spot, voluntarily ran down to the place, and with a great deal of trouble and some risk extinguished the flames, which might otherwise have destroyed at least fifty or sixty hogsheds of sugar; nor did these Negroes apply for any reward, but I of course sent them something as a recompence for their trouble.

Are Slaves in general of a cheerful temper or not; and, in fact, are they cheerful?

Those seasoned to the islands appear to me in general to be of a cheerful temper, and are cheerful when well treated. You may generally tell when the Slaves are well treated, by their coming home singing and merry from their work.

If religious principles were inculcated to the Slaves, their morals amended, especially so as to induce marriage, and promote domestic union, and if their persons and property were secure from violence under fixed and known laws, substitute to the arbitrary will, good or bad, of their masters, do you think that in such case the Slaves might so increase by births as to keep up or even add to their numbers without importation from Africa?

I think upon those estates that are well handed with seasoned Slaves, where there is a regular succession of children to supply the places of the aged Negroes, as they fall off, the numbers might be kept up, and probably increased, without importation.

Are you acquainted with the Caribs at St. Vincent's ?

I am.

What are they, and whom are they descended from ?

They are mostly of the Negro race, and said to be descended from some Negroes who were shipwrecked in a Slaving ship upon the Saint Vincent's coast.

Did they permit runaway Slaves to incorporate with their nation ?

They never permit them to incorporate, as I have heard and believe; indeed there is a mark peculiar to the Caribs, which is produced by flattening the forehead in the state of infancy, which would distinguish them from others, if they were mixed or incorporated with them.

What do you suppose to be their number ?

I have heard and believe that they consist of about 3,000.

Have they increased of late years in population, and do you suppose them to be still on the increase ?

They must certainly have increased by their present numbers, and I believe they are still on the increase.

Can you suggest any reason why Negro Slaves should not increase equally with the Caribs, if means can be devised of obviating those obstructions to population, which arise from the disproportion of sexes where that disproportion exists, from their own bad morals, or their masters bad temper and conduct towards them ?

As Negro Slaves can never live so much at their ease as the Caribs do, and must necessarily be more exposed to the inclemency of the weather during the hours of work, they will be liable to diseases which may obstruct their population, and to which the Caribs or Free Negroes are not subject; they will probably, therefore, not increase in proportion to the Caribs, though they may increase.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 2^o die Martii 1791.

MR. OTTLEY called in; and further examined.

On estates well and humanely managed, and where the proportion of sexes is suitable, do you think that the Slaves may, and actually

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• tually do, under the present system of regulation, sustain their numbers, and even increase their births, and without importation from Africa?

In many instances, upon plantations of that description, Slaves actually have and do increase without importation from Africa.

Do you think that generally, or to any great number, the West India estates are deeply mortgaged?

They are generally deeply mortgaged.

Are such estates, in proportion to the incumbrance or the weight of debt on them, in general, worked with greater exertion of labour, and under disadvantages of credit prejudicial to the supplies for comfort or even subsistence to the Negroes?

In many instances they are.

• Is there on any or many estates so circumstanced, as far as you have observed, a disproportion of sexes, or other reason precluding increase by births in the common course of nature?

I cannot recollect any particular instances, but I should necessarily conclude, that where Slaves are not supplied equally with the necessaries and comforts of life, they will of course be proportionably defective in their increase.

If the estates so circumstanced as to be defective in their increase, were prevented any fresh supplies by purchase of Slaves, what do you suppose might be the result in regard to Negroes actually on such estates?

The proprietors of such estates being necessarily obliged to answer the pressing demands of their creditors, or to part with their estates altogether, would, I fear, be induced in many instances to work their gangs beyond their strength.

Would a sudden unqualified abolition of the trade for Slaves from Africa thus eventually prove oppressive to many Slaves in the West Indies?

I think that is implied in my last answer.

Have the colonial legislatures attended to the reform of the laws in favour of the Slaves as a consequence of the question of the Slave Trade being depending in the British Parliament?

I believe they may.

Do you think that they may be possibly induced even to further or more effectual regulations in favour of the Slaves, the question of abolition being yet pending?

I believe the legislative bodies in the West Indies will be inclined to adopt any practicable regulations for the greater security and better government of Slaves, which His Majesty's ministers may in their wisdom think proper to recommend.

If the question of abolition is decided, and the trade with Africa for Slaves suddenly put an end to, do you think the colonies would equally attend to such recommendation, and co-operate with the same spirit, good temper, and satisfaction, in the plan so suggested from the mother country?

As the colonies have hitherto opposed the question of abolition, I think not.

Do you consider a co-operation in the colonies as necessary to an effectual reform of the regulation and government of Slaves?

I do not think any effectual reform or regulation could be brought about without their co-operation.

Do you not then think that the immediate agents of such reform must necessarily be the people themselves of the islands, or persons residing in the islands?

Certainly; as according to the present established governments in the West Indies, the legislative bodies in the colonies must necessarily pass the laws, and the magistrates and others in the islands enforce them.

Was the letter to Sir William Young, contained in the report of the Privy Council on the African Slave Trade, written by you?

It was written by me in a great hurry, and calculated merely for the private information of Sir William Young.

Is there any thing contained in it which you wish to alter?
No; there is not.

Do you not conceive that domestic Slaves are peculiarly subject to their master's caprice, and that their treatment must depend in a great measure upon his disposition?

As the laws now stand in many of the islands they must.

Do

Do you not then conceive that the situation of domestic Slaves is less to be affected by regulations of law, than that of plantation Slaves?

Certainly; because the conduct of masters towards domestic Slaves is not so open to the observation of the world.

In your letter, you propose a limitation of the number of lashes to be given by the master or overseer for one offence, can you suggest any mode by which the master may be brought to punishment, even if he should give the Slave ever so great a number of lashes within a short space of time, screening himself under the artifice of splitting one crime into many, and giving the limited number of lashes for each?

I can devise none, while the evidence of Slaves continues to be inadmissible against their masters.

Can you state pretty nearly, what is the number of White people in Saint Vincent's?

I believe there are between four and five hundred men, women, and children, exclusive of the military; there may be about one hundred and fifty more in the small islands lately annexed to the government of St. Vincent's, and I conceive that the Slaves on those islands, which are no great number, are also included in the number of Saint Vincent's Slaves.

Is there any additional reason besides that you have mentioned in a former part of your evidence, for believing that the Caribs never incorporate amongst them the runaway Slaves?

There are two reasons that occur to me—there seems to be a very strong antipathy existing between the Slaves in Saint Vincent's and the Caribs; besides which, the Caribs are entitled to rewards for apprehending and bringing in runaway Slaves.

Are the Caribs much addicted to the use of spirituous liquors?
They are very much.

Are there any instances of Free Negroes hiring themselves out to field labour in the plantations?

I never heard of an instance of it as to field labour, but it is common to hire themselves as mechanics.

What has been the decrease on your own stock of Slaves?

The stock of Slaves who were on my plantation when I first went out to the West Indies have constantly increased, but the

new Negroes whom I have purchased since the year 1784, have decreased in the proportion of at least one in eight, in spite of every attention and care I could possibly pay to them; upon the estate of Mr. Robley, at Sandy Point, in Tobago, there has been constantly, as I have been informed by himself, a considerable increase of Negroes by births, although the situation did not appear to me to be healthy; upon Sir William Young's estate at Calliaqua, St. Vincent's, there has been for some years past constantly an increase of Negroes by births; upon Mr. Haffey's estate, in St. Vincent's, there has likewise been an increase by births; and I believe also upon Mr. Winn's estate, in St. Vincent's, there has been an increase; and likewise upon Mr. Collins's estate; and upon a Mr. Morgan's estate.

Can you form any judgment concerning the proportion of males and females amongst the Slaves in St. Vincent's?

I cannot.

Did you ever remark, whether more male or female Negroes born in the island attain the age of maturity?

That distinction never struck me.

Have any attempts been made to instruct the Slaves in religion, or to improve their morals?

There have been some missionaries from the Society of Methodists in St. Vincent's, within these three or four years, who have been allowed access to many plantations for the purpose of communicating religious instructions to the Negroes.

Do you not conceive that very considerable advantage might result to the Planter from attention to the Slaves in those particulars?

I am convinced the greatest advantage would arise from it; and I have heard, that in Antigua the Slaves have been greatly improved in their morals by the instructions they have received from the Moravians, and being so improved in their morals, that the actual value of such Slaves has also been improved, considering them as objects of commerce.

Does any instance, in point of fact, occur to your recollection, where, in an atrocious case, a person has escaped the punishment of the law, owing to Negro evidence not being taken?

Yes; in October, 1789, a Negro Slave in Tobago was said, and universally believed, to have been stabbed by a White man (I believe

lieve the manager of the estate) in the presence of a number of other Slaves. The Negro died upon the spot, and the White man was tried for the offence; but for want of sufficient evidence, according to the usages and customs established and received in the courts of law in the West Indies, the man was acquitted. Another instance I can mention, which happened in St. Vincent's; a White man was strongly suspected of having shot his brother-in-law, and the fact was alledged by two or three Slaves to have been done in their presence; and, according to the best of my recollection, the Coroner's Inquest confirmed this suspicion by a verdict of Wilful murder against this White man. At a court where I presided, he was tried for this offence; and though there scarcely remained a doubt with the Jury of the man's guilt from the reports which had gone forth throughout the country before the time of his trial, he was nevertheless acquitted for want of sufficient evidence.

To what particular usages or customs do you more especially allude?

To the usage and custom of never receiving the evidence of any Slaves against a White Man.

Have you reason to believe that Slaves are in general treated better on those estates where the owners are resident?

I think in general they are better treated, and that they are better satisfied with their situation.

If the master is embarrassed in his circumstances, and the small quantity of his provision ground, or the deficiency of its produce from droughts should prevent his Slaves being fed by the island provisions, would not they be likely to suffer from his not obtaining credit for imported provisions, or being ill able to go to the expence of them?

Certainly; in the year 1779, many persons, as I have heard, suffered materially in Antigua, from this circumstance; the Council and Assembly made a representation of the distressed situation of the colony to His Majesty, and liberal supplies of provisions were sent from this country, which were sold at the first cost to the inhabitants of the island, and each plantation was obliged to purchase a part in proportion to the number of Negroes upon such plantation.

Do you know whether, in St. Kitt's and Antigua, the chief dependence for feeding Slaves is on the island provision grounds, or on imported provisions?

I have

I have always heard, that in St. Kitt's the chief dependance is on imported provisions, and it must necessarily be very often so in Antigua, on account of the dry weather to which they are so frequently subject.

May it not often happen, that if a smaller portion of a planter's estate were to be allotted to canes, the produce would be equally great, owing to the land being better cultivated, and in that case would not the labour of the Negroes be also lessened?

I believe it has often happened that planters have failed from attempting to cultivate more land than they can take care of; in those cases the land will not be productive, and the labour of the Negroes will be increased.

How long is it after new Negroes are purchased before they ought to be put to the regular labour of the plantation?

I think new Negroes ought to be worked very sparingly, for at least two years after they are purchased.

Have you ever known of a common Field Slave purchasing his own freedom?

I never knew an instance of it.

Have you ever known an instance of suicide among the Creole Negroes?

I never heard of one.

So far as you know, are insurrections to be most apprehended from the African or Creole Negroes?

There never was an instance of an insurrection at Saint Vincent's; but those which happened in the Island of Tobago, I have been informed, originated among the African Slaves.

Do you apprehend, that the mere change of situation and circumstances has any such effect on the minds of imported African Slaves as to affect their health or shorten their lives?

I believe the change of situation, which arises from their being brought forcibly from their families and connections, will frequently have an effect in shortening the lives of imported Slaves; hence we find by experience, that a greater proportion of aged African Negroes than of young ones die in the West Indies, and those who commit the act of suicide are always adults.

Has the climate of Saint Vincent's been proved to have been
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highly injurious to the health of Europeans, when they have not been guilty of any great degree of excess?

Upon the first settlement of the island, when it was covered with wood, the climate of Saint Vincent's was very fatal to the health of Europeans; but now, being more cleared, they seem to be as healthy there as in any other part of the West Indies; and it has been remarked among His Majesty's troops stationed in that island, that there has not been more sickness, or a greater mortality, for five or six years past, than there commonly is in England. The Europeans resident upon the Plantations, from their being necessarily exposed, during the hours of labour, to the changes of the weather, are frequently subject to illnesses.

Whether it is the practice in the island of Saint Vincent for the Slaves to work their own grounds on Sundays?

It is left very much to their own inclination, and when they do it, it is for their own private advantage.

Is it on many estates the practice for the manager or overseer to compel them so to do?

I have heard of its being done in some instances, but very rarely, as the Negroes in general wish to carry their provisions on that day to market; it is the only regular market day for the Negroes in Saint Vincent's.

Are not the Slaves liable to seizure, as other property, for the debts of their owners?

By the Court Act, Slaves are liable to seizure for debts of the owner, but not until his goods and chattels, and the produce of his lands, are found insufficient to discharge his debts. Slaves, by the laws of Saint Vincent's, are in general considered as partaking of the nature of real estate, and as such they descend to the heir, and widows are dowable in them; but wherever a man's personal estate is found insufficient to discharge his debts, executors are allowed to inventory Slaves, for the purpose of applying them after the other assets shall have been exhausted in the discharge of the debts of the testator; but in order to prevent estates from being deprived of their Slaves, there is a particular law in Saint Vincent's, allowing executors to advance money from their own funds, and to receive six per centum interest for the same, and to have a security upon the Slaves for the money advanced.

In case of the actual seizure of Slaves by the marshal, is he not equally responsible for them as for any other property?

He is.

In

In the sale of Slaves under such circumstances, is there any, and what Provision made to prevent the separation of families?

The law has directed, that a woman and her infant child shall be always sold together; I do not recollect any other provision to guard against the separation of families.

Is it your opinion, that the improvement of the morals of Slaves, to be expected in consequence of greater attention being paid to religious instruction, would tend to increase population by births?
I have no doubt but it would.

On those estates which you have already known to keep up their numbers, and even to increase, has there been as much attention to religion and morals as you yourself would think proper and necessary?

I do not think there has been.

Whether you think that such reforms and alterations in the treatment of Slaves, as you have suggested in the former part of your evidence, would not tend equally to the interest of the owner and the slave?

I think they would.

May it not, and in fact does it not frequently happen, that the interest of the manager may differ from that of the owner of the estate?

The interest of the manager is in general, to support his character as a planter, and to make as large crops as he can from a plantation; it often happens that persons judge from effects without inquiring into the particular causes, on which account it may sometimes happen that managers feel themselves under a kind of necessity of working Negroes harder than they could wish, in order to keep up the produce of the estate to what it had been in former years.

On your own estates, and on other estates, whereon the Negroes were well treated, were many infants lost by the tetanus?

I never lost more than two or three myself by that disorder, but I have lost many by worms between the age of three and six; as to other estates I cannot particularly answer the question; the worms seem to be the most fatal disorder in the West Indies to children. The White children also suffer nearly as much by this disorder as the Negro children do.

Is there not reason to believe that the Slaves running away arises in many cases from their being ill fed or otherwise ill treated?

I should suppose that to be one great cause of their running away—indeed I have heard of an instance, where, upon the death of a master who was reckoned very severe, about twenty Negroes returned voluntarily to the estate, who had been absent for a considerable time; however, I have known it happen, that Negroes have run away without any provocation.

Had you ever the curiosity to ask any of your own African Slaves how they had become so?

Yes; and I have been informed by some, who were imported very young, that they were kidnapped; and I have also been informed by others, that they had been bought for crimes, or taken as prisoners in war.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

The Reverend Mr. STUART called in; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

Yes.

When, in what islands, and how long?

I came from South Carolina either in the latter end of the year 1777, or in the beginning of the year 1778, to Guadaloupe, from thence I went to Dominique, next to Saint Croix, from thence to Saint Eustatius, from thence to Saint Kitt's, and then to Nevis, and from thence to Georgia, North America.—On the whole I was about a year on the island of St. Kitt's.

What was the general impression made on your mind, concerning the treatment and situation of the Negro Slaves, and in what estimation did they, as a race, appear to be generally held?

From a twenty years acquaintance with the condition of Slaves in the different States of North America, and from having seen their condition in the West Indies for some time, I am warranted to declare, that Negroes in general are an oppressed and much injured people; and every description of their treatment that I have met with, falls short of their real situation, and it always appeared to me that they were esteemed to be no better than labouring cattle.

In

In your last answer do you refer to any particular account of their treatment?

I have read various descriptions, but particularly Mr. Ramsay's description:—I read it in manuscript, in St. Kitt's, long before it was published, and, as well as I could, I compared the treatment of the Slaves with his description on the spot, and I thought it more favourable than the treatment deserved.

Did the punishments in the West Indies appear to you to be mild or severe?

They often appeared to me to be too severe.—I wish it to be understood that there are people there as good and as humane as in any other country, and that it is from the nature of slavery only that such are led into those cruel and harsh measures.

Was it common in the West Indies to see Negroes working in the fields in iron chains and collars?

I have seen many working in chains, sometimes two fastened together, both in the West Indies and North America.

Were these Slaves, after their days work, often put at night into a dungeon?

I have seen more than ten Negroes together taken from the field after labour, and put into a dungeon, which appeared to me much too small for them, some of them with chains; and next morning I saw one of them taken out dead.

Did you understand this to have been inflicted as a punishment; and, if so, for what offence?

It was as a punishment for running away, and to prevent their repeating it.

Do you mean to say that this was the only instance in which you have known Slaves so confined?

I have known them often put into a dungeon, but never so many at a time; I believe there might have been fourteen on this occasion, but I am not certain.

Was there any difference between the exterior appearance of the Slaves in America and those in the West Indies?

The Negroes in America seem to be heartier and more robust, owing, I suppose, to their being better fed.

Do you know what was the general allowance of food to the Slaves in America?

A quart

A quart of grain a day, either Indian corn, pease, or rice, according as it was the season, and a little salt.

Was it generally believed that in Carolina Slaves increased or decreased, putting out of the question all importation from Africa?

It is in general believed that they do increase without such importation.

Did it happen to you to be acquainted with the effects of those efforts which were made by the Moravians for the conversion and instruction of the Slaves?

I was told at Saint Croix that those Slaves who attended the instructions of the Moravians were more orderly and better behaved than those who did not.

What is your opinion of the abilities and disposition of the Negroes in general?

They are not inferior to the Whites; they have as much generosity, fidelity, gratitude, understanding, and ingenuity, are susceptible of every impression, and capable of receiving religious instruction, and improvement of every kind; I have had several Black as well as White servants, and I have found the former inferior in nothing to the latter; and I am convinced that education and opportunity only make the difference.

Within your knowledge, has any thing been done to alleviate the situation of the Negroes in general?

Nothing in my time; I left the West Indies in 1779, and at Christmas 1782 I left America, and came to England, and previous to that time nothing had been done.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 3^o die Martii 1791.

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER SCOTT, of the Royal Navy, called in; and examined.

Have you ever been on the coast of Africa, in what year, and in what vessel?

Yes; from Senegal to Cape Coast in the year 1769, in His Majesty's ship the Merlin.

Was it during the rainy season?
It was.

How many of the Merlin's men died of the disorders said to be incident to that part of the coast?

We buried eight, but only four of them could be charged to the account of the disorders of the country.

How many was her complement?
Ninety men.

Is the surf in those parts so great as to be an utter impediment either to the landing or to the shipping of goods?

By no means; I landed at every place where I was in my own boat.

Did you frequently so land?
No; not frequently.

At what places do you recollect so landing?

At Dix Cove, Commenda, and Cape Coast; the boats also landed at Succonda, but I was not in them.

Have you ever been in the West Indies?
Yes.

Is the surf on the African coast worse than that which you have seen on the shores in the West India islands?

I was in the West Indies a much longer time than on the coast of Africa, of course I must have seen greater surfs in the West Indies than I ever saw there.

What was your general impression of the situation of the Negroes in the West Indies, when you first landed there?

I thought them very cruelly used, from a transaction which happened the second day after my arrival; I saw a White man pursuing a Negro, and the Negro run into the water, and he after him; he brought him out, and carried him to the end of the wharf, ordered his hands to be tied by the wrists, and then hung him by the hands upon a crane at the end of the wharf, and either one or two half hundred weights tied to his feet; he was then

[Z z]

hoisted

hoisted up a little, but not off the ground, another Negro was ordered to whip him with a kind of a prickly bush, I believe ebony; as soon as the whipping began, I walked away, not wishing to see it; the next day I saw the Negro laying on the wharf taking the prickles, with the assistance of another Negro, out of his breech, seemingly much swelled and bloody; I asked the Negro the reason of his being whipped; he said the wharfinger thought he had staid too long on an errand.

Did any circumstances ever occur which gave you reason to believe that Slaves were sometimes worked with a view to extort from them as great a quantity of labour as possible, without any regard to their health or comfort?

I do not recollect any circumstances of my own knowledge, but I have had a man pointed out to me in the island of Saint Vincent of the name of Yeman, who they said treated his Negroes most cruelly, and used to say that four years labour of a Negro was enough for him; that he then had his pennyworth of him, and did not care what became of him afterwards.

Did you know any thing respecting this man's circumstances? There was an execution against his estates.—I saw the sale of his property.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. DAVISON called in; and further examined.

Have you any thing to add to your last answer?

Yes; I once purchased a Negro woman, that had been sold by her mistress to a Jew, in order to be sent off the island. The Jew afterwards settled on the island, which was the occasion of my purchasing her. She had two children, which her mistress kept from her, and which the Negro has frequently importuned me to purchase, but which I could not conveniently comply with. At another time I purchased a Negro man out of a Guinea ship, and on my being ordered to the north side of the island, this Negro found his brother, and brought him up to the fort for me to see him. Mr. Chambers, the owner of the brother, solicited me to part with my Slave, alledging that his own was a very valuable one to him, as he employed him in his boiling house, which, after much solicitation from him, I complied with, though very reluctantly, as my own was a very valuable one.

Was it generally understood in Jamaica, that the Maroon Negroes increased or decreased?

They increased most certainly, as I have frequently been in all their towns, and always saw a great quantity of children, and the numbers were, when I left the island, considerably increased to what they were when I first went to it.

Do you believe that they often incorporated among them the runaway Negro Slaves?

I am sure they did not; as they had a reward and mile money for bringing them to any public gaols.

Do you conceive the heat of the climate in the West Indies is such as that White people could not, without material injury to their health, do any kind of out door work, using proper precautions, and not exposing themselves to the mid-day sun?

I am sure they could, provided they lived moderate and temperate; as it is well known that the shipwrights and other tradesmen in the King's Yard, Port Royal, work frequently all day long, and I never knew them unhealthier than other people in general are.

Do White artificers often work at their respective trades in the West Indies, without material detriment to their health?

They certainly do.

Are thumb screws ever used as a punishment in the West Indies?

I believe they are very frequently, as I have seen several Negro girls at work with the needle in the presence of their mistresses, with a thumb screw upon their left thumb, and I have seen the blood gush out from the end of them.

Are domestic Negroes particularly subject to the caprice of their owners?

They certainly are.

Does any particular instance occur to your recollection?

I have frequently known their mistresses send them to punishment, without giving them any reason, or telling them for what; I have been sent for frequently to the clergyman's Slaves before mentioned, after they have been severely flogged and otherwise ill treated, so that I have conceived their lives to be in great danger, and

and particularly to one Negro woman who had been tied up all night by her hands, and had been abused with Cayenne pepper by her mistress in a way too horrid and indecent to mention. I lived next door to a woman at Port Royal, who washed linen; she was almost continually flogging her Negroes, and I have frequently gone in and remonstrated with her upon her cruelty, where I have seen the Negro women chained to the washing tubs, almost naked, with their thighs and backs in a gore of blood from flogging. I could mention various other instances of capricious punishments if necessary.

Have you any reason to believe that means are often used on board Guinea ships to suppress diseases amongst the Slaves, which afterwards break out with still greater violence, or prove the causes of other disorders?

Yes; I am sure of it, particularly fluxes, as I made it my business to enquire among the surgeons the mode of treatment on board the ships, which they very candidly told me. My wife's father had purchased a considerable number of Slaves out of a Guinea man, and several of them broke out with violent fluxes, which was the reason I made this enquiry.

Are new Negroes often put to work soon after their arrival?

I have known them put into the field two or three days after they have been purchased; they sometimes remain in the vessels in the harbours for two or three weeks before they are sold.

Was the chastity of the Female Slaves on plantations protected by law, or in fact, against the invasion of the White People on the estates?

I do not know there is any such law existing; if there is, I never knew it put in force; it is common for White people upon the estates to make choice of the Negro Women either for themselves or friends.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 4^o die Martii 1791.

MR. DAVISON called in; and further examined.

Do you remember seeing any sailors lying about in an ulcerated condition at Port Royal?

A great many in most parts of the island, particularly at Kingston.

Were

Were these chiefly belonging to Guineamen?

They were, as I have particularly asked them that question.

What appeared to you to be in general considered as the criterion of a manager's merit?

I have frequently heard the owners of estates say, that such an overseer had improved their estates by making a large quantity of sugar.

Was the manager's care of the Negroes, or keeping up the stock of Slaves by breeding, ever mentioned in the same connection?

I never heard any thing of that kind mentioned.

Had you any opportunities of observing how the estates of absentees, and the conduct of their managers, were inspected by the attorneys appointed for that purpose?

I have been upon such estates with attorneys, and I saw very little attention paid, except that of asking the overseer when the sugars would be ready to send down to market.

Were no enquiries made into the particulars of the Negroes situation and treatment?

I never heard any, though I have gone frequently upon the estates with the attorneys, and came away with them.

Did you ever hear owners of Slaves give their opinions, whether it was cheaper to buy African Negroes, or to breed from their own stock?

I have frequently heard them say, that a Creole Slave, when fit to work, costs them more money than a new Negro.

Are the attorney and overseer always distinct persons, so as that the former may be a check on the latter?

Not always—as I know several that were both attorney and overseer.

Do the attorneys generally reside so near the estates, that they have frequent opportunities of inspecting the situation and treatment of the Negroes?

They do not; as I knew several in Spanish Town, who were from 20 to 40 miles distant from the estates they were attorneys for.

Is the attorney's interest often directly concerned in increasing of the produce of the estate?

[3 A]

Certainly;

Certainly; as I have always understood that they have so much per cent. upon the crop made.

Do the overseers often possess Slaves of their own?

Very often; as I have known overseers have what is called a jobbing gang.

Is the circumstance of the overseer possessing Slaves of his own, productive of evil consequences to the Slaves of his absentee master?

I have known the master's Slaves sent out of his house into the field, and the overseers put in their room.

Are the domestic Slaves in families in the West Indies, more numerous than the servants kept in this country by families in similar situations?

They certainly are.

Are they much more numerous?

They are; as I have known from twelve to twenty kept in a house, when half the number would do very well.

Can you say whether the domestic Slaves commonly increase or decrease?

They certainly increase, as it is no uncommon thing to see a woman with two or three children.

To what cause do you chiefly ascribe this increase?

To their being better fed, less worked, and better treated.

Is it a practice not unusual, for Female Slaves to be let out by their Owners for purposes of prostitution?

It is a very common thing.

Do the Slaves ever sell vegetables at market on their owner's account?

They do; as there are several mountain estates, who maintain themselves chiefly by selling vegetables.

Did it appear to you that proper medical care was taken of the Negroes?

Upon many estates I am sure there was not, as the surgeon frequently lives at a distance from the estates, and attends and visits them when he thinks proper.

Did you know any instances of African Negroes expressing themselves with affection of their native country, and desiring to return to it?

I did, as I brought a Guinea woman to England who wished much to be sent back to her own country; and it is very common for Negroes when they are sick to say, they are going back to their own country.

Do they say it with apparent satisfaction?

They certainly do, as they express always a great deal of pleasure when they think they are going to die, and say, that they are going to leave this Buccra country.

Does it often happen that Slaves are confined any time in gaol on account of their master's debts?

It does, as I have often known them there for twelve months.

Did it appear to you that persons were often tempted by the prospect of immediate profit to purchase African Slaves, which proved the cause of their subsequent embarrassment?

I believe it is very common for owners to be involved with Guinea merchants, as they frequently remain upon their estates every day in the week except Sundays, and keep their gates always locked.

What credit is usually allowed to purchasers of African Negroes?

If planters, from one crop to another; and, if not planters, from six to twelve months.

Had you any opportunity of observing the situation of refuse Negroes?

I have very often, as I have seen them sold at public vendue in a wretched situation, and for very little money; several people make a trade in purchasing refuse Slaves.

Have the Maroon towns any superintendant or Chieftain?

There is a captain to every town, and a superintendant over the whole: this was the case when I was there; I cannot say how it is now.

What were the duties of the chieftain's office?

To keep order and regularity among them.

Could

Could runaways be harboured in the Maroon towns without its coming to his knowledge?

I think they could not, as he resides very near the town which he is captain over.

Does he consider himself as the guardian of the treaty existing between the Maroons and the Europeans?

He certainly does, as he is appointed for that purpose.

By whom is he so appointed?

By the governor of the island.

Is he then a Black or a White Man?

He is always a White Man.

And then the Witness was directed withdraw.

The Reverend Mr. DAVIES, called in; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

I was in the island of Barbadoes fourteen years, and left it about twenty-one years ago; the three last years in learning the management of a sugar plantation.

Was it generally understood that Slaves had a right to legal redress when ill used by their master?

Certainly not.

Was the appearance of the Field Slaves commonly such as to indicate their being well or sparingly fed?

It was difficult to judge from the mere appearance, though many of them appeared emaciated. During crop time they appeared very well; but before the beginning of the crop, many of them appeared very emaciated. I have seen their allowance dealt out to them; and to a grown Negro it was from seven to nine pints of corn, and about one pound of salt fish for a week. Some of the principal Slaves had as far as twelve pints, but the grain of the West Indies is much lighter than wheat.

Did Field Slaves ever acquire and possess considerable property?

I know none of them that did; they possessed a few necessaries in their houses, and they were allowed to keep a pig, or a goat, and poultry.

Did

Did it appear to you that it was a serious object among the planters to keep up the Stock of Slaves by breeding, so as to super-
fede the necessity of importation from Africa?

So far from it, that it was generally thought a necessary part of plantation expence to be incurred every six or seven years to purchase a lot of new Slaves; the other did not appear to be their system.

What in general appeared to you to be thought the best criterion of a manager's merit?

To produce large quantities of sugar at a small expence; this was the chief criterion, though there were instances of the owners discharging their managers for too much severity to their Slaves.

Did not the owner's sense of interest secure sufficient attention to the welfare of the Slaves, as constituting the most valuable part of his property?

I believe people in general considered them as the most valuable part of their property; yet it was plain from the fact, that their attention to them was insufficient, because a great number of recruits became necessary.

To what causes did it appear to you it was chiefly to be ascribed that the Negro Slaves did not keep up their numbers by breeding?

I think it was chiefly owing to the overworking of the females, which prevented their breeding as fast as they would otherwise have done.

In what particulars did this overworking of the women appear to consist?

In turning dung, and carrying it out on their heads in baskets, and in holing the ground for canes, wherein the weakness of their sex was not sufficiently attended to, being obliged to carry nearly equal weights with the men; the weight was about sixty or seventy pounds, and this they do for about eight hours a day, during the season for carrying dung. When they come home from work they are obliged to grind their corn by rubbing it between two stones, by the strength of their arms. Pregnant women, and women having children, are allowed to come into the field a little later than the rest of the gang.

Is it usually necessary for the women to rise any length of time before they go into the field?

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They

They must rise with the earliest dawn, between five and six o'clock, to prepare their victuals, and that they may be in time in the field to avoid punishment.

Did it appear to you that these several circumstances operated as a discouragement to marriage?

Yes, I think they did, and particularly the grinding of corn, for the women had a harder life after marriage than before, being then the Slave of their husband as well as of their master; by marriage, I mean their living together.

Did it appear to you a general practice to cultivate too much land for canes, and too little for provisions?

In my opinion they cultivated too much land for canes, and certainly too little for provisions, as a great many plantations were obliged to purchase North American corn.

Do you conceive that cultivating less for cane might have conduced not only to the better treatment of the Slaves, but also to the master's interest?

It would certainly have been conducive to better treatment of the Slaves, and would in my judgment have been ultimately for the benefit of the master.

Did it appear to you, that the opportunity of purchasing imported African Slaves often drew the Planter insensibly into expences, and proved the source of future embarrassment?

The dependance on importation certainly contributed to this effect.

Did it appear to you that the Slaves would have kept up their numbers by breeding, provided it had been made an object of the Planter's serious attention?

I cannot say I attended to it when I was in the island, but it does appear to me now, that by protracting the lives of the Slaves in general by good usage, and by the help of cattle and instruments of husbandry, especially the plough, and by a milder treatment of the females in particular, they might be able to keep up their numbers, and perhaps to increase them. I knew a few estates on which their numbers were kept up without importation. One I particularly knew, the rest I cannot speak so positively to.

Have the facts, which are the grounds of your present opinion, come to your knowledge since you left the island, or is it, that you have

have since drawn this conclusion from facts which then fell under your personal notice?

I ground my opinion upon the facts which then fell under my notice.

Under what disproportion of women do you conceive the number of the Slaves may be kept up by breeding, or is it necessary that the proportion of the sexes should be equal?

It is not necessary that they should be equal; with very good usage, if the females are to the males as three to four, the stock may be kept up by the births; and I knew one instance in which this was the case, where the proportion of females to males was as two to three.—This was on Kendal Plantation, belonging to Joshua Steele, Esq.

Were the Slaves pinched in their food, or over worked, when their masters were embarrassed?

In my opinion they were in general too sparingly fed, whether the master was embarrassed or not.

Had you ever the curiosity to ask the African Slaves how they had been made Slaves in their own country?

I have asked the question of some of them, and they answered me that they had been kidnapped.

Did it appear to you that the Slaves had as lively feelings as Europeans?

I think their feelings much the same as Europeans, and when removed from their habitations and spots of ground, there have been instances of their pining away.

Were the planters, so long ago as the period of your residence in the West Indies, generally understood to be embarrassed in their circumstances?

I understood from common report, that there were but few estates that were not more or less embarrassed, either from being in debt to the European merchant, or from being incumbered with jointures, or fortunes to brothers and sisters.

Is the practice of the Slaves doing their work with the driver over them universal?

I do not recollect a single exception.

Has not this a tendency to make them to be considered as degraded below the level of rational creatures?

They

They certainly are considered as rational creatures, but it has that tendency undoubtedly.

Is the custody of the whip committed to persons, who from their age and situation are fit to be intrusted with such a discretion?

It is committed to apprentice boys, as well as to men, who often punish the Slaves for very slight faults, arbitrarily.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. MARK COOK, called in; and examined.

Have you ever been in Jamaica, when, and in what situation?

Yes; I arrived there in 1774, and left it in 1790—I was three years in the planting business, and the remainder of the time as clerk and schoolmaster with different gentlemen of the island.

What was the first impression which you received from the appearance of the Slaves, or from any other circumstances?

I was shocked very much, as I lived close by a cane piece, where they worked, and I constantly heard the whip going.

What opinion have you formed of the way in which the Slaves are generally treated, and the light in which they are regarded?

They are treated very cruelly, and I think they are hardly better looked upon than beasts—the cattle are often better treated than they are.

Do you think in general, that they have a sufficient quantity of food?

I do not think they have—they have not time to cultivate their grounds.

Have you ever known Slaves eat putrid carcases, and if so, what do you imagine to have been the reason of their doing it?

I have known both Africans and Creoles do it; and I am very well convinced it was through want, as I am certain if they had had other food they would not have eat it.

Are they generally known to be cleanly both in their persons and food, when they have the time and opportunity of being so?

Very much so; they are very fond of washing themselves, and are very cleanly in their food.

Are they generally well or ill clothed?

Very indifferently; one half of them are almost naked in the field.

Do you mean that they are almost naked from not being able to obtain clothing, or from choice?

From want, and not from choice, as they are fond of clothes when they can get any.

In what manner are they lodged, particularly as to bedding?

Very badly.

Is it usual for the owners, managers, or overseers, to attend to the lodging of the Negroes, and to see that they are so accommodated as to preserve them in health?

They do not generally pay any attention at all to such matters; provided they can get their work done they do not attend to their lodging.

Do you think the usual punishments are severe, or otherwise?

Very severe.

Are they more so than you think necessary to procure the work to be properly done?

Yes, I do think so.

Do you think more work might be procured if the Negroes were better fed and less severely whipt?

Yes; I think that they would do a great deal more work.

Have you ever known Negroes compelled to perform any labour by moonlight?

Yes; they generally dung the cane pieces by moonlight.

Do you mean to say that this has actually been a common practice on estates which you have known?

It has.

Was grass picking, as usually managed, productive of hardship to the Negroes?

It certainly was; they were obliged to pick grass after their day's work.

What is the usual distance of the Negroes grounds from the works?

Generally about two miles, and I have known them farther.

How many hours in the twenty-four do Negroes in general work during crop?

I think in general about eighteen hours.

Does it often happen that they meet with injuries through mere fatigue and want of sleep?

Yes; it does very often. I myself knew a girl who lost her hand, which was taken into the mill as she was feeding it; for being overcome with sleep, she dropt against the rollers. I have heard of several instances of the kind.

Have you ever known the Negroes own grounds taken from them to be put into canes for the master's use, and wood land given them in exchange?

I have; at which the Negroes have been very much dissatisfied; it is certainly very hard upon them.

Is it frequent to exact grafts-picking of the Negroes for the cattle of the overseer or manager?

Yes; very common.

Are they punished if it be neglected?

They are; they seldom escape.

Is it your opinion that they are properly attended in sickness?

I do not think they are; they are very much neglected in general; there are doctors upon the estates, but they seldom attend.

Have you ever known Negroes ordered to field work by the doctor who have been totally incapable of performing it?

I have known them drop in the field, and been obliged to be brought back again.

What degree of work is expected from pregnant women?

Much the same as the others. I have seen them at holing work till within a few hours of their delivery.

Have you ever known them severely flogged during their pregnancy?

I have

I have known thirty-nine lashes given them within a few days of their delivery.

Have you ever heard Negro women express any wish respecting the having of children?

I have heard many of them express a wish that they might never have children to undergo the hardships they themselves have been subject to.

Do you know any thing of the allowance given to superannuated Negroes; and are such generally well taken care of?

They have no allowance, nor any thing but what they can get among their children or relations. I have seen them wandering about upon the beach, left to take care of themselves as well as they could.

Is desertion frequent among the Slaves?

Very frequent.

To what causes do you think it is in general owing?

Hunger, and the fear of flogging when threatened.

What are the usual punishments inflicted on runaways when brought in?

They are generally very severely flogged, and sometimes an iron boot put on one or both legs, or a chain or collar put round their necks.

How are these chains and collars fastened?

The collar is fastened with a rivet, and the chain is locked.

Have you ever known a Negro suffer any lasting injury from wearing these irons?

I knew a Negro who had lost his leg from wearing the boot; as to the chain and collar, I never knew any other injury from them than galling severely their necks.

Can the Negroes lie down to sleep with convenience in these collars?

When they wear a collar with three projections it is impossible for them to lie down, even with two they must lie very uneasily, —I have seen the collars with four projections.

What do you think may be the utmost earnings of a Field Slave, for his own benefit, per week?

A man

A man and his wife, if industrious, and have their due time allowed them, may earn three or four bits per week.

Did you ever know or hear of a Field Negro buying his own freedom?

No.

Are domestic Negroes frequently punished with much severity?

They are, but not so often as Field Slaves.

Have any instances of severe treatment of the domestic Negroes fallen under your observation?

There have; I knew a lady who had every Monday morning both her men and women Slaves laid down and flogged, for different misdemeanors which happened in the previous week.

Was this punishment inflicted for very slight offences?

It was.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 5^o die Martii 1791.

MR. COOK called in; and further examined.

Do you know of any legal protection which Slaves can obtain against injuries committed on them by their masters?

I know of none.

Have you known any particular instances of remarkable cruelty inflicted on either domestic or plantation Slaves?

Yes; on both.—I have known a Field Negro receive 200 lashes by order of the overseer, and have seen a Domestic Negro have fifty lashes by order of his mistress.

Did you ever know a master deliberately knock out the teeth of a Slave?

I have, of a Field Slave; the Slave had run away; he was brought in by a Negro, he had part of a turkey found with him, which

which he had stolen; his master then immediately made two Negroes hold him down, and with a hammer and a punch knocked out two of his upper teeth and two of his under teeth.

Did it appear that this Negro had stolen this turkey through hunger?

I really think he had, as he was nothing but skin and bones.

Was this master reckoned particularly cruel?

He was not reckoned a cruel master—I lived with him three years, and never remember any other cruelty committed by him.

Did you ever hear that any complaint was made to a magistrate; that any punishment was inflicted either by fine or otherwise on the owner or overseer, in the cases you have just mentioned, or in any other case whatsoever, on account of the ill treatment of a Negro?

I never did.

Have you ever known Negroes punished for making complaints to the owner or attorney against their overseers?

Many times.

Do you apprehend that the chastity of the Negro Women is secure against any attempt which an overseer may chuse to make?

I do not think it is secure at all; for if an overseer sends for a girl for such purpose, she is obliged to come, or else be flogged.

Do you recollect any particular instance of punishment being threatened in such case, and the consequence of such threat?

I have known them threatened very often, and flogged for not coming.

Did you ever know any Negroes run away in consequence of having been so threatened on this account?

I have; I knew a Mulatto girl that run away upon that account.

Had this girl any husband or children?

She had children by one of her own colour.

Did her husband and children go away too?

They all went away.

Do you recollect any instances of long and cruel imprisonment inflicted at the sole will of an owner?

Yes; I have known both Mulattoes and Quadroons, who were confined in irons for six or seven years—the consequence of it was, that when they came out, their limbs were so distorted and crooked, that they could not walk—I could not see them myself, as they were confined the whole time, but I was informed of it by one who lived two years upon the estate, and had seen them often, and with whom I lived afterwards in the same employ.

What occasioned their release?

The death of their mistress.

What is the usual and greatest recommendation of an overseer on a sugar plantation?

Making large crops in general, and working the Negroes hard; if he does not work them hard, he cannot make large crops.

Do you, or do you not mean to say, that the recommendation of the overseer is the magnitude of the crop which he produces, without regard to the manner in which the Negroes have been worked?

Yes; I do.

Do you know whether overseers are ever paid in proportion to the quantity of their produce?

I have known them engage upon estates for so much per hog-head of sugar, and so much per puncheon of rum; and I have known them at a stated annual salary.

Do persons ever officiate on estates both as attornies and overseers?

I have known them act in both capacities.

Have you ever known attornies, whose residences have been at a considerable distance from the estates they were to superintend?

I have known them reside forty or fifty miles from the estates.

Do you think any considerable proportion of the imported African Negroes die within the first three years after they arrive in the West Indies?

A great many die. A gentleman on whose estate I lived, bought

bought twenty-five Negroes in one lot, and at the expiration of two years he had not above eight or ten left.

Have you ever heard African Negroes speak of their own country?

I have heard them speak very much in favour of their own country, and express much grief at leaving it. I never knew one but wished to go back again.

Did you ever learn from them any thing of the manner in which they had been taken?

I was conversing with one of them once about the manner of their being taken; he told me that they undermined the house wherein he and his family lived, and came in upon them in the night, and took them all away.

Have you ever known Negroes commit suicide?

I knew one woman that hanged herself; and on the same property, before I came to it, a Negro had shot himself. I have heard of many other instances of the kind; indeed I saw another Negro man who had hanged himself.

Were these African or Creole Negroes?

All Africans.

Are you acquainted with the ceremonies or the funerals of the African Negroes?

Yes; they make great rejoicings on those occasions.

Why?

Because, as I have understood from them, they thought their countrymen were gone back to their own country again.

Do you know any thing of the capacity of the Negroes?

The capacity of some of them is very great.

Have you made much observation of their dispositions?

When they first come to the country they appear stubborn, but in course of time they alter very much for the better.

Do you think that they differ much in capacity and disposition from White Persons in the lowest orders of society?

I do not think they do, when they have been some time in the country.

Have

Have you known or heard of any instances of estates on which the Negroes have increased by births?

I knew two estates on which I really believe they did increase.

To what did you attribute that increase?

I look upon it, that it was through good treatment, and not having been worked too hard.

Do you know whether the Maroon Negroes are in an increasing state or not?

I believe from what I have seen of them, they are increasing very fast.

Are the domestic Slaves, on plantations in general, treated better or worse than the Field Slaves?

They are generally treated much better.

Do they usually increase?

Yes; I think they do—but I think not so fast as the Field Negroes, when they are well used.

Is the cultivation of cotton, coffee, and pimento more or less easy than that of sugar?

Much more easy.

Do or do not the Slaves look better and increase faster on those plantations, than on the generality of sugar estates?

I think they look better and encrease faster.

Do you know in what manner jobbing gangs are usually treated?

They are in general better treated than the Field Slaves, if they work under their own masters; but if they work under the overseer of the estate they are much more cruelly treated.

Do you know whether the embarrassment of the owner, or his non-residence, has any effect on the situation of his Slaves?

Yes; I think that if a gentleman is embarrassed, his Negroes are worse clothed and worse fed, and I think in general they are better treated when the proprietor lives upon the estate himself.

Do you know whether there was any regulation to prevent the separation of families when Slaves were sold, either by writs of venditioni, or out of the African ships?

I do not know of any.

Are

Are Negroes liable to be imprisoned when seized for the debts of their owners?

Yes, they are; I have known them lie in gaol a considerable time, and afterwards sold if the debt was not discharged.

Do you apprehend that White mechanics can perform the labour of their several occupations in the West Indies, without any considerable injury to their health?

I am of opinion that they can do equally as much labour in Jamaica, if under shelter, as they can in England, and out of doors, at proper hours.

Have you heard of any alteration having taken place of late years in the climate of Jamaica?

I believe at this time there are more droughts than there formerly were, on account of so much land having been cleared. I have heard many elderly natives of Jamaica say, that they never formerly wanted seasonable weather.

Have you ever seen Guinea sailors left on the island, and wandering in the country, or lying about the towns?

I have seen many such that have been lying about the towns, full of ulcers, and also have seen them travel in the country in the same state; they appeared very miserable people; a very great proportion of those who are in Kingston Hospital are Guineamen.

Do you know whether the women domestics in the towns are generally expected to make a better appearance than the allowance of clothing from their owner will enable them to do?

They are.

Do you know what means they have of acquiring such additional clothes?

I know of no other but that of prostitution, for they have no time at all allowed them.

Is it usual for runaway Negroes to be hunted for in the woods by the White People belonging to the estates?

It is very common; there are few estates but what have some runaways; and when there are a sufficient number in order to make it worth while, a number of book-keepers from the different estates go into the woods in search of them; they generally carry a musket or couteau with them.

Do they ever kill or wound such Negroes as they discover when on these parties?

They do at times fire at them, but not with intent to kill them.

Have you ever known any killed on such occasions by the persons sent in search of them?

I never did.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

CAPTAIN COOK, of the 89th Regiment of Foot, called in; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

Yes.

When, and in what islands?

In the years 1780 and 1781, in Barbadoes, St. Lucia, St. Christopher's, &c.

Did the Negro Slaves in general appear to you to be treated with mildness or severity?

In the towns I thought with very great severity.

Do any particular instances occur to you of their being treated with severity?

Many; one was an instance of a female Slave belonging to a woman named Rachael Lawder, who I saw beat in a most unmerciful manner; she beat her about the head with the heel of her shoe, till it was almost all of a jelly; she then threw her down with great force on a child's seat of a necessary, and there attempted to stamp her head through the hole; she would have murdered her had she not been prevented by the interposition of two officers. The girl's crime was, not bringing money enough from aboard ship, where she was sent by her mistress for the purpose of prostitution. Another instance was of a domestic Slave, who was an excellent servant, and who waited upon the officers at the mess, and was in general well respected by them; this poor creature had made a mistake in an errand for some cards; his mistress, a person in considerable opulence, and in a very respectable situation of life, said to him, by name, "Go to the jumper" (a person to whom she paid twenty shillings per year to flog her Negroes), "give my ser-

" vice

"vice to him, and tell him to give you twenty-seven lashes." The poor creature was obliged to comply. This very much displeased the company, and many of the officers left the house on that account. Another instance was of a female and confidential Slave of a young lady of fortune, who had lived about her person for many years; she was sister to a Slave, in a similar situation, to this Lady's sister, which Slave was noticed by the manager of the estate to the displeasure of his mistress. It being found that this poor creature was pregnant by the surgeon's son, who attended the estate, and the Lady's sister being there upon a visit, instigated her sister to the commission of some acts of cruelty, which were very much derogatory to the character of women of fashion of this country; they with their own garters tied the poor creature, three parts gone with child, neck and heels, and then beat her almost to death with the heels of their shoes; and she was from this beating a long while in danger of losing one of her eyes: they afterwards continued to use her ill by confining her and degrading her. I came in during the time the ladies were beating her, and was an eye-witness to it. I could mention a number of other instances.

In these or other similar instances, did the Slave obtain any legal redress for such ill-treatment?

Not in the least; nor do I know of any Slave having ever obtained redress from law for the worst injuries, nor even of punishment being inflicted upon the masters for the murder of Slaves.—Two instances of Slaves being murdered and thrown into the road happened during my stay in the island, and no legal enquiry ever took place that I ever heard of; in consequence of these circumstances I was led to make frequent inquiries, not only at gentlemen's tables, but of people of all descriptions; and the answer was universally, that they did not chuse to make examples of White men in that country, fancying that it might be attended with dangerous consequences.

Did it seem to you, from the privacy with which these cruelties were inflicted, that there was any apprehension in the persons who practised them of being brought to punishment, provided they were discovered?

I never knew any instance of any one endeavouring to hide or secrete a cruelty of this kind; and to shew this to be the case, I being upon a visit at General Frear's, at his upper estate near the college in Barbadoes, the general with two other officers and myself were riding in the morning to pay a visit to Judge Walcot; we saw near a house, upon a dunghill, a poor naked Negro nearly
suspended

suspended by strings from his elbows backwards to the bough of a tree, with his feet barely resting on the ground, and an iron weight tied round his neck, which appeared to us to be of fourteen pounds weight at least; there was not a creature near him, nor appeared to be near the house, and this wretch was left exposed to the rays of the noon-day sun; we found him in the same situation on our return a few hours afterwards, and were prevented only from releasing him by the advice of General Frear, who had an estate in the neighbourhood; the two gentlemen who were with me were so disgusted at the sight of the Negro, that they shortened their visit, and returned the next morning. There is, however, a general impression on the minds of the middling and inferior class of White people, that there is a law to punish them in case they give a Negro more than thirty-nine lashes at one time.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 7^o die Martii 1791.

CAPTAIN COOK called in; and further examined.

May not the law abovementioned be evaded by splitting one crime into several, and at short intervals giving the Slave the limited number for each?

No doubt; and where it is the custom to punish the Slaves at home, we had daily instances of it.—One instance in particular happened during my stay at Bridge Town, in Barbadoes, that appeared to us truly shocking.—Returning home one evening with Major Fitch, of the 90th regiment, later than usual, we heard for a considerable distance the most dreadful cries that could come from a human being; and as we approached the square in Bridge Town, we found that these cries came from the house of a man that sold liquor, and we heard repeated application of the whip to a creature whom we apprehended to be dying. Upon our requests to be let into the house, this cruelty seemed to be wantonly increased, which aggravated the Major and myself so much, we imprudently broke open the man's door, when we saw a poor creature, a Negro girl of about nineteen, chained to the floor, and nearly expiring with agony and the loss of blood. The man, had

had he not got behind his compter, would have been made an example of on the spot by one of our swords; immediately upon his retreat there he cried out in a kind of exultation, supposing himself free from the law, "Ha! but I have only given her thirty-nine lashes at any one time, and that I have only given her three times since the beginning of the night." Upon this wretch's apprehended security from the law, he began to threaten the Major and myself for breaking open his door; he damned us, and asked us what we had to do with his Slave, for that he would flog her to death for all any one, and that he should have given her the fourth thirty-nine lashes before morning; which, if he had, would certainly have been the Negroe's death, as she seemed dying when we opened the door.

Did it appear to you that the Slaves suffered when the master was embarrassed in his circumstances?

It was almost always the case; they never were so well clothed or so well fed in those cases, and those circumstances would sometimes arise from the rapacity of the managers in the absence of their masters.

So far as fell within your notice, were the Slaves worse treated of such persons as had a small number of Slaves, or of such as possessed a larger number?

I must confess from what I have observed, that the Slaves appeared to me to be the happiest on the largest estates, the managers of those estates being in general more respectable men.

Was it a practice not very unusual for persons even in a respectable situation of life to let out their Slaves for the purpose of prostitution?

It was a very common practice in the towns for female Slaves to be let out for that purpose, or at least by paying themselves so much weekly to their owners, and which was generally a sum pretty high, to have leave to go on board ships of war for that purpose; this was common among the inferior people, and frequently among the better sort of people. I have known a Negro girl severely punished on her return home to her owner without the full wages of her prostitution.

Did it appear to you that proper care was taken of such Slaves as from age or infirmity were of no further service to their owners?

Upon many of the better kind of estates they took care of them

to the last, allotting to them the easiest offices about the farms; in which cases I have seen Negroes grow extremely old, and useful to the last; but among the inferior proprietors, and sometimes amongst the most opulent, the case has been the reverse; they have been dismissed, and become the most distressed objects, not having any law to protect them, or to give them assistance in their poverty and old age; nor do I believe there is any law to prevent the proprietors of estates from turning such Slaves upon the public to starve and die in the streets.

Did it appear to you that White people might labour moderately in the climate of the West Indies without material detriment to their health, especially if they were allowed an interval during the middle of the day?

I have no doubt but that White people, by constant habit of temperance, and regularity of hours, may bring themselves to a habit of going through cheerfully nearly as much labour and fatigue, as any other people whatsoever; this I am certain of from a variety of instances which happened amongst ourselves, or under our own observations.

Did it appear to you that the absence of the owner was productive of ill consequences to the Slaves?

Not in general; but in some instances I believe it has been very much so; and in particular upon one estate, where the manager was said, in a very few years, to have made a larger fortune than his master.

In what estimation did it appear to you the race of Negroes was in general held, especially amongst the lower orders of White people?

In general among the White people, but particularly among the White women, nay even in the better kind of families, they not only generally believed, but endeavoured to propagate an idea that they were an inferior species of being.

Did you ever hear whether the clearing of the island of Barbadoes had been found to produce any effect on the climate?

I have heard in conversation at gentlemen's tables, and it seemed to be generally agreed, that the felling of the trees had been prejudicial to the fertility of the island, by, in a great measure, preventing, or at least not soliciting those friendly showers so often as they had experienced before.

Did

Did any instances come under your notice of Field Slaves buying their own freedom?

I have known instances of Slaves, both Mulattoes and African Negroes, purchasing their freedom, but never knew a Field Slave to do it.

Did any instances of Slaves destroying themselves come to your knowledge?

Yes; two during my residence at Barbadoes; one was a man that had fled from home for some crime he had committed, having been turned out of his hut, which his family had lived in many years; a circumstance, I have been informed, which never happens without some acts of desperation in the Slave. This Negro was lost for several weeks or months, and was met accidentally by the man whose business it was to take up runaway Negroes, and which man had two assistants with him; they intimidated the runaway Negro so much, that he never offered to fly, crying out to the man and his followers, "I will not be taken alive; you and I have lived many years together, and why should we hurt each other;" so brandishing his hanger, he said, "keep off," and immediately stabbed himself. The other instance happened on an estate which I used to visit. A Slave jumped into a well used for the purpose of throwing dead carcases in, in order to avoid punishment for a murder which he had committed from motives of jealousy.

And the Witness desired to add to his evidence.

Being once on an estate up the country with some brother officers, the conversation turned upon flogging, when it was asserted by the manager of the estate, that an old man, whose business it had been for some years to flog the Negroes on that estate, could strike with that exactness with a whip of six or seven feet long, or longer, so as to lodge the point of the lash just within the flesh, where it would remain till he came to pick it out with his finger and thumb; he went so far as to offer to shew us the experiment, tendering wagers that the man did it once in three times, which offer was of course declined.—The mode of flogging these Negroes is by laying them upon their bellies, with a Negro at each extremity to raise each hand and foot from the ground; this is the general mode of flogging them in the country, but in the towns their method is more horrid and shameful; the poor wretch is obliged to stand bare in the open streets, and expose his posteriors to the jumper. I was once particularly shocked at the sight of a young girl, a domestic Slave of about sixteen or seven-

teen years old, running about on her ordinary business with an iron collar with two hooks before and behind, projecting several inches, and this in the streets at Bridge Town.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. WILLIAM FITZMAURICE called in; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

I was.

In what islands, when, and for how long?

In Jamaica, from June 1771 to March 1786, in the capacity of an overseer, for the last ten years, and the former time as book-keeper, except six months on my first arrival, when I was clerk to a store in Kingston.

What was the usual mode of correcting the Slaves in the towns?

The usual mode was to send them down to the wharfs, tie them up and flog them, giving them thirty-nine lashes, and probably more; others were sent to the work-houses, and put in chains and flogged every morning, or every Monday morning, according to the disposition of their masters; the Slaves are stript, tied up to the crane, with two or one fifty-six pounds weight tied to their feet, and what is called a commissioner, or handkerchief, tied round them for the sake of decency, and flogged in that manner.

Was the punishment inflicted with severity?

In general so much so as to cut them and bring blood, so as to make their frocks if immediately put on appear as stiff as buckram.

Are these punishments inflicted by order of the magistrate, or that only of the owner?

I never knew an instance of it by the order of a magistrate during my experience of fifteen years.

Were women in a state of pregnancy flogged at the place and in the manner just described?

Very often it happens that they were, and there were frequent instances of their miscarrying through severe whippings.

Was

Was it a place of public resort where this punishment was inflicted?

It was the most public place, and they were sent there on that account, and for the conveniency of the crane and the weights.

Did this mode of punishment continue the same during all your stay in the island?

It did.

Were the grounds allowed the Slaves for raising their own provisions always near their habitations?

Always the reverse; sometimes at the distance of three miles, and sometimes situated in such a place, that it was with great difficulty they could get at them. All the estates that I had the management of, and the greatest number of those I knew, both on the north and south sides of the island, were thus situated.

When the master was embarrassed in his circumstances, was it usual for the Slaves to be pinched in provisions?

It always is the case respecting the purchasing provisions at the time of storms or hurricanes.

Is the ground given to Slaves for raising their provisions ever taken from them, and allotted to the raising of canes?

Always, if they are situated near the cane pieces, and the proprietor wishes to enlarge his estate; they have other ground given them in exchange, and a day perhaps every week allowed them to bring it to perfection; this often is attended with the greatest destruction of the Negroes; they go about new grounds with great reluctance; and changing their Negro houses has nearly the same effect. I have myself changed Negroes to by far a healthier situation, and I have lost many of them from the effect of the change upon their spirits.

Are the Negro huts commonly sufficiently protected from the weather?

No, they are not;—some Negroes have their houses pretty dry, but the greater part of them are open, and exposed to the weather—their houses are made of wattle, without being plaistered—they lie at night on a board on the ground close to the fire, and after the fire goes out they suffer by cold and damp—this occasions many of their disorders, and is particularly hurtful to lying-in women, and they lose more children by this than from any other circumstance whatever, as they generally die of the locked jaw.

What intermissions are usual during crop time, in the labours of the boiling-house ?

Estates that are weakly handed, which is the case by far of the greater part of the island, at the commencement of crop form their Negroes into two spells—they generally change at twelve o'clock in the day, and at twelve at night—the Negro boilers, as well as the other Negroes about the works, go out to cut cane at shell blowing, at half-past one o'clock, and continue at it till dark, then they are drawn off to carry cane-tops or grafs to the cattle pens, and then may go to rest till twelve at night, when they are called up to relieve the spell in the boiling-house, by which they themselves were relieved at twelve in the day.—On every estate the boiling goes on night and day without intermission, except Sunday ; but where they are well-handed they are divided into three spells, and have intermissions accordingly.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Note.—For the remainder of Mr. Fitzmaurice's Examination, see Page 217.

Martis, 8^o die Martii 1791.

MR. THOMAS CLAPPESON called in ; and examined.

Have you ever been in the West Indies ; in what islands, and for how long ?

I was at Jamaica in 1762 and 1763, and from 1768 to 1778, and 1786, 1787, 1788, and 1789.

What was the general opinion which you formed of the treatment and situation of the Slaves ?

Upon my first going there, I considered them as severely treated, and in a miserable situation.

Is it your opinion that the quantity of food which they are able to obtain is sufficient and adequate to their proper support under the labour which they are obliged to perform ?

I do not think it is in general.

In

In what situation were you during your different residences in Jamaica ?

The first two years in the seafaring line, the rest of the time as wharfinger and pilot.

Had you opportunities in your situation as wharfinger of seeing many Negroes belonging to the different estates ?

Yes ; the cartmen and Negroes that came down to the place to sell provisions.

Have you ever been led by the appearance of Negroes to inquire if they were properly fed ?

Yes ; and they generally said (particularly in dry weather, when provisions were scarce) " Hungry da kill me."

Have you ever known provisions of very bad quality bought for the use of the Negroes ?

Yes ; I have sold provisions of very bad quality for the use of Negroes, such as damaged corn and flour, and the like.

Do you mean that it was the custom with many persons to buy such provisions on account of their cheapness, or that you have only sold such in times of scarcity, when food of a better quality was not to be obtained ?

I have known people buy it merely for cheapness, and when there was better to be got.

Has it been so bad as that the Negroes have complained of having such provisions given them ?

Yes ; they generally complained of it every time they came to fetch it from the wharf. A neighbour of mine told me his hogs would not eat it.

Have you ever heard whether, in consequence of the embarrassment of the planter, it is usual for his Negroes to suffer either in the quality or quantity of their food ?

It is very common for them to suffer. I have known several planters who were embarrassed, and had no credit to obtain provisions.

Have you ever known, in times of scarcity, that persons who were reputed to be in good circumstances, have suffered their Slaves to be pinched for want of food ?

I have known a person in the neighbourhood where I lived, who
was

was reported to be worth £. 50,000, lose ten or twelve of his Slaves for the want of food, when food was to have been obtained.

What in general is the object of the thefts of Negroes?

Generally what they can eat or drink, and necessaries they want, such as soap, candles, &c. and which they sometimes steal to sell to others.

What observation did you make on the clothing of the Negroes?

That they are in general badly clothed.

Have you ever known Negroes go naked through choice?

No.

Did the punishments in general appear to you to be severe?

Yes.

Have you known desertion to be frequent?

Yes.

What do you apprehend to have been the usual causes of it?

Generally the fear of punishment.

Are runaways punished when retaken, and in what manner?

Yes; generally with a whip. I have heard of very great severities used to such Negroes. I have seen them wear iron collars and pothooks; the collars were rivetted round their necks, and likewise the pothooks with three prongs were rivetted.

Do you conceive that a Negro wearing such a pothook could lie down to sleep with any convenience?

I do not suppose they could conveniently, as the prongs generally project two feet long.

Have you ever known a severe punishment inflicted on a pregnant woman?

I knew one woman that was whipt, and was delivered immediately upon the spot.

Did you ever hear that the Slaves were able to obtain any legal redress, on account of, or protection from any injuries committed upon them by their masters or overseers?

I never heard of their obtaining any redress.

Have you ever had any conversation with the overseers of any estate which confirmed you in this opinion?

Yes; I have had frequent conversations with them, and one overseer particularly told me, that he often put the Negroes on the picket, to extort confession.

Have you ever known any remarkable instance of severe flogging inflicted on a Wharf Negro?

Not in particular on a Wharf Negro, but I have of other Negroes, particularly of a Cooper, who laid his Negro down, and gave him 200 lashes.

Do you know for what crime this punishment was inflicted?

Yes; he had been stealing some rice from his master.

Do you know what allowance of food was given by that man to his Negroes?

He allowed them one bit per week, and one herring a day to each.

Were you personally acquainted with any other instances in which very little or no food was allowed?

Yes; the wharfinger that I succeeded, in 1786, allowed his Negroes only one herring a day, with no other allowance. I knew one man who had an old decrepid woman Slave to whom he would not allow any thing.

Do you recollect in what year this was?

In 1789; and I frequently remonstrated with him on the subject without effect.

Do you know whether Negroes are in any case liable to be thrown in gaol on account of the debts of the proprietors?

They are frequently taken on writs of Venditioni, and put into gaol.

When sold in consequence of such writs, is there any attention paid to avoid the separation of families?

I never heard that there was.

What is the general recommendation of an overseer, on which his character and employment most depends?

Making good sugars, and large quantities of it?

Have you ever known an overseer paid in proportion to the quantity of the produce?

Yes; I have known an overseer paid a guinea per hoghead for all he could make above a certain quantity, besides his salary.

Have you ever known a person attorney and overseer to the same estate?

Yes; I have known several in both situations.

What was the general opinion of the effect of the residence of the owner on his estate?

It is supposed that the Negroes are better treated when the owner resides on the estate.

Did you ever hear any general opinion as to the advantage of well treating the Negroes?

Yes; they always supposed the better they were treated, the more it was for the owner's interest.

Was there any practice of obliging Town Negroes to pay a certain sum per day to their masters, which was productive of much oppression?

Yes; it is very common for those persons who have few Negroes, and but little employment for them, to send them out, and oblige them to bring in three bits per day. I have known them to steal grass, and sell it, in order to procure the three bits. I knew a man that had an old Negro with but one leg, and whom he obliged to pay to him four bits per day.

Have you known them severely punished for failing in the exacted sum?

Yes; I have known them very severely punished.

What observations have you made on the capacities of African Negroes?

They are capable of being made mechanics; such as carpenters, coopers, stone-masons, &c.

Have you ever heard of suicides committed among them?

Yes; I have heard of their hanging and drowning themselves.

What reason have you heard assigned for this practice?

I have heard different reasons assigned; sometimes jealousy, and sometimes fear of punishment.

Did

Did you ever hear of its being a common opinion among them, that they return to their own country after death?

Yes; it is a very common opinion.

Had you any reason to imagine that many were kidnapt from their own country?

I have frequently heard of their being kidnapt; I had one Negro who had been a Negro-catcher in his own country.

Have you ever been a witness to the sale of African Negroes, and in what manner were they conducted?

I have several times seen those sales on board of ship by scramble.

Were they always so sold?

All that I ever saw sold were so.

Did you ever know or hear of any precautions being taken on such occasions to prevent the separation of relations and friends?

No; I never heard of any such precautions.

Were you ever a witness to a sale by scramble after the passing the Consolidated Act?

I saw a sale by scramble, in 1789, in a butcher's slaughter-house on the beach.

Is it your opinion that White men, if temperate, are able to undergo labour in the climate of Jamaica?

I believe they may; I have myself worked in Jamaica as hard as ever I did; there are no people in the world work harder than our sailors do in Jamaica.

Did you ever hear whether any alteration had taken place in the climate by the clearing of the lands?

Yes; it is said that near the sea, clearing the lands causes more dry weather.

Did you ever make returns to the vestry of your parish, of the Negroes in possession of your employer?

Yes, frequently.

Was it expected that such returns should distinguish the sexes; and, in fact, were they so distinguished in them?

No; I never made any distinction.

What

What are the usual employments of the free Negroes?
Fishing generally, and mechanical employments.

Were they usually held to be persons of bad character?
No; they generally behaved themselves very well.

Did you ever hear it remarked, that severity of treatment has been carried so far as to break the hearts, and shorten the lives of the Negroes?

I have frequently observed, that people who treated their Negroes severely, lost a great many of them; and I have frequently heard it remarked by others.

Have you ever heard it observed, that buyers of new Negroes frequently became embarrassed in consequence of such purchases?

I have heard of several that have become embarrassed in consequence of purchasing more Negroes than they could pay for.

Did you understand it to be a general opinion, that purchases of new Negroes were generally productive of profit or advantage?

When they are well taken care of, they are no doubt profitable.

Have you known any thing respecting the mode in which Guinea ships get rid of any part of their crews?

I have frequently heard it said amongst seafaring people, that they ill treat them for the purpose of making them desert.

Did you understand, that it was profitable to a Guinea ship to carry home all the people she brought out?

No; I always understood that they did not want to carry home as many as they took out, and that they generally got clear of as many as they could in the West Indies, to save their wages.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 9^o die Martii 1791.

MR. CLAPPESON called in; and further examined.

Were you in Jamaica at the time when the act of the assembly called the Consolidated Law was passed?

Yes.

Did you hear any opinion frequently expressed in conversation at that time respecting the motives for passing it?

I frequently heard it said, that it was on account of the stir that was made about the Slave Trade in England.

In what light was the law itself regarded?

I never heard that there was any regard paid to it respecting the treatment of the Slaves.

Do you recollect any apparent alteration for the better in their treatment, during your residence in the island, after the passing the law?

Not any; they were still treated as before.

Did you ever hear of any case in which a prosecution had taken place on any of the provisions of that law?

No; I never did.

Did any instance ever come to your particular knowledge in which its provisions were disregarded?

I knew of one instance of an old and decrepid woman, to whom her owner would not allow either victuals or clothing.

Did you ever mention to this owner that he might be compelled so to do by the operation of that act?

I have frequently remonstrated with him on the ill-treatment of his Negroes, but I did not mention the late act.

Did you ever advise any other of his Negroes to lay an information against him before a magistrate, on account of this breach of the law?

I have told a son of the same old woman, that if he complained to a magistrate, the magistrate would, perhaps, order his mother to be taken care of.

Do you know whether he did make such complaint?

I believe he never did.

Have you any reason whatsoever to imagine, that the fear of being ill-used in consequence of it might deter him from so complaining?

I believe it might, as his master used to treat his Negroes very harshly in general.

Have you any reason to imagine that the circumstances of planters are in general considerably improved by making purchases of new Negroes?

I believe they may be considerably improved if the Negroes are well taken care of.

From circumstances which have come to your own knowledge, do you believe that in fact they are generally so improved?

No; I believe there are many exceptions, especially when the planters are involved in debt.

Was it usual, as far as your experience went, for those planters whose credit was not very good before, to become better paymasters in consequence of purchases in new Negroes?

No, by no means;—I have heard many complaints, that they purchased Negroes when they would not pay their other debts.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

WILLIAM BEVERLEY, Esquire, a Student of Lincoln's Inn, called in; and examined.

Were you ever in America?

Yes; I was born there, in the State of Virginia—I lived there the first sixteen years of my life, went back in the year 1786, and was then resident for upwards of two years in different parts of America.

So far as you had an opportunity of knowing, did the Negro Slaves in that part of America keep up or even increase their numbers by breeding?

In general they did—they always kept them up, and generally increased—in the instance of my father's own property, they increased from 1761 to 1788, to more than double their number, being at the first of those periods about 200 (I cannot speak to the exact number), and, at the latter period, he paid taxes upon upwards of 540; of which number of 540, not above twenty or thirty had been added by purchase, because he sold and gave away so many of his old Slaves, as to reduce the number added by purchase to the number of twenty or thirty.

Was it generally understood in America, that the Slaves had a right to legal redress in case of ill treatment on the part of their master, or other White Person?

In the case of their master they had not; but in other cases they had, provided they could bring proof of such ill treatment by two White Witnesses.

Did it appear to you that the climate of Virginia was congenial to the constitution of the Negroes?

In summer they generally had their health better than in winter, when they always complained of the severity of the cold.

Did the cold seem to be injurious to their health?

Not at all, when they were well clothed. The disorders the most fatal in that climate are agues and fevers in the summer, to which the Negroes are less subject than the Whites.

Did it appear to you, that the punishments were generally inflicted with mildness or severity?

In general with much severity, but that depends a great deal upon the disposition of the owner.

Can you recollect the Slaves ordinary allowance of food?

They had each one bushel of the meal of Indian corn per week.

Had they any ground to cultivate for their own use, in addition to this allowance?

They usually had, but that also depended a good deal upon the indulgence of the master—they were all allowed to raise poultry.

Were any attempts made to give the Slaves any religious or moral instruction?

None that I ever heard of.

Did the Slaves in general work task work?

I have heard of it in some instances, but in general it was not practised.

Did any instances of Slaves destroying themselves fall under your personal notice, or come within your knowledge?

Never one.

Was there any difference observable in the appearance of different gangs of Slaves in proportion to the circumstances or dispositions of their owners?

Yes; persons who were in possession of large properties, situated

situated at a distance from their own residence, were obliged to commit their Slaves to the care of a manager or overseer, and it frequently happened that they were treated with much more severity than those immediately under the eye of the master.

Is the Committee then to understand that this difference of treatment had observable effects upon the appearance of the Slaves?

Yes.

Did you, when in America, hear the opinions of planters concerning the expediency of the abolition of the Slave Trade, with a view to their particular interest?

I was told, when in America, that when the question was first agitated in 1774, there were many doubts and apprehensions as to the practicability of keeping up an adequate number by their natural increase; and those persons so doubting have since expressed to me a conviction that their fears were groundless.

When then did the abolition take place in America?

In 1774.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. FITZMAURICE called in; and further examined.

What were the common hours of working and of rest out of crop time?

After crop they form themselves into two gangs, if there is a tolerable strength upon the estate; the shell blows for turning out sometimes at four o'clock, sometimes at five, and sometimes earlier, but this depends upon the overseer; they work till ten o'clock; the driver calls breakfast, gives them about fifteen minutes, or perhaps half an hour for that purpose; they continue at work until one o'clock, when the shell blows for dinner, if it is a rainy season, so as to take the advantage of the weather, they continue to work until the rain begins to fall, which generally is about two o'clock, or perhaps later. I now speak of the seasonable parts of the island. The Negroes have about an hour and an half to get their dinners, and another half hour to get into the field, so as that the last shall get into the field exactly at the end of two hours; if they exceed this, they are generally flogged. It often happens that they run to their grounds, which may be at a distance, to bring home provisions for

for supper; this occasions loss of time, for which they are often flogged; and from dinner they work till dark, and then drawn off to trash cattle pens, or carry home grass; then the list is called by the book-keeper, and they are discharged; by the time they get home it may be perhaps about eight o'clock. Nothing occasions more uneasiness to the Negroes in general than this exaction, as the willing ones are obliged to wait until the slothful Negroes are brought up, and it often occasions a whipping to those Negroes that neglect this duty. Some estates do not exact this duty, but the generality do.

You have said the shell blows sometimes as early as four o'clock, or even earlier, is it then to be understood that the Slaves labours ever begin sooner than six o'clock?

They do; by having various works to do which are considered as detached jobs from the field labour, such as hoeing intervals, which they can do before day, as also carrying mould to cattle pens, chopping up dung, or making mortar, or carrying white lime, or making preparations for tradesmen employed in the buildings about the works—these are called before-day jobs, which must be done so far as not to break in upon the general work of the plantation.

Was it usual in the island of Jamaica for the Slaves to do task-work?

I never knew it but in one instance, and that was upon a plantation which I had the care of as overseer.—I hired sixty Negroes belonging to a Mr. Douglas—they were all American Negroes—all of which gang worked by task-work.—Their master or overseer used every morning to measure out a task; some used to finish at one o'clock, or at two o'clock, and then they had the remainder of the day to themselves; the plantation Negroes were doing the same work on the adjoining land, and they would not finish till dark (even with the driver) the same quantity of work; so as from this I should suppose that task-work (upon such work as will admit of it) would be to the ease and comfort of the Negroes.

Did they work under the lash of the driver?

The driver carried no whip at all, and he was only with them occasionally to see that the work was properly done.

When Negroes work, as they commonly do, in rows, with the driver after them with his whip, is it not almost a necessary consequence that the weakly will be pushed beyond their strength in order to make them keep up with the strong?

I am very sorry to say that a great number of Negroes are hurried to their grave by that very consequence, as the able Negroes, even if they are placed with the weakly, in order to bring them up, will work forward so as to leave them behind, and then the weakly Negro seldom fails of being severely flogged up by the driver, and considered as worthless, and perhaps kept all noon to bring up his row.

Are the Slaves attended to their own grounds on a Sunday by the driver or overseer?

It is part of the duty of the overseer and book-keeper to pay particular attention to the Negro grounds, and those Negroes who are found to be slothful in cultivating their grounds, or who are troublesome in coming up to the stores to ask for victuals, are collected by the driver on every Sunday morning, and on those days which they get for the purpose of working their grounds; they are conducted to the Negro grounds, and kept to work in a gang, either in clearing a piece of ground for provisions, or putting in order those grounds which they have—this is done on a Sunday as well as on any other day; this was generally the custom throughout the island, and it is what I have performed myself.

What days besides Sundays were ever allowed them to work in their own grounds?

A day in every other week, as the overseer chose.

From what distances did the Negroes ever carry articles to the Sunday market?

It is frequent to see Negroes at the distance of eighteen or twenty miles go to the Sunday market; the last four years I lived twelve miles from Spanish Town, and I have known Negroes at the distance of eight miles farther in the country carry loads to that town: I knew those Negroes from being intimate with the manager, and often dining with him; these long journies are exceedingly hurtful to the Negroes, and it is almost impossible to prevent them undertaking such.

Did you know any instances of Field Slaves purchasing their own freedom?

During my residence at both the north and south side of Jamaica I never heard one instance of it; I have known, under my own management as well as under others, Negroes who accumulated a little money, but those Negroes were generally head carpenters, drivers, coopers, &c. and who have endeavoured to purchase

chase their freedom; there have been instances of their master's selling them their freedom when they were on the border of becoming invalids, provided that the master could do it; I mean if his estate was not incumbered by mortgage: the last estate I lived upon, there was a very old Negro, yet a very valuable one, as he was employed as head cattle man, who applied to me to speak to the attorney to procure him his freedom, but the estate being under mortgage, it could not be complied with.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 10^o die Martii 1791.

MR. FITZMAURICE called in; and further examined.

Is it not sometimes the practice for an owner to oblige his or her Slave to bring in a stipulated sum weekly, leaving to the Slave the mode of obtaining it?

It is very frequent, particularly in the towns, with Negroes belonging to the poorer sort of White People, and to Jews; they allow them to go out to work, and bring them weekly whatsoever the master and the Negro agree for—many of the Negroes who are without trades are pushed very hard to comply with this, and it often happens that they skulk into the country, commit depredations upon plantations, and often are chopped and maimed by the watchmen, and taken up as runaways, and sent to gaol—women who are handsome are obliged to bring home a greater proportion of wages than ordinary Negroes, as it is expected they will be taken into keeping by White or Free Persons. This is much the practice in Kingston and Spanish Town, where I had occasion to be a good deal, during my residence in the island; also, the old Negroes belonging to Jews in particular, which are past labour, are desired to provide for themselves in the best manner they can, and I am sorry to say, they often suffer by hunger, as well as from rough treatment, when they are caught on plantations committing thefts, which hunger leads them to.

What medical attention is commonly paid to Negro Slaves?

Upon some estates, where the proprietor lives, the doctor may attend the hot-house twice a week, which is generally expected from

from them, but it often happens, where the proprietor does not live upon the estate, and the attorney at the distance of thirty, fifty, and one hundred miles from the plantation, that the Negroes suffer very severely indeed from the want of medical attention; and it often happens that young and inexperienced men are intrusted with the medical care of the Negroes, which is generally attended with very fatal consequences, and certain destruction to the proprietor—This I know from my own experience—and the ordinary care of the Slaves, when sick, depends upon the hot-house man or woman.

What do you mean by the hot-house man or woman?

The hospital, or the place for the reception of the sick, is called the hot-house, and the man or woman appointed by the overseer to administer the medicines according to the doctor's or overseer's directions, are called the hot-house man or woman. These persons bleed and dress sores, and do all lesser matters that relate to the sick.

Is wine and any other article of that sort allowed in the hot-houses, when the doctor advises it?

When the proprietor lives upon the estate, they let the hot-house person have a little wine, by the doctor's order; but when the proprietor does not live upon the estate, perhaps the overseer, even if he was so humane as to give it out of his own pocket, had it not in his power, being perhaps at a distance from town, and no wine upon the estate. Attornies in general do not allow it, alledging that it would not be allowed in their accounts. This was always what they told me, upon writing to them for wine for the sick. I know of some proprietors, whose estates are in their own possession, that send out wine from this country for the sick; but this is not general.

Does the nature of the Negroes food often give rise to any particular disorders?

It does; after a long drought, Negroes are apt to get fluxes, by eating green vegetables, or bad flour, but green vegetables in particular.

Does it appear to you to be in general the serious object either of owners or of overseers, to keep up or increase the stock of Slaves by breeding?

I have lived with proprietors who wished to encourage the propagation of their Negroes, but it often happens that they are obliged

obliged to push them in order to make good crops; and I have lived with others who desired to push them, and with whom the object of the loss of a few Negroes or stock was nothing in comparison to making large crops, so as to satisfy their creditors; and a great many Negroes suffer from their masters being involved, particularly on estates which are in the hands of the mortgagees.

Is not the master restrained from this pushing of the Slaves beyond their strength by the fear of losing those he has, and the apprehension, that being distressed in his circumstances, he will not be able to buy or obtain credit for more, in the room of such as he may lose?

In general people who are so circumstanced push constantly to get out of debt, and to raise their credit to purchase Negroes; and I have known proprietors who were in bad credit purchase new Negroes, when probably they could not get credit for any other commodity. There is a custom, in Jamaica in particular, of obtaining Negroes upon bond and judgement.

Did you ever hear any calculation made concerning the time which an African Negro would be required to last in order to repay the price of his purchase?

I have not in particular, except in the parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale, some years ago, that it was an old saying, that if a Negro lived seven years he paid for himself; and the labour was so hard in that parish, that it was a proverbial saying, that a Sixteen-mile-walk book-keeper and a Clarendon mule were the two hardiest animals in the country—the Sixteen-mile-walk means the Vale, which contains sixteen miles in length.

Did you ever hear amongst proprietors and overseers, whether it was reckoned cheaper to breed Slaves, or to purchase Africans?

Several proprietors told me, that they considered every child born and reared upon the estate to be a dear Negro, and overseers in general have a dislike to it, on account of its interfering with the work expected from the Negro women. Other proprietors I have known take a pleasure in seeing the women breed.

Was the mortality of Negro infants considerable, so far as you had an opportunity of observing?

It was; many die of the lock jaw within the fourteenth day, and as far as I believe, from my last six years experience, is chiefly owing to cold and uncleanness, as the lying-in women in general have a large fire in their room, which is often broken, so as to let in

the cold, and when the fire goes out, a severe chill naturally follows, by which the infant suffers ; and a great many die with the yaws, which requires great care in respect to cleanliness.

When you were overseer, did you yourself ever receive directions to pay particular attention to the rearing of children ?

I have from some gentlemen ; but speaking generally, from my knowledge of the treatment of young infants, they had not the care which is requisite.

What indulgences, either as to the time or the nature of their work, were commonly allowed to women before child-birth, and whilst they continued to nurse their children ?

They are exempted from hard work during the three last months of their pregnancy, as they are from turning out in the mornings ; they are turned out within three, four, or five weeks after their delivery ; these circumstances entirely depend upon the disposition of the overseers ; and upon the whole they do, but little work for the first six months, and it is on this account that the overseers so much dislike the breeding upon the estate.

Do you believe, that the stock of Slaves might be generally kept up, or even increased, by breeding, if it were made an object of the planter's and overseer's serious attention ?

Not without changing the present system of management. It would be a matter that would take some time to bring about, I mean with respect of easing the present labour of the Field Negroes, and which, in my opinion, might be accomplished by adopting the plough upon every estate, and by making a point, where the plough can run, to put in the canes after the plough.

Did any instances come to your knowledge, wherein the stock of Slaves was kept up by breeding ?

Yes ; I have known some estates that have kept up their stock ; for instance, Rainsberry estate, in the lower part of Clarendon : also on estates I have lived upon myself, namely, Orange estate, in the parish of St. James's, and Eden estate, in the same parish.—On the Rainsberry estate they increased so fast, that they drew off a gang to settle a new estate called Yarmouth, which I had the care of, but the settling of which was discontinued on account of the change of the attorney.—On Orange estate there were no Negroes bought for at least fifteen years, and they increased, as they also did on Eden estate :—where the Negroes are worked with moderation the stock may be increased ; I have known estates where the Negroes were worked severely hard they increased and decreased nearly equal.

Did

Did any instances fall under your notice, wherein a change of management produced any alteration for the better or the worse in this particular?

There is nothing more common than Negroes suffering by the change of management, as new overseers, as well as unexperienced overseers, use exertions which fall on the Negroes, by endeavouring to get greater crops than their predecessors did.

Did any instances come to your knowledge, which tended to prove that the planter's interest was most promoted in the long run, by working his Slaves more moderately, though the present crops might be thereby less considerable?

Yes; I have known an instance of a gentleman who had two estates in the parish of Clarendon; the management of one of them I had myself; he had too few Negroes for the two estates, but sufficient for one; he was also much involved, and his Negroes were suffering from being overworked; he came to a determination of selling off his estates, and which he did; and upon settling his accounts with his creditors in Kingston, he found he was in possession of so small a sum over and above his debts, that he immediately returned, as the writings were not signed, and retook possession of both his estates; the Negroes of one he drew to the other, which made an ample gang, and he is now making 400 hogsheads of sugar, and is a clear man; both estates did not make 150 hogsheads at the time he changed his system of management; most part of the time he was his own overseer; I never knew he bought any Negroes since that time, which is about thirteen years ago; but to this I cannot speak as a fact, as I was some distance from his neighbourhood the last eight years I lived in the island.

Were there any particular instances of an opposite sort, that is, where purchasing the Slaves terminated in materially injuring the planter's circumstances?

There were, in the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale, upon the property of a gentleman lately deceased; by over pushing, the most part of his Negroes were destroyed while he was in England, and when he returned he found his estates almost without Negroes, and judgements against him to the amount of a large sum of money to various people, and those Negroes that lived were taken upon writs of Venditioni; I purchased myself, at a public sale, fifty odd to cover a debt for a house in Kingston; two of his estates were entirely thrown up when I left the island, the other three are in the hands of the mortgagees. Another estate, in the parish of St. James, within
three

three miles of Montego Bay, was making from 180 to 200 hogf-heads, with an adequate strength, when it was put in possession of the mortgagees; in twelve years it was reduced to ten hogfheads; the Negroes were destroyed by working in swamps making an unnecessary canal; the estate was brought to sale in 1788, and purchased by the mortgagee, and is now brought up to its former crops. The proprietor of this estate was the chief part of that period in England; the overseer of which estate made £ 10,000, and retired.

Were you yourself ever directed in your capacity of overseer to push the Negroes to excessive exertion?

In one instance I was, by a gentleman in the parish of St. John; his estate was short-handed, and I mentioned to him that I could not take off the crop with the present stock of Negroes and cattle; he told me to drive them without mercy, as the loss of a few Negroes and stock was no object in comparison to sending home his crop in time. I afterwards, which was about the ending of crop, left him, because I would not see an hundred lashes given to a Negro, who was not immediately under my direction, and whom I did not think, from the crime, deserving this punishment. He was one of his own domestic Negroes.

Did you know any instances in which the plough was used with advantage?

I have known it used upon many estates with advantage; one of which is Dove Hall estate, in the parish of Saint Thomas in the Vale, which ploughs forty or fifty acres every fall; most estates that plough experience the advantage of it, as it eases the labour of the Negroes as well as pulverizes the soil. Mr. Edwards I have known put in canes after the plough without holing, which is the only instance that I knew of, except an estate for which Mr. Pinnock is attorney, which made great returns. I lived in the neighbourhood of Dove Hall estate, and know what it made. Mr. Pinnock told me, that he made equally from the land that was cultivated in the same manner. The principal obstacle in the way of the plough is, that managers not having time to adopt it, as it often happens that there is not a blacksmith's shop within fifteen miles to repair the plough when out of order, and that they look to immediate labour, so as not to admit of any delay, by which the ordinary plantation work might be kept back; this I know from my own experience, as I have often attempted the use of the plough, but not having Negroes to repair them, or time to persevere in breaking in of the Negroes and stock to the

use of it, I was obliged to leave it off, and I believe this to be the principal cause why it is not more adopted; there are some soils which do not require pulverizing.

Are the punishments upon the plantations generally mild or severe?

That depends upon the disposition of the managers, and the latitude which the owner, or, in his absence, the attorney, gives; some overseers are more cruel than others.

Are not the Doctor's occasional visits a considerable check on the overseers in this respect?

In some instances they are, where the proprietor lives upon the estate, but when the attorney lives perhaps at the distance of twenty, thirty, forty, or an hundred miles, then it is the interest of the overseer and doctor to keep upon good terms, so as not to find fault with each other.

Did there come to your knowledge any instances of excessive punishment, or of wanton cruelties, inflicted on Slaves, which were generally known, without any attempt being made to obtain legal redress for the suffering party?

I am sorry to say, that I never knew any instances where there was recourse had to legal redress. I have known people, indeed, one man in particular, a Mr. Rushie, whom I had occasion to see almost every day commit cruelties which brought the Negroes to their end; I caught him one day in the act of hanging a Negro; I requested of him to give me leave to intercede, as he was doing an action that in a few minutes he would repent of. He was a passionate man, and desired I would immediately go off his estate; upon which I rode off, and mentioned the circumstance to my employer, who was a magistrate. He desired that I would return next morning to this man's estate, and endeavour to be there before he got up, and enquire whether or not the Negro was dead. I got there early, and privately asked a White Man who was in the boiling house, whether the Negro was dead; he desired me to walk into the curing house, where the Negro was dead, lying upon a board. I returned, and mentioned this disagreeable circumstance to my employer, who was very much shocked at it, but I heard nothing more about it. It was well known that this man killed many of his Negroes, and destroyed them so fast, that he was obliged to sell his estate. Instances of this kind I cannot say are frequent; but severe punishment and hard work certainly occasions a constant decrease in the able Negroes.

Were any attempts made to bring this man to legal punishment, or was his character generally known?

None; his character was generally known, and he was much despised by the proprietors who lived in his neighbourhood.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 11^o die Martii 1791.

MR. FITZMAURICE called in; and further examined.

Did you understand that your employer desired you to inquire what was become of the Slave you have lately mentioned, with a view, in case he should have been really hanged, to bring Rushie to punishment, or from a natural curiosity to know the issue of the affair?

I should rather suppose it was from natural curiosity more than any intention of putting the law in force against Rushie, as he was a neighbour of his, and they were upon decent terms with each other. My employer, as well as myself, used often to visit him, and always found his Negroes laid up with the effects of cruelties, and those that were able to work were chained to either the coppers, or in gangs linked in the field. Other cruelties which he practised were so indecent, I would wish to avoid mentioning them. Other acts of cruelties are often practised, according to the disposition or viciousness of the master or overseer.—A person with whom I was well acquainted, while he was overseer upon an estate in the neighbourhood of Montego Bay (he is the person to whom I alluded, as having brought down an estate, by the countenance of the mortgagee in possession, from one hundred and eighty to ten hogsheads) was charged with having gelded a Negro upon the estate, whom he caught riding out his horses at night, and I believe with just cause, as on his retiring from the estate I know he committed the same action on a Negro of his own, upon which the troop of the militia horse which he commanded as captain, and in which I myself served, formed themselves into a body, and objected to do duty with him.

Did the majority of the Field Slaves appear to you to be marked with the whip?

I can't say they have in general—where there have been cruel managers, and great crops exacted, the effects of it are visible on the Negroes.

Are Negroes often driven by severities to run away?

They frequently are; and if their masters or attorneys are within reach, they go to them, but when the attorney lives at the distance of perhaps 70 or 100 miles, a Negro will prefer taking shelter in the woods, rather than to undertake such a journey, as they are generally taken up before they can get to their journey's end, as runaways. Proprietors of sugar estates, who entrust them to attorneys who live at a great distance, are sure to suffer by it.

How are runaways generally punished, when brought back to the estate?

The mode often depends upon the manager—sometimes they are whipt and confined; and at other times, if the manager is humane, he may forgive them; but they are generally punished for it, to strike terror in the others.

Did any instances of mutilation, as a punishment for this crime, ever come to your knowledge?

I never saw it inflicted with my own eyes; but I have known a Negro with a wooden leg upon an estate upon which I lived as book-keeper, who told me that his master had had his leg taken off, and made a blacksmith of him—his master also told me that he made him the most valuable Negro he had, by so doing, as he did all the iron work of the three estates, and before that he was always running away.

Was it generally understood, that the number of lashes to be given to a Slave was limited by law?

It was, to thirty-nine lashes; but it is often evaded by putting the Negro into the stocks after he had received it, and then giving thirty-nine more for the same offence the day after—hasty and vicious people would give them perhaps 100 lashes at a time, and if any disagreeable consequences, such as the death of the Negro, resulted from it, where the proprietor or attorney did not live near enough, so as to be a check upon them, they escaped unpunished.

Did you ever know a case wherein any disagreeable circumstance of the sort to which you alluded actually happened, to the best of your belief?

No; I have not.

Did

Did any instances come to your knowledge of Slaves committing suicide?

I am sorry to say too many—new Negroes particularly, both by hanging themselves, and by dirt-eating, which they know to be fatal.

Though they may know it to be injurious to their health, have you any reason to believe, that they do it with the direct intention to destroy themselves?

I lost, myself, in one year, a dozen of new Negroes by dirt-eating, though I fed them well—when I remonstrated with them, they constantly told me, that they preferred dying to living; and a great proportion of the new Negroes, who go upon sugar plantations, die in this manner.

Do the African Negroes ever express a wish to return to their native country, and think and talk of it with affection?

They are always talking of their being taken away from their own country, and of being kidnapped, and complaining of the hardship of being brought into slavery.

Do persons frequently purchase African Slaves before they have sufficient provision grounds, and other accommodations, for them?

There is nothing more frequent, and the masters find a great difficulty in purchasing provisions, and, consequently, the Negroes feel hunger before they can establish provision grounds for themselves, and it frequently happens, that the soil and seasons are against their raising provisions—those new Negroes who are bought in the towns are better off, as they are generally put to some domestic uses, and fed by so much per week, in either money or provisions.

Is it your opinion that new Negroes are often lost, or at least suffer material inconvenience from being purchased by persons who have not sufficient provision grounds, or other accommodations as before-mentioned?

Certainly they do; as the natural consequences will follow.

Is one person often attorney to several estates?

Yes; according to the interest he has, he may be attorney for from one to twenty estates, or more; I know several who are attorneys for a great number of estates.

Were

Were these estates bordering one on the other, or were they dispersed at different parts of the island?

They were dispersed in various parts of the island, perhaps at the distance of ten, thirty, sixty, or eighty miles, or more, as it happened.

Are the attornies or overseers ever allowed a profit increasing or decreasing with the increasing or decreasing produce of the estate?

That depends upon circumstances.—Some overseers are allowed a premium for what they make over and above a certain number of hogheads; but this is not the common practice in the island; attornies, according as they are appointed by the proprietor, have their salaries or commissions. Upon most estates that are mortgaged, I believe the attornies of such estates draw their commissions upon the net amount of the crops, as well as upon every thing they purchase on the island for the use of the estates they are concerned for; and they accumulate great riches by being factor and attorney for several estates.

Have managers of other people's estates often Slaves of their own?

Some have, and some have not; but in general they wish to purchase Negroes, and do convert their salaries into Negroes.

Is this often attended with injurious consequences to the Negroes of their employer?

That depends upon their being allowed to work them upon the plantation on which they themselves live, as it occasions a jealousy between the manager's Negroes and the plantation Negroes.

Is the loss of African Slaves, in the seasoning, often considerable; and is it chiefly of males or females?

The loss is very considerable, as I think, upon an average at least one-third of the Negroes imported into the island die within the first three years, and from the observation I have made, three men die to one woman; this I know from experience; the Negro men take every thing unpleasant to heart, and often have recourse to different species of suicide; the women have many protections which the men have not, such as being taken as wives by the plantation Negroes, or being taken to make them useful for domestic purposes.

Did you ever purchase African Negroes on your own account, and what was the mortality amongst them?

In the last four years I lived on the island, I bought ninety-five ; at the expiration of the four years I sold fifty-two, which were all that were living, and those fifty-two I did not sell as seasoned Slaves ; if I had attempted to keep them till the usual time of seasoning, I should have had a greater decrease, and on this very account I sold them.

Did you lose more males than females ?

A great many more males.

You have mentioned some shocking cruelties inflicted by Rushie, did you ever, with your own eyes, see him in the act of inflicting them ?

Yes ; I often went in upon him when he was dropping hot lead upon the Negroes, perhaps on their faces or their breech ; but I generally pretended not to have seen it, as he never wished any person to be present when he was committing those cruelties.

Why did you not interfere to prevent the commission of those horrid barbarities ?

I was getting my bread from employers, and did not like to make myself disliked by any person, or to have the name of an officious person.

How, in general, did the Negro Slaves appear to be esteemed and treated by the lower order of White people ?

They too often considered them as an inferior set of beings, and were very frequently beat and bruised by them, unless checked by their superiors, I mean the attorneys or overseers.

Were there many attempts made to give the Slaves any religious or moral instruction ?

I never knew but one, and that was in the mountains of Legenie, where the proprietor encouraged one or two American Negroes, who professed to have a good deal of religion, to bring his Negroes into the same notions of religion ; but this gentleman was considered by the neighbours as introducing a dangerous precedent.

What danger was apprehended from it ?

The danger of assembling too many Negroes together, by which mutinies might arise.

Were

Were there any American refugees in your neighbourhood?

I had one gang of American Negroes, of about eighty, who worked by task work; after labour they went to prayers; they were a valuable set of Negroes; they worked for the plantation I had the care of for about nine months off and on.

Is the land planted in canes in general as well adapted to the production of cotton, coffee, or other articles?

Certainly it is.

Are the domestic Slaves generally the best or the worst on an estate?

That entirely depends upon circumstances; although they may not be the best Slaves, they appear so, as the house makes a visible change in them in a little time.

Have you known many instances of African Slaves obtaining their freedom by purchase, or by any other ways?

If they had lived many years in the capacities of tradesmen or head men, they might probably obtain their freedom from their masters when in an advanced age.

Do you mean that they obtained it by purchase?

Yes.

Were you ever present at a sale of Negroes by scramble?

At least twenty.

In these sales did it appear to you that any particular care was taken to prevent the separation of relations?

No; except young children in the arms of their mothers, or under the age of three or four years.

Are sales by Venditioni frequent?

Very frequent, where levies are made.

Had you any opportunities of observing on the situation and treatment of refuse Negroes?

Yes; they are sold according to their appearance; some as low as three dollars; they are generally bought by the Jews in the towns, either at vendi or at private sale.

Have you known frequent instances of Slaves being in prison
any

any considerable time, who have been levied on by writs of Venditioni on account of their master's debts?

In common the marshal brings them to public sale.

How long have you known them in prison before so brought to sale?

Sometimes three months, and sometimes longer, but this depends upon occasional circumstances.

Have you ever, when an overseer of an estate, delivered in to the parish vestries the annual returns of Slaves, Stock, &c. I always did.

Were you yourself ever a vestryman?
I was.

In this capacity did you ever receive such returns?
Yes.

Do you recollect whether it was usual in those returns to distinguish the respective proportions of the sexes?
No.

Have you often seen Guinea sailors wandering about the island in an abject condition?
Very frequently.

In what parish was you a vestryman?
In the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale, in 1786, where I had a property of land and Negroes.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. GEORGE WOODWARD called in; and examined.

Are you either an owner or mortgagee of any West India property?
I am both.

In what island?
Barbadoes.

Have

Have you ever resided there, and in what year?

I went there in the spring of 1782, and came home the latter end of 1783. I was also there in 1777.

Did it appear to you that there was any great number of superfluous domestics in the island, either in the towns or in the country?

A great number in both as I thought.

Did it appear to you from common observation, that there were a great many more male than female Negroes on the island?

There appeared to me to be more females, but I cannot be positive.

Did you ever, during your residence, hear any complaint of the want of Negroes to carry on either the plantation or any other business?

No; I did not.

Do you recollect the sale of a single cargo of Slaves while you were there?

No; not one.

Do you think that the labour of the Slaves, taking the whole year round, is to be reckoned easy?

No; I do not think it can be.

Do you think it possible to relieve the labour of the Slaves in any great degree by the use of the plough?

Yes; greatly so.

Did you ever use it?

Yes; I have.

Did you find it answer?

The first plough I ever saw used I took over myself, and I had it put in execution, and am sure that it tilled the ground much better than ever the hoe did; one plough with two men and four horses will do as much work and much better, than thirty Negroes, and the labour of holding the plough is much easier than holing.

Did it require much labour of Negroes to prepare the ground for the planting of the cane after the plough?

It did not.

Is there any difficulty of ploughing to the depth of six or eight inches?

To six inches it may without much difficulty; this is the common rule.

Do you conceive that this is a sufficient depth for planting the cane?

Yes; I do.

Do you conceive it at all impracticable to plough a strong clay land?

No; a plough may be made to plough the strongest clay land there is.

Do you conceive that Negroes are incapable of learning the management of the plough?

They are capable of learning it.

Do you think that any large proportion of the island of Barbadoes may be ploughed easily, to the advantage of the proprietor, and with great saving of labour to the Negroes?

Yes; I think the largest part of the cane land and the ginger land may be so ploughed.

Did you find the Negroes averse to the trial of the plough?

I did not; I have seen the Negroes both hold the plough and drive it.

Did you find the cattle injured by the labour?

No; I did not.

Are you acquainted with the use of the plough in England?

I am; I farm land of my own.

Have you yourself sent out, or do you know of any other person having taken out any plough or ploughs since the year 1782?

Yes; Captain Lee took out some, I think about three years ago.

Are you apprehensive that the abolition of the Slave trade will be injurious to your property in the West Indies?

I am not.

From what you saw in Barbadoes, do you think that it is likely that the island in general would be injured by the abolition?

No; I think it would be of advantage to it.

How

How do you think the stock of Slaves could be kept up without importation?

By using them well, and by good management, they would naturally increase.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. JOSEPH WOODWARD, called in; and examined.

Have you ever been in the island of Barbadoes?

Yes; in the years 1788, 1789, and 1790.

Have you ever seen the plough in use there?

Yes; by Mr. Henry Trotman junior.

Do you know, or have you reason to believe he had used it long?

I believe he has made use of it for several years.

Did your father, Mr. George Woodward, send him any ploughs some years ago?

Yes; he did.

Do you know whether the ploughs you saw in use, were the same which were then sent?

No, they were not.

Did Mr. Trotman inform you, that he thought tillage by the plough both better and cheaper than by the labour of the Negroes with the hoe?

Yes; he did.

Of what nature was the soil in which you saw him ploughing?

It was not the best soil that he ploughed, it was rather rocky.

Do you recollect, whether Mr. Trotman gave it as his opinion, that the use of the plough would gradually become general?

Yes; he did—he told me that it answered his purpose then, and that in time it would become general, when people became acquainted with the utility of it.

Did you ever see any poor Negroes lying about Bridge Town, deserted and apparently starving?

I once

I once saw one lying on the wharf so very much debilitated, that he could not stand, and he told me that his owner would not take him in.—I should suppose from his appearance he might be about sixty years.

Did you ever know Free Negroes hire themselves out to stow sugars in a ship's hold?

Yes; I have known them employed on board our own ship.

Do you know any labour performed in the West Indies, either by Blacks or Whites, more severe than that is?

No; I do not.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 12^o die Martii 1791.

MR. JAMES KIERNAN called in; and examined.

Have you ever been in Africa?

I have; I was there in the years 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778.

What was the object of your going thither?

I first went there to learn the nature of the trade, and afterwards to carry it on.

To what part of the coast was your observation confined?

To the river Senegal.

With whom was the trade for Slaves chiefly carried on while you resided there?

Principally with the Moors on the Northern banks of the river.

Did you ever hear in what manner the Moors obtained those Negroes whom they sold as Slaves?

Very frequently by war, and not unfrequently by what I call kidnapping of them; this is in going and laying in wait in the neighbourhood of a Black village, and seizing the first they met with, and that where there was no declared war between them.

Did you ever hear the expressions of the breaking up villages, and what was the purpose of such breakings up?

I have frequently heard of it, and seen the remains of villages that have been broken up; they had been so for the purpose, as I understood, of making Slaves of the inhabitants.

Was it notorious among the White inhabitants of Fort Lewis that it was a common practice with the Moors on the Northern shore to cross the river for the purpose of catching Negroes, whom they afterwards brought down and sold to the Europeans?

I have always, during my residence there, heard it spoken of as a matter of notoriety, and have often seen instances of such a practice, where the parties kidnapped have been afterwards ransomed.

Have you ever known or heard of cases, in which more than the value of the person to be ransomed, was exacted for him by the White Trader in possession of him?

Very frequently.

Did you ever know or hear of a White Trader making any enquiry, into the right which the person offering a Slave to sell had to dispose of him?

Never, before the purchase.

Was it usual for persons to be condemned to slavery for the crime of witchcraft, during your residence in Africa?

I have never known an instance of it.

Do you mean to say, that the belief in witchcraft does not exist, or that you have not known persons sold for Slaves, for the supposed commission of that crime?

I know that the belief of witchcraft exists very strongly on that part of the coast.

Do you recollect whether, in any one of the years you have mentioned, there were a greater number of Slaves than usual offered for sale?

The first year I was on the coast, there was a much greater number offered for sale, on account of a war subsisting between the Moors and the Blacks.

Do you conceive that the Slave Trade creates any interest in the Moors, either to seek pretences for open war, or to make perpetual depredations?

I conceive it creates a very strong interest, inasmuch as the chief part of the European goods which they purchase is obtained in exchange for Negroes.

What were the effects of the inroads of the Moors on the territories of the Negroes?

Always desolation and waste, as the Moors themselves do not follow agriculture, nor encourage it in others—the Moors had, in the course of a few years, extirpated large settlements of the Negroes on the Northern banks of the Senegal, and it was apprehended that they would, in process of time, exterminate all the Black nations between the Senegal and the Gambia.

Do you know whether the Negroes who are sold for Slaves to the Europeans, do or do not consider this sale as a punishment?

I believe no punishment short of death is so great a one to them.

Do you mean to extend this to those Slaves near the sea coast, who are in the habit of seeing Europeans, and who are acquainted with them?

I mean to extend it universally to all Blacks sold as Slaves.

Is there any cotton, indigo, and tobacco, raised in that part of the country, and by whom?

There is a great deal of all those articles raised by the Blacks on the southern banks of the river, so much so as to suffice for their own consumption.

Do you recollect what number of inhabitants there were in the island of St. Louis?

I don't know particularly, but I have always heard it estimated at about five thousand people.

By whom were they supplied with provisions?

With corn, exclusively, by the Blacks; the Moors supplied them with cattle.

Did the Blacks also supply provisions of any kind for the use of the European shipping?

Those ships going to the West Indies with Slaves were supplied by the Blacks with large quantities of corn, which the Slaves preferred to any other kind of provisions.

Do you know whether the Negroes are capable of manufacturing either cotton, leather, or metals?

I know they are; for they supply the inhabitants of Senegal with clothing and articles made of leather, and ornaments made of gold and silver.

Do they not also dye many of the cottons which they manufacture?

I have seen several of their manufactured cottons very finely dyed in blues and scarlets; dyed by the natives.

Do you apprehend their consumption of cotton cloths to be considerable?

I believe it to be very considerable.

Did you ever find the natives backward in supplying those articles of provisions for which they had a considerable demand?

Never, when properly encouraged.

Did you ever know or hear of any encouragement having been offered to the natives by the Europeans to raise for sale any other articles of produce, except provisions?

I have never known any instances of such encouragement.

Have the persons of property in that country any large number of persons who pass under the denomination of Slaves?

Yes; they have.

In what manner have you observed them to be treated by their masters or owners?

As Europeans would treat people of their own family.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 14^o die Martii 1791.

A LETTER was produced by a Member of the Committee, from the Physician of Mr. Irving, Inspector General of the Exports and Imports of Great Britain, who had been ordered to attend

attend the Committee, stating, that it would be dangerous for him to leave his chamber at this present time, and requesting the Committee to dispense with his attendance—then,

HENRY BOTHAM, Esquire, was called in; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

I went out to the West Indies in the year 1770, and in the course of about two years that I staid there, I made a tour of all the West India islands, both the English and French, and was employed by government in the island of Grenada, to ascertain the difference of property there between the old and new subjects, which I did by taking an exact account of the extent and produce of every estate; this was the principal employment that I had during the time I was in the West Indies.

Were you yourself ever engaged in the cultivation and managing of Sugar?

Not for any length of time in the West Indies; I had occasionally the direction of a sugar estate there belonging to Messrs. Bosanquet and Fatio, when their partner was absent from it; but I carried on sugar works for many years at Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra, in the East Indies.

Have you examined the account contained in the Privy Council Report of the mode of cultivating and making sugar in the East Indies?

Yes; I have examined that which I see in the Privy Council Report, and it is the same which was delivered in by me.

Do you wish to make any alteration in that account?

No; it is a statement which I drew up from having long considered the subject; and since I have delivered it to the Privy Council, I see no reason to make any alteration in it.

Then the said account was read, and is as follows; viz.

“ Mr. BOTHAM, on the Mode of cultivating a Sugar Plantation in the East Indies, &c.

“ HAVING been for two years in the English

“ and French West India Islands, and since con-

“ ducted sugar estates in the East Indies, before

“ the abolition of the Slave Trade is agitated in

“ Parliament,

" Parliament, it may be desirable to know that
 " sugar of a superior quality, and inferior price,
 " to that in our islands, is produced in the East
 " Indies; that the culture of the cane, the ma-
 " nufacture of the sugar and arrack, is with these
 " material advantages carried on by free people.
 " China, Bengal, the Coast of Malabar, all produce
 " quantities of sugar and spirits; but as the most
 " considerable growth of the cane is carried on near
 " Batavia, I shall explain the improved manner in
 " which sugar estates are there conducted:—The
 " proprietor of the estate is generally a wealthy
 " Dutchman, who has erected on it substantial
 " mills, boiling-house, and curing-house; he rents
 " this estate to a Chinese, who resides on it as a
 " superintendant, and this renter (supposing the
 " estate to consist of three hundred or more acres)
 " relets it to freemen, in parcels of fifty or sixty, on
 " these conditions:
 " That they shall plant it in canes, and receive
 " so much per pecul of $133\frac{1}{2}$ lb. for every pecul
 " of sugar the canes produce.
 " When crop time comes on, the superintendant
 " collects a sufficient number of persons from the
 " adjacent towns and villages, and takes off his
 " crop as follows:
 " To one set of taskmen; who bring their carts
 " and buffaloes, he agrees to give them such a price
 " per pecul, to cut all his crop of canes, carry them
 " to the mill, and grind them.
 " A second set boil them per pecul.
 " A third clay them and basket them for market
 " per pecul.
 " So that by this method of conducting a sugar
 " estate, the renter knows to a certainty what the
 " produce of it will cost him per pecul: he has
 " not any permanent or unnecessary expence, for
 " when the crop is taken off, the taskmen return
 " to their several pursuits in the towns and villages
 " they come from; and there only remain, for seven
 " months in the year, the cane planters, who are
 " preparing the next year's crop. This, like all com-
 " plex arts, by being divided into several branches,
 " renders the labour cheaper, and the work more

“ perfectly done. Only clayed sugars are made at
 “ Batavia; these are in quality equal to the best
 “ sort from the West Indies, and are sold so low
 “ from the sugar estates as eighteen shillings per
 “ pecul of $133\frac{1}{4}$ lb. This is not the selling price
 “ to the trader at Batavia, as the Government there
 “ is arbitrary, and sugar subject to duties imposed
 “ at will: the Shabander exacts a dollar per pecul
 “ on all sugar exported. The price of common
 “ labour is from nine pence to ten pence per day.
 “ By the method of carrying on the sugar estates,
 “ the taskmen gain considerably more than this,
 “ not only from working extra hours, but from
 “ being considered artists in their several branches.
 “ They do not make spirits on the sugar estates;
 “ the molasses is sent for sale to Batavia, where one
 “ distillery may purchase the produce of an hundred
 “ estates. Here is a vast saving and reduction
 “ of the price of spirits, not, as in the West Indies,
 “ a distillery for each estate; many center in one,
 “ and arrack is sold at Batavia, from 21 to 25 rix
 “ dollars per leguer of 160 gallons; say eight pence
 “ per gallon: the proof of the spirit is about five
 “ tenths.

“ After having spent two years in the West Indies,
 “ I returned to the East in the year 1776, and during
 “ the last war conducted some sugar works at Ben-
 “ coolen, on the island of Sumatra, on nearly the
 “ same principles as the Dutch; I confined my ex-
 “ pences to what they had done, allowing for the un-
 “ avoidable charges on a new and sole undertaking.
 “ The culture of the cane is carried to the utmost
 “ perfection at Batavia; the hoe, almost the sole
 “ implement of the west, is there scarcely used; the
 “ lands are well ploughed by a light plough with a
 “ single buffalo; a drill is then made by the plough,
 “ as for sowing the field pea, and a person with two
 “ baskets filled with cane plants, which are sus-
 “ pended to an elastic stick across his shoulders, drops
 “ into the furrow plants alternately from each bas-
 “ ket, covering them at the same time with earth by
 “ the use of his feet. The canes when young are
 “ kept frequently ploughed as a weeding, and the
 “ use made of the hoe is to clear the weeds round the
 “ plant

“ plant when very young; but of this there is little
 “ occasion, if the land has gone through a sufficient
 “ course of ploughing, and is thoroughly prepared.
 “ When the cane is ready to earth up, the space be-
 “ tween the rows is ploughed deep, the cane tops
 “ tied up, and with an instrument made for the pur-
 “ pose like a broad shovel, with teeth at the bottom,
 “ a spade handle, and two cords fixed to the body of
 “ the shovel, ending by a wooden handle for a pur-
 “ chase, is made use of by two persons to earth up
 “ the cane, the strongest of the two holding the han-
 “ dle of the shovel, pressing it into the ploughed
 “ earth, while the other on the opposite side of the
 “ plant, by a jirk of the cord, draws up to the stem
 “ of the cane plant all the earth that the plough had
 “ loosened: two persons employed with this instru-
 “ ment will earth up more canes in the day than ten
 “ Negroes using their hoes. The canes in India are
 “ much higher earthed than in the West Indies; in
 “ moist soils, they, with little labour, earth them as
 “ high as the knee, answering at once the purpose of
 “ making a dry bed for the cane to grow in, and a
 “ drain for the water to go off in the excavated
 “ channel.

“ The improvement in making the cane into
 “ sugar, at Batavia, keeps pace with that in its cul-
 “ ture: evaporation being in proportion to the sur-
 “ face, their boilers are set with as much of it as
 “ possible; the cane juice, with temper sufficient to
 “ throw up its impurities, is boiled down to the con-
 “ sistence of a syrup; it is then thrown up into vats
 “ calculated to hold one boiling, there sprinkled with
 “ two buckets of water, to subside its foul parts;
 “ after standing six hours, is let off by three pegs of
 “ different heights, into a single copper with one fire;
 “ it is there tempered again, boiled up, and reduced
 “ to sugar by a gentle fire; it granulates, and the
 “ sugar boiler dipping a wand into the copper, strikes
 “ it on the side, then drops the sugar remaining on it
 “ into a cup of water, scrapes it up with his thumb
 “ nail, and by this means is able to judge to the
 “ utmost nicety of the sugar's having its proper de-
 “ gree of boiling.—The vats or receivers I men-
 “ tioned, are placed at the left end of a set of cop-
 “ pers;

pers ; after running off for boiling all that is clear,
 the remainder is passed through a strainer on the
 outside of the boiling-house ; what is fine is put
 into the copper for sugar, the lees reserved for
 distilling.

Claying of sugar is as in the West Indies. The
 cane trash is not, as in our islands, carried into
 sheds, where it loses much of its strength before
 it is used ; but is laid out immediately on an espla-
 nade to dry, then made into faggots with bamboe
 binders, about the size of the furnace mouth, set up
 in cocks of four, and used immediately when dry ;
 by this immediate use, its force of fire is much
 greater, and the labour of carrying to and from the
 trash-house is saved. The sugar estates near Batavia
 never distil, they sell the molasses and skimmings to
 large distilleries, which should be the case in the
 West Indies, as so many separate stills occasion in-
 finity of unnecessary labour.

The culture of the cane in the West Indies is in
 its first and unimproved state ; a variety of altera-
 tions are to be made, expences reduced, and human
 labour very much lessened ; the hoe is now the im-
 plement generally used, and that hoe which is to
 turn up the soil of different texture is of one con-
 struction, bought cheap, and is very light ; so that
 the Negro, without any help from the weight of the
 implement he is using, digs up the earth (and, in-
 deed, the cane roots on replanting) by the severest
 exertion of bodily strength. In the East we plough
 up the cane roots.

Having experienced the difference of labourers
 for profit and labourers from force, I can assert,
 that the savings by the former are very conside-
 rable.

The West India planter, for his own interest,
 should give more labour to beast, and less to man ;
 a larger portion of his estate than is now allotted,
 ought to be in pasture ; when it is practicable,
 canes should be carried to the mill in waggons ;
 cane-tops and grass to the stock in the same man-
 ner ; the custom of making a hard worked Negro
 provide a bundle of grass twice a day abolished ;
 and in short a total change take place of that misfe-
 rable

“ rable management our West India islands are now
 “ under ; by this means following as near as possible
 “ the East India mode of culture, consolidating the
 “ distilleries, I do suppose our possessions in the Su-
 “ gar Islands might be better worked than they now
 “ are, by two-thirds, or indeed one-half, of the pre-
 “ sent force employed; let it be considered, how much
 “ labour is lost by the persons necessary to oversee
 “ the forced labourer, all which is saved when he
 “ works for his own profit. I have stated, with the
 “ strictest veracity, a plain matter of fact,

“ That Sugar estates can be worked cheaper by
 “ Free Persons than by Slaves.

“ Whether the African Slave Trade can be abo-
 “ lished, and the Blacks in the West Indies emanci-
 “ pated, is for the consideration of the legislature ;
 “ as far as my judgment goes, these desirable pur-
 “ poses may be effected without materially injuring
 “ the West India planter ; he has but to improve his
 “ culture, lessen human labour, and the progeny of
 “ the present Blacks in our colonies will answer every
 “ purpose of working the West India estates.”

Was there any difference between the exterior appearance of the Negro Slaves in the British and French West India Islands?

A material one, as far as I observed ;—those in the French West India Islands appeared to be better clothed, better fed, and better behaved, than the Slaves in the British islands ; and their being well fed is principally owing to the custom which the French planter has of putting a great proportion of his estate in provisions.

Did you form any opinion whether it might or might not be ultimately for the interest of the British planter, as well as for the benefit of his Slaves, if he were to allot to the cultivation of provisions more of that land which is now destined to the growth of sugar ?

That question can only be decided by experiment made in the different islands, as the same answer to it would by no means suit for each of them. In those islands that seldom fail in a plentiful supply of rain, there is no doubt that it is for the planter's interest to sacrifice a part of that ground he has allotted for sugar to the growth of provisions, as these feed his Negroes better than any dry or other provisions which are imported ; but in those islands

subject to dry weather, I do not imagine the planter can, without materially lessening the produce of sugar he expects from his estate, give up any portion of ground to the planting of provisions.

Were there any African Slaves at Bencoolen?

In the year 1764, when the East India Company's possessions in Sumatra were returned to them by the French, the India Company were informed by their servants at Bencoolen, that the public works, and other labours of their settlement, could not be carried on without a large supply of Slaves; the company in consequence sent Slave ships to the Coast of Africa, and the island of Madagascar, and transported to Bencoolen nearly a thousand Slaves, in much the same proportion of men, women, and children as are carried from Africa to the West Indies, that is, a greater number of men than women and children. These Slaves, on the first years of their arrival, from the unhealthiness of the climate and other causes, decreased in their number; but when they had been at Bencoolen a few years, where they were well fed, humanely treated, and had very little work, they began annually to increase, notwithstanding, from the little attention that was paid to their way of life, both the men and the women lived in the most disorderly and abandoned way. The wonder was that they did increase, as the young female Slaves were the common prostitutes of the settlement to the soldiers and sailors.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

JOHN SAVAGE, Esquire, called in; and examined.

Did you ever reside in the province of Carolina?

I did; I went there in the year 1729, and left it in 1775.

Were you acquainted with the situation of the Negroes in that province?

Yes.

Do you know whether the labour on the plantations was performed by task, or otherways?

I never was a planter; but I generally understood that it was performed by task in most of the operations.

Have you not been repeatedly on many of the plantations in that country during your residence there?

Yes, as a visitant; seldom for above two days at a time.

Do

Do you apprehend that the Negroes in general increased?

Greatly, where they were well accommodated, well clothed, and well fed; but on the contrary, I am doubtful whether there was an increase where they were badly clothed, fed, and accommodated. I remember to have heard in some particular instances, where the masters were harsh and severe, that they could not raise children, or a very few.

Do you recollect on what description of estates the Negroes were the best treated?

Where the masters were prudent, and kept themselves out of debt, and by that means could afford good clothing, food, and accommodation, their Negroes were generally hearty and strong; and by which means the proprietors got more labour from them, than those could who did not use them so well; and such people were those who made fortunes in the planting way.

Do you recollect any particular instance of increase?

I do, from information; Gabriel Manigault, Esquire, with whom I was perfectly intimate, purchased an estate, I believe about the year 1737, on which estate he told me (perhaps a year or two before I left Carolina) that when he purchased it there were eighty-six Negroes, of which twelve or fourteen were superannuated; that he never made any addition, but about the same number as those who became superannuated; he was a man of humanity, gave them good clothing, sufficient food, and good accommodations; and he told me, a year or two before I left the country, that they had increased to the number of 270; that the estate which he purchased, consisted of perhaps 12 or 13,000 acres of land, exclusive of the 6,000 that was settled; that for these 12 or 13,000 acres, he had taxes and quit rents to pay for several years, till his son came of age, when I think he gave him all those surplus lands; and that notwithstanding this charge on the unimproved land, he told me that he always made interest of his purchase money.

Do you recollect, whether the importation of Negroes was stopt during any period of your residence at Carolina?

There was a duty, which amounted to a prohibition, laid on about the year 1739, which continued till 1744.

Do you recollect the reason for this prohibition?

Yes; the planters were so involved in Debt for Negroes, the legislature thought it prudent to lay that high duty as a prohibition.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 16^o die Martii 1791.

JOHN CLAPHAM, Esquire, called in ; and examined.

Were you ever in America ?

Yes ; for upwards of twenty years.

In what part of America ?

In the province of Maryland.

Did the Negro Slaves in Maryland keep up their numbers by propagation without importation from Africa ?

They did ; there were instances of many being shipped to the West Indies from plantations where there was a superfluity arising from propagation. I have known sales to the amount of upwards of 100, where the proprietors have had too many for their use, and where no imported Negroes have to my knowledge contributed to the increase.

Could the Negro Slaves in general be said to be well treated ?

No ; though better than to the southward.

Were attempts frequent to give them any religious or moral instruction ?

No.

Was the climate of Maryland of a moderate and uniform temperature ?

No ; it was subject to great and sudden variety of heat and cold.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

ROBERT CREW, Esquire, called in ; and examined.

Have you ever resided in America, in what state, and for how long a time ?

I am a native of Virginia, and always resided there till the year 1783.

Were you acquainted with the state of the plantation Slaves ?
I was.

In what manner were they clothed, and fed ?

They had generally a sufficiency of coarse clothing, and as much Indian meal as they could make use of, and on most estates they were every day supplied with flesh, fish, or something else added to their meal or bread.

Were drivers employed to superintend them during their work ?

There were overseers on large estates, who superintended the Slaves, but did not stand over them with a whip, but attended them as the masters would upon a small estate, or as a bailiff would attend the labourers in this country.

Do you know whether the Negroes in Virginia increased in number, exclusive of addition by importation ?

Very rapidly.

Have you ever heard, whether their increase is so great, as that it is deemed profitable to hold Slaves on this account, exclusive of the advantage derived from their labour ?

Yes ; it is a general opinion among persons acquainted with the subject.

Was there any considerable difference in the treatment of the Slaves on different estates, and in what circumstances were they supposed to be most favourably used ?

There was a considerable difference in the treatment of Slaves on different estates ; where the master was expensive and involved, and did not attend to the management of his own estate, the Slaves were generally left to the management of overseers, who had directions to make the greatest possible quantities of tobacco to supply the pressing necessities of the proprietors ; in that case, the Slaves were generally very ill treated, were caused to work excessively hard, and had not a sufficient supply of wholesome food ; but where the proprietor was in good circumstances, and had it in his power to pursue his own interest, the Slaves were not worked so hard, and were better supplied with food and clothing.

Do you know whether this difference of treatment had any effect on their increase ?

A very material effect.

Were the persons who pushed their Slaves in the manner you have described, compelled to procure fresh supplies, in order to keep up their numbers?

I do not think the cultivation of tobacco was so profitable as to give them the means of procuring fresh supplies, nor do I think the Slaves were in any circumstances (with a very few exceptions) so ill treated as to cause a decrease in their numbers, though it may have prevented their increasing so fast as they otherwise would.

Was this severe system of management deemed profitable?
No; the contrary.

Have you ever been in the West Indies?
Yes; I have spent a few months at Barbadoes and St. Croix.

Were there any circumstances in the treatment or condition of the Slaves there which struck you as being very different from what you had been used to see in Virginia?

Yes; in the West Indies there was a driver with a whip stood over them while at work, and they were nearly without clothing; these were the obvious differences—as to particulars I had no opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of.

Were you led to imagine that the use of the whip formed any difference in their treatment, considerably to the disadvantage of the Slaves in the West Indies?

I think it did.

Do you apprehend that the culture of tobacco is nearly as laborious as that of sugar?

I think it is.

Do you believe the climate of Virginia to be more or less favorable to the constitutions of Africans than that of the West India islands?

I do not think the climate of Virginia so favourable, on account of the severe cold of the winter.

Do you recollect from what time the importation of African Slaves into Virginia has been generally discontinued?

From about the year 1772.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

HERCULES

HERCULES ROSS, Esquire, called in; and examined.

Were you ever in the West Indies?

Yes.

When, for how long, and in what island or islands?

From the year 1761 to 1782, chiefly in the island of Jamaica, and occasionally in Hispaniola.

During your residence at Jamaica, had you occasion to become acquainted with different parts of the island, and the opportunity of observing the general treatment and situation of the Negro Slaves?

I had occasion, I believe, to be in every parish of the island, and of course to have observed pretty generally the situation and treatment of the Slaves.

What in general appeared to you to be their treatment and situation?

I observed that the treatment and situation of the Slaves was dependant upon various circumstances; for instance, the Slaves upon estates under the direction of a man of humanity and good sense lived comfortable and happy, particularly where the number of Slaves upon such estates were generally equal to the work to be executed; on the other hand, where it happened to be the lot of the Slaves to be upon estates under the direction or management of persons of a different description, their situation and treatment was of course different.

Did it or did it not appear to you, that the situation and treatment of the Slaves must depend on the disposition of the owners or overseers?

Most certainly.

Was it in general understood, that Negro Slaves, when ill used by their masters or overseers, had a right to legal redress, or did they in fact enjoy legal protection?

I do not recollect or believe that it was the received opinion during my residence at Jamaica, that the Slaves had any such legal redress; and I have generally observed that the Slaves were principally indebted for protection from ill treatment on the part of others to the humanity and spirit of their owners, or those who had the immediate management of them. I mean by spirit, where
the

the owner or such manager would stand forward to protect the Slave from insult or injury.

Did there fall under your notice any instances of particular severity, or of wanton cruelties exercised on Slaves by their owners or overseers?

I have undoubtedly, during my long residence in that country, had the mortification of observing innumerable punishments inflicted upon the Slaves, and very often with severity, and I fear sometimes without just cause, which may be naturally concluded from the variety of characters and dispositions of the owners of Slaves.

Do any particular instances of wanton cruelty, as distinguished from ordinary punishments, occur to your recollection?

It is possible I may recollect some, though, never having it in contemplation of being examined on such a subject, I cannot say I have particularly recorded them in my mind. One instance of punishment out of the common line, of a very extraordinary nature, does now occur to my recollection, though it is a great number of years ago, at Savannah la Mar. I recollect my attention being attracted by the shrieks of some poor wretch suffering torture within a yard or inclosure, and on looking through, I observed a young female suspended by the wrists to the branch of a tree, and her body exceedingly agitated, swinging backwards and forwards. I was rather confounded at the sight, as I observed no whipping, and her master standing near, seemingly without any action or motion; looking with a little more attention, I perceived with astonishment that he held steadily in his hand a stick of fire, which occasionally came in contact with the body of the female about her private parts, that is to say, he held the stick in such manner, that after the woman had shrunk from it, by being suspended by the wrists with her toes just touching the ground, she again returned to her former position, when she again met the fire, and so repeatedly swung to and fro. He remained with an unmoved countenance applying this torture, until I called out to him to desist from his horrid cruelty, and influenced by repentment, I threw over the fence some stones at random, which I believe had the effect of stopping the punishment. I think it proper here to observe, that upon mentioning this matter upon the Bay, it was heard with universal detestation; and likewise that the perpetrator was by no means a man of character or reputation.

In this or in any other instances was the offending party brought to legal punishment?

No; I do not know that the laws at that time extended to the punishing of a White person for inflicting such a punishment.

What was the ordinary mode in which the Slaves were punished in the town of Kingston?

That of their being flogged with a cow skin.

Describe the mode and circumstances of inflicting this punishment?

The mode was generally by tying the party up; and when the punishments were inflicted upon the wharfs, the wrists of the person to be punished were tied to the hook of the crane, and his or her feet secured to heavy weights; the crane was then wound up so as to extend the body considerably, and the punishment was inflicted by flogging with the cow skin, and after the cow skin with ebony bushes; the latter application was generally meant to take off the bruised blood; as to the place of punishment, there was likewise the gaol; and in fact every person's own premises was a place of punishment, if the proprietor chose to make use of it; but the wharfs and the gaol were generally used for punishments by those who did not chuse to disturb their neighbours with the cries of the parties.

Were the punishments of which you have been speaking inflicted by order of a magistrate, or at the discretion of the owner?

The punishments to which I allude were usually inflicted without any order of a magistrate; it was understood that every proprietor had a right to order such punishments upon his Slaves. When upon the wharfs, they were inflicted generally by one of the wharf Negroes, called the Boatswain.

On the whole, did it appear to you that the Slaves were better or worse treated during the latter period of your residence than during the former?

I was sensible of a very great alteration for the better in the treatment of Slaves during my residence at Jamaica, and it appeared to me to go on progressively; that during that time the face of the country became more cleared of wood, and improved, and consequently more healthy; the stile of living and manners of the White people gradually improved, and extended a favourable influence to the situation of the Slaves.

Does or does not the facility with which persons can become possessed of Slaves often lead to their buying Slaves, when they have neither provision grounds, or other accommodations, for them?

There may be instances of imprudent people purchasing Slaves under those circumstances, but I cannot more particularly answer the question.

Did it appear to you that the Negro was as capable of labour in the climate of the West Indies, as the inhabitants of other countries in climates congenial to their constitutions?

Yes.

Did any particular facts fall under your notice in illustration of this opinion?

I always considered Negroes best adapted for labour in those climates, and I have seen them capable of very considerable exertions, particularly in Negro men employed on board ships, who had the opportunity of being subsisted by animal food in the same manner as the White people; and that they are better adapted to these climates than White people, there are many striking proofs. For instance, during the last war, upon the expedition to Saint Juan's, on the Spanish Main, a number of Negroes were collected by order of government, and sent thither to take off from the soldiery a part of the drudgery or labour; these Negroes were in general culprits, and many collected from the gaols, whom the owners were glad to get rid of, the proprietors not chusing to part with their good Slaves. These people, when embarked, by confinement and low diet, were many of them meagre and emaciated; the White people, upon that expedition, experienced great sickness and mortality; the Negroes returned, almost to a man, in good health, and much improved in their looks. It may be remarked here, that the Negroes had been subsisted by rations of King's provisions, the same as the soldiery. Something similar was the case with a much greater body of Negroes likewise collected in Jamaica, and employed at the siege of the Havannah.

Is not the Slave liable to suffer from the effects of his master's embarrassments?

In some instances it may be the case. In cases of storms or hurricanes, by which the provision grounds may have been injured, it is likely that a man in embarrassed circumstances may not have had it in his power to make such ample provision for his

his Negroes as other proprietors in less embarrassed circumstances.

Exclusive of the difference in the Slave's situation and treatment resulting from the different tempers of their owners, is it not a peculiar hardship attendant on their situation, that they are liable to be levied on and sold for payment of the debts of their proprietors in the same manner as horses or any other stock, or goods and chattels are sold in this country?

Slaves in Jamaica are considered as assets for payment of debts, and are subject to be levied upon for that purpose, which no doubt in many instances is attended with circumstances distressing to the Slaves; and there is a peculiar hardship implied in the nature of the case, that any class of human beings should be sold for debts which they did not incur; but I believe such hardship has ever been attendant on Slavery, except where they are attached to the soil.

Were these levies frequent?

Yes.

How were the Slaves so levied on generally disposed of after their having been seized?

In respect to the country parishes of Jamaica, I cannot say what was the particular practice; but in the towns of Kingston and Spanish Town, the Negroes when seized or levied on by the marshals, were confined in gaols, by way of securing them until the appointed day for their sale, when they were exposed at public vendue, and sold to the highest bidder.

Did not these sales, and the mode of them frequently occasion a division or separation of families, that is to say, of men from their wives, parents from their children, &c. and were they not often purchased by foreigners, and carried away from the island?

I believe that these sales did frequently and unavoidably occasion such division, or separation of families; and of course, as they were sold to the highest bidder, there was nothing to prevent foreigners from being the purchasers; and which was, undoubtedly, often the case—and when they did become purchasers, they were of course carried off the island—the separation of families might happen by the marshal having only been able to make a partial levy, and getting hold only of part of a family, or, as is frequently the case, that the husband and wife and her children may belong to two proprietors, and against one only of those writs may have been issued.

Are

Are Creole Slaves, as well as Africans, liable to be so levied on and sold?

Yes.

Have you often attended the sales of Guinea cargoes?

Yes.

Describe the general mode of conducting them?

The general mode is, that the factor or agent, who have the sale of the cargo, give notice by public advertisement, fixing upon a day of sale, upon which day purchasers repair on board the ship, and at a given hour the sale is declared to be opened; upon which the different people intending to be purchasers exert themselves to get as early as possible in among the Slaves, for the purpose of obtaining a good choice, and if Slaves are in demand, it often happens on such occasions that the whole of the healthy and likely Slaves are sold in that day.

What becomes of the inferior part of the cargo?

They remain longer on hand, until purchasers offer—there were in the town of Kingston a number of people who speculated in the purchase of the Slaves left after the first day's sale, either for the purpose of carrying them to the country, and retailing them, or for being shipped off the island to foreign parts.

Were they not often in such a wretched state as to be sold for a mere trifle?

I have frequently seen the very refuse (as they are termed) of the Slaves of Guinea ships landed and carried to the vendue masters in a very wretched state, sometimes in the agonies of death, and there sold at very small prices, even as low as a dollar; and I have known instances of their expiring in the piazza of the vendue master.

Were scenes of this sort frequent?

The circumstance of the Slaves expiring in the piazza of the vendue master was not frequent; but as to Slaves being landed in a very weak and wretched condition to be sold at vendue, it occurred often, and is what every person employed about the streets betwixt the wharfs and vendue stores, had almost daily opportunities of observing.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

Jovis,

Jovis, 17^o die Martii 1791.

MR. ROSS called in; and further examined.

Is it or is it not your opinion, that exclusive of the effects produced in Africa, the Slave Trade has been a cause of great destruction to the human race?

It is my opinion that the trade to Africa for Slaves has been productive of great destruction and great misery to the human race, both to Blacks and Whites.

Do any particular instances in confirmation of this opinion occur to your recollection?

My mind furnishes me with the recollection of a great number of instances; one however, marked with peculiar circumstances of horror, occurs:—About twenty years ago, a ship from Africa, with about 400 Slaves on board, struck upon some shoals called the Morant Keys, distance eleven leagues S. S. E. off the East end of Jamaica. The officers and seamen of the ship landed in their boats, carrying with them arms and provisions. The Slaves were left on board in their irons and shackles. This happened in the night time. The Morant Keys consist of three small sandy islands, and I understood that the ship had struck upon the shoals, at about half a league to windward of them. When morning came, it was discovered, that the Negroes had got out of their irons, and were busy making rafts upon which they placed the women and children, whilst the men, and others capable of swimming, attended upon the rafts, whilst they drifted before the wind towards the island where the seamen had landed. From an apprehension that the Negroes would consume the water and provisions which the seamen had landed, they came to a resolution of destroying the Negroes by means of their fire-arms and other weapons. As the poor wretches approached the shore, they actually destroyed between three and four hundred of them:—out of the whole cargo only thirty-three or thirty-four were saved and brought to Kingston, where I saw them sold at public vendue. This ship, to the best of my recollection, was consigned to a Mr. Hugh Wallace, of the parish of St. Elizabeth.

Are you well acquainted with the situation of the Morant Keys,
[3 U] and

and with the means of communication between them and the island of Jamaica ?

I am perfectly well acquainted with the situation of the Morant Keys, having been frequently there, and once upon a party of pleasure for several days. The passage from these shoals to Jamaica is usually performed in five or six hours, and the high land of Jamaica is seen distinctly from them. I have understood that it is very common, when ships happen to get into the situation of this Guinea ship, for the seamen immediately to fly to the spirits room, and I am inclined to think that the crew of the ship alluded to must have been in a state of intoxication when they adopted the above mentioned horrid resolution of destroying the Slaves, without having first made an attempt of dispatching their boat to Jamaica for assistance, or a vessel to take them and their Slaves off the Keys.

Did any marks of this intoxication appear in their failing to take the necessary measures for their own security ?

I have already mentioned it as a matter of conjecture their having been in a state of intoxication, and principally from a persuasion that if they had acted with common discretion, there was no necessity for destroying any of the Slaves. In respect of this matter I am perfectly clear, that such was the substance of the reports and accounts relative to it in Kingston, and the same was notoriously known, and no doubts entertained of the facts.

Had you any opportunities of knowing whether or not it was frequent for Guinea Ships to leave their seamen in Jamaica in an abject and destitute condition ?

I recollect that it was so much the practice as to have been a very great nuisance and expence to the community at Kingston, and it was not uncommon for the masters of Guinea ships, a few hours previous to their sailing, to send on shore their lame, ulcerated, and sick seamen, and leave them behind, where they must have perished but for the humanity of the community of Kingston ; and this had been carried to such a length, that the legislature of that country found it necessary to pass a law, obliging the masters of all ships to give security against leaving any of their disabled seamen behind, or at least to provide for the expences or charges which might be incurred in taking care of them.

Does it appear to you that the Guinea trade is a nursery for seamen ?

I have ever considered it the very reverse.

Does it appear to you, that any fair comparison can be drawn between the state of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies, and that of the peasantry of this country?

Upon this question I am persuaded there may be many opinions, but for my own part I consider it an insult to common sense to compare, that is to say, to state the situation of the Slaves in the West Indies to be equally favourable with that of the peasantry of Great Britain; and having so decidedly given my opinion upon this point, I think it necessary to illustrate it by a few observations; the situation of the Slaves may be comprehended in many respects, and better understood by asking what the consequences would be were there a market in this country, to which every person might promiscuously go and purchase male and female human beings, whom the laws gave him an absolute right to hold in Slavery; where it happened to be the lot of these to fall into the hands of humane proprietors, their situation might be comfortable, but the reverse would be the case of falling into other hands, and in every large community there must be a diversity of characters, which cannot fail to variegate and chequer the situation of the Slaves, and such in fact may be considered the state of the Slaves in the West Indies: In regard to the peasantry of this country, no doubt they are obliged to labour for the support of themselves and families, but is it possible to conceive that there is a person with a mind so degenerated, as would not rather eat his crust in poverty, accompanied by freedom and independance, than be the richest slave on earth; besides, there is one other material difference to be mentioned, the peasant, however poor and distressed, cannot be thrown into a gaol and sold for the debts of his master, nor punished without a legal discussion. The peasant beholds his little family with pleasure, and by his industry is often enabled to give his children education, and to meliorate their condition, so that they often become a comfort to his old age; and he likewise has often the happiness of seeing them rise in life into superior stations; on the other hand, the Slave who has reflection, or contemplates, looks at his progeny with very different feelings; he knows them doomed in a manner to eternal slavery, and he is left in a state of darkness as to what kind of characters or masters they may hereafter belong.

Must not your long residence in Jamaica have afforded you the opportunities of being more thoroughly and intimately acquainted with the situation and treatment of the Negro Slaves, than persons who have resided there in high commands?

My residence in Jamaica for upwards of twenty years of the best part of my life, I apprehend must have furnished me with as
thorough

thorough a knowledge of the situation of the Slaves in that country as it is possible to acquire. As to the information which may have been obtained by gentlemen holding high commands in that country, I cannot speak decidedly, but if it is meant to know whether such characters, upon occasional visits to estates, were likely to obtain a thorough knowledge of the treatment or situation of Slaves, I think they could not. I have often had the honour of accompanying both governors and admirals upon tours in the island of Jamaica, in the course of which the estates generally visited were belonging to gentlemen of distinction, where we were entertained with every mark of respect, and whose estates in general might be considered in high order and good management, and it is not likely that even upon going into the fields or works where the Negroes were employed, but that attention would be paid by the White people and drivers, not to harrow up the feelings of strangers of distinction by the exercise of the whip, or the inflicting of punishments at that particular time; and even if there were any disgusting objects, it is natural to suppose that they would be removed upon such occasions.

From the result of your long experience, have you formed any general opinion concerning the probable effects of the abolition of the Slave Trade?

I have often considered the subject, but I confess I am at a loss what to say will be the effects of it; I am however of opinion, in the first place, that the abolition of the Slave Trade would tend to prevent the making of new settlements in the islands, and consequently prevent an increase of produce, by which means the present estates would become more valuable; my reason for this observation is, that there has been for years past a progressive increase in the consumption of sugar, and which I apprehend still goes on; therefore, if by the abolition of the Slave Trade there should not be an increase of sugar to keep pace with the progressive increase of the demand for it, the price of that article, now become almost a necessary of life, would undoubtedly rise. I am likewise of opinion, that it would render the Slaves in the islands of more value, and it would become more the interest of the proprietors to promote by wise and lenient measures their health, and an increase of population among them.—Upon the whole, as the result of my observations and most serious consideration, I have no hesitation in saying, that the trade for Slaves ought to be abolished, as being in my opinion not only contrary to sound policy, but directly against what I consider the laws of God and Nature, and were it possible by this enquiry to convey an adequate knowledge

ledge of the extensive misery occasioned by the Slave Trade; I am persuaded that every kingdom of Europe would unite in calling upon their respective legislatures to abolish the inhuman traffic; this is not the opinion of this day alone, but it has been of many years standing.

Can you take upon yourself to say, that this opinion is not rather the result of the present discussion of this subject than the conclusions of your own mind formed on the spot?

The present discussion has had no influence upon my mind, nor directed my judgement in any respect in forming the sentiments I have now expressed; so far from it, that I recollect having publicly delivered the same sentiments about seventeen years ago in the town of Kingston, when the following question was debated in a society formed of the most distinguished characters of that place, "Whether the trade to Africa for Slaves was consistent with sound policy, the laws of nature, and morality?" I believe this question was given in to the society to be debated at the desire of the late Mr. Thomas Hibbert, who had for forty or fifty years before been the most eminent Guinea factor in Kingston, and a most respectable character;—the discussion of the question occupied several meetings, and was lastly determined by a majority, that the trade to Africa for Slaves was neither consistent with sound policy, the laws of nature, nor morality.

Do you carry in your memory the principal ground on which the advocates for the continuance of the Slave Trade rested their opinion?

I recollect that the principal topic was, that the Almighty had formed certain classes of the human race inferior in point of intellect to others, and that Negroes appeared to have been intended for Slaves, or something to that effect.

Were you ever in any of the foreign West India islands, or on the continent of North America?

I have been in both.

Did you form any comparison concerning the condition of Slaves in those parts, with what it was in the island of Jamaica?

In the French part of the island of Hispaniola, I considered the condition of Slaves to be very similar to that in Jamaica—upon the continent of America I had but little opportunity of making observations respecting the Slaves there, but, upon the whole,

they appeared to me to be decenter in their manners, more domesticated, and seemed to possess some notions of religion.

And then the Witness was directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

That this examination of Mr. Davison, Drewry Ottley, Esquire, the Reverend Mr. Stuart, Captain Scott, the Reverend Mr. Davies, Mr. Cook, Captain Cook, Mr. Fitzmaurice, Mr. Clappeson, William Beverley, Esquire, Mr. George Woodward, Mr. Joseph Woodward, Mr. Kiernan, Henry Botham, Esquire, John Savage, Esquire, John Clapham, Esquire, Robert Crew, Esquire, and Hercules Ross, Esquire, be reported to the House.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported MARCH 25th, 1791.

Witnesses Examined,

Mr. DAVISON,
DREWRY OTTLEY, Esq;
Rev. Mr. STUART,
Captain SCOTT,
Rev. Mr. DAVIES,
Mr. COOK,
Captain COOK,
Mr. FITZMAURICE,
Mr. CLAPPESON,
WILLIAM BEVERLEY,
Esquire,

Mr. GEORGE WOOD-
WARD,
Mr. JOSEPH WOOD-
WARD,
Mr. KIERNAN,
HENRY BOTHAM, Esq;
JOHN SAVAGE, Esquire,
JOHN CLAPHAM, Esq;
ROBERT CREW, Esquire,
HERCULES ROSS, Esq;

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Jovis, 7^o die Aprilis 1791.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to
take the Examination of Witnesses on the
Slave Trade.

Martis, 5^o die Aprilis 1791.

IN consequence of the power given to your Committee by the House to adjourn from place to place, they adjourned this day to the house of Thomas Irving, Esq; Inspector General of the exports and imports of Great Britain.

Mr. IRVING examined.

Does not your official situation afford you a general view of the commerce of the British empire, and of the relation of its several branches to each other, and particularly to Great Britain?

The office of Inspector General of Imports and Exports, committed to my management, exhibits a state of the importations into, and exportations from Great Britain, and the British Colonies and Islands in America and the West Indies, and of all the revenues arising from our commerce; accounts are transmitted to the office, from the several ports of Great Britain, and the Colonies, of every article imported into, or exported from, such ports, distinguishing our trade with each respective country, together (in as far as relates to our Colonies) with the number of vessels, their tonnage, and number of men employed in the trade. I am also annually furnished (extra officially for a special purpose) by
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the

the Register General of Shipping, with a similar account of the number of vessels, their tonnage, and number of men, both British and Foreign, which enter and clear in the ports of Great Britain. In a word, the Inspector General's office, as it at present stands, exhibits a complete view of the commerce, navigation, and commercial revenues of the British empire, Ireland excepted. I am the more particular in explaining the nature of the office, in order that it may appear from what sources I draw any information which I may have occasion to offer to the Committee, in the course of the subsequent examination.

Did you ever execute any other office, which afforded you the means of acquiring a knowledge of the trade of the British Colonies in America and the West Indies?

In the year 1767 I was appointed Inspector General of the imports and exports of North America, and Register of Shipping, which offices I continued to execute until the year 1774, when I was appointed Receiver General of South Carolina, and a Member of the Council.

The office of Inspector General and Register of Shipping in North America furnished me with the means of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the trade and navigation carried on between the continental Colonies and the British West India Islands, and the books and papers of that office are still in my possession.

Have the British West India Islands, in their present state, the means of furnishing the supply of sugar and rum that is requisite for the consumption of Great Britain and her immediate dependencies?

The British West India Islands produce annually a greater quantity of sugar and rum than is requisite for the consumption of Great Britain, her immediate dependencies, and the kingdom of Ireland. In testimony of this fact I beg leave to lay before the Committee the paper which I now hold in my hand, containing an account of the quantity of British plantation sugar imported into, and exported from Great Britain, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775, and in the years 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790. I have selected those years as exhibiting the fairest state of the produce of the sugar colonies; for in the year 1776, our trade began to meet with many interruptions from the war which was then become general on the Continent of America; and I am of opinion, that the Islands did not recover the shock which they had sustained by capture, and other consequences of war, sooner than about the year 1787.

Do

An ACCOUNT of the Total Quantity of Sugar imported from the British West India Islands into Great Britain, in the undermentioned Years:

A L S O,

An Account, for the same Periods, of the Quantity of Raw and Refined Sugars exported from Great Britain; distinguishing the Quantity exported to Ireland, and other Parts of the Empire, from the Quantity exported to Foreign Parts.

			Quantity of British Plantation Sugar imported.	Raw Sugar exported to Ireland, and other Parts of the Empire.	Refined Sugar exported to Ireland, and other Parts of the Empire.	Raw Sugar exported to Foreign Parts.	Refined Sugar exported to Foreign Parts.
1772	—	—	1,786,045 — 1	172,269 2 5	27,623 3 23	1,391 2 26	3,677 — —
1773	—	—	1,762,387 3 15	184,252 2 17	23,771 3 17	2,397 1 2	5,772 — 9
1774	—	—	2,015,911 1 15	211,304 1 25	28,139 3 25	11,950 — 2	5,949 — 17
1775	—	—	2,002,224 3 8	255,686 2 16	23,034 3 26	89,325 3 12	46,755 3 22
1787	—	—	1,926,121 — 3	196,636 3 20	24,261 2 —	2,779 1 16	52,473 3 19
1788	—	—	2,065,700 — 12	138,681 3 19	17,150 3 9	6,575 — 20	58,250 2 6
1789	—	—	1,935,223 2 21	149,351 2 —	20,506 1 17	4,461 3 15	118,033 1 22
1790	—	—	1,882,005 — 17	127,104 1 3	13,968 1 17	15,011 2 15	105,892 2 1

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Do you think that the extension of the West India plantations beyond the degree that is requisite for supplying Great Britain, and her immediate dependencies, with the principal articles of West India produce, would materially promote the interest of the British Empire?

This question is of a very extensive nature, and is involved in a variety of objects and considerations, commercial and political, which I am afraid I am incompetent to offer an opinion upon, more especially in the present debilitated state of my health, having only lately recovered from a dangerous illness.

The Committee informed Mr. Irving, that they did not wish that he should, in answering this, or any other question, make exertions to the prejudice of his health, and that he would therefore confine himself to such facts and opinions as shall readily occur to him.

The Witnesses then proceeded as follows :

The extension of the culture of the British West India Islands, beyond that degree that is requisite for supplying Great Britain and her immediate dependencies with the principal articles of West India produce, does not appear to me likely to promote the interest of the British Empire, and, in support of this opinion, I beg leave to offer the following reasons :

The West India Islands have been settled upon a system very different from the British Continental Colonies (now a part of the States of America), I allude to the Colonies which are cultivated chiefly by Slaves ; namely, the tobacco, and rice, and indigo colonies. The settlement of these colonies was undertaken upon small capitals, and the increase of their wealth arose almost wholly out of the growing profits of the industry of the proprietors ; whereas our islands in the West Indies have, agreeable to the system hitherto pursued, been settled and extended by means of large capitals drawn from the mother country. The ceded Islands were almost entirely settled with the British capitals ; and in the island of Jamaica large sums of money have from time to time been borrowed from this country upon mortgage, in order to extend the cultivation of that island. Thus a capital to a great amount, which might have been employed in carrying on and extending the manufactures, the commerce, and agriculture of Great Britain, has been transferred from hence to the most vulnerable part of the empire, and there invested in pursuits which do
not

not appear to me to have been productive of a profit to the proprietor, or of advantages to the public, in any degree adequate to the precarious situation in which such property stands, from the contingencies of climate, the fate of war, &c. for although the planter resident on the spot will most likely abide by his property whatever change of government he may be subjected to, yet the loss of an island by capture is a complete loss of so much capital to the empire. Notwithstanding our general superiority at sea, the precarious tenure on which we hold our colonial possessions was sufficiently evinced in the course of last war. Thirteen great provinces separated themselves for ever from the empire, whereby property to the amount of many millions was lost to the inhabitants of Great Britain, and her adherents. The provinces of East and West Florida, and the island of Tobago, were ceded to Spain and France; and the islands of St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, St. Vincents, Dominica, and Grenada, were all captured, but restored at the peace.

But besides the reasons already offered—the impolicy of extending the cultivation of the West India islands beyond the degree stated in the question, is in my humble opinion strongly marked by some further considerations.

Notwithstanding whatever may be the difference between the British and Foreign sugars at present, or for these two or three years past, since the disturbances in France began to convulse her colonies, yet if we take a comparative view of the difference between the price of British and Foreign sugars, even in a period the most favourable to the British islands, namely, before last war, when they received a complete supply of lumber and provisions from the continent of America, it will be found that the French sugars were sold by the planters from 20 to 30 per cent. cheaper than the British sugars could be purchased in our islands. This fact I state from the information which I received time after time from the merchants and others concerned in the trade between America and the West Indies, when I executed the office of Inspector General of the Imports and Exports of North America; and I was the more minute in my enquiries, as the acquiring information of the prices of the several commodities imported into and exported from America formed a part of my duty, in order to enable me to establish a table of the rates of value for the office. But as a further testimony of the Foreign sugars being materially cheaper than the British, I take the liberty of presenting an account of the quantity of British and Foreign sugars, distinguishing each, imported into our colonies in North

AN ACCOUNT of the Quantity of British and Foreign Plantation Sugars, imported into North America, in the following Years; distinguishing each Year, and the British from the Foreign Sugars.

Y E A R S.			British Plantation Sugar.			Foreign Plantation Sugar.		
			Cwts.	Qrs.	lbs.	Cwts.	Qrs.	lbs.
1769	—	—	49,672	—	—	45,437	—	—
1770	—	—	66,417	2	3	35,035	1	1
1771	—	—	47,870	—	—	21,466	—	—
1772	—	—	47,611	—	—	51,333	—	—

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JOURNAL OF
THE
SOCIETY OF
THE
FRIENDS OF
THE
AFRICAN
INDIAN

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African Indian,
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The Society of the Friends of the
African Indian, is a
non-sectarian, non-
partisan, and non-
political, association,
whose object is to
promote the
education, moral
improvement, and
general welfare of
the African race,
in America.
It was organized
in 1838, and has
since that time,
been engaged in
the noble work
of promoting the
education and
moral improvement
of the African race,
in America.
It has established
schools, and
has been successful
in securing the
education of many
of the children of
the African race,
in America.
It has also been
successful in
securing the
moral improvement
of many of the
children of the
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America, in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772. The Committee will perceive by this account, that the difference between the quantity of British, and of Foreign sugars imported, was not very considerable, notwithstanding that the Foreign sugars were clandestinely obtained in the French islands by our traders, which enhanced the price in proportion to the risque, and were also subject to a duty of 5 s. per cwt. on importation into America, nor were our traders by any means under the necessity of taking these foreign sugars in exchange for merchandize; for they were chiefly purchased with cash which they received for their lumber and provisions sold in our islands. I am the more particular in stating the difference of the prices between the British and Foreign sugars, because I conceive it is a maxim thoroughly established in national commerce, that it is unwise to push forward by means of monopolies, restrictive regulations, or bounties, any branch of commerce or manufactures, which cannot be carried on after a fair trial within 15 per Cent. of the prices of other rival countries, and I am of opinion that this observation will strictly apply even to those branches of commerce from which the nation is supposed to derive the greatest political advantages from the smallest capital employed, namely, our fisheries.

The money expended upon West India estates is in general far from yielding a profitable return, and in this opinion I am supported by the testimony of some of the best informed gentlemen connected with the West Indies, particularly the agent for Jamaica, who states, in his examination before the Privy Council, that the planters throughout that island do not make more than four per cent. upon their capital; and the agent of Barbadoes gave it as his opinion, "That after payment of expences and plantation losses, even a good crop does not leave the owner more, or so much as 6 per cent. the interest of the island, on his capital." Besides the return to the proprietor, the public certainly derives a considerable profit from the freight of the sugars, and the commission paid to the merchants of this kingdom. This latter circumstance I perceive is upon all occasions strongly urged by gentlemen connected with the West Indies; but the same national profit and political advantages appear to me to apply less or more to every other branch of our foreign commerce, and in many instances to our internal manufactures. Indeed, the testimony of the West India gentlemen, which states, that the capital invested in the West India estates is far from yielding a profitable return, is strongly confirmed by the account which I now beg leave to lay before the Committee.

By this account it appears that the principal article cultivated in the West Indies has, in point of quantity, been in a great measure stationary for these twenty years, and yet there is no part of the empire in which property stands in a more favoured footing. Prohibitory laws were early made tending to force the consumption of West India produce upon the inhabitants of Great Britain, and the other subjects of the empire, whereby the proprietors of the islands obtained (and still retain) a complete monopoly of our markets at a very considerable expence to the British consumer, as appears by the difference of the prices between the British and the Foreign islands.

In our colonies in America, in order to encourage our islands, the use of Foreign rum is absolutely prohibited. Foreign Coffee is subject to a duty of two pounds nineteen shillings per cwt. whilst British is only chargeable with a duty of seven shillings; and Foreign sugars, as I have already mentioned, pay a duty on importation into the continent of five shillings per cwt. and into this kingdom one pound seven shillings and two-pence, which is fourteen shillings and ten-pence per cwt. more than the British sugars. The whole duties imposed upon British sugars are drawn back upon exportation, and refined sugars are entitled to a bounty, when exported, of twenty-six shillings per cwt. which exceeds the duty collected upon the raw material three or four shillings. In order to give the planters a more extensive market for the sale of their produce, sugars were, by the 12th of Geo. II. taken out of the list of enumerated commodities, and the exportation of them permitted to all parts south of Cape Finisterre, in Europe.

The evidence upon the part of the West India planters before the Committee of Privy Council state, many natural advantages which the foreign islands possess, as reasons why our islands will never be able to enter into a competition in point of price with the foreign plantations.

For those, and the reasons which I have had the honour upon this occasion of submitting to the Committee, I am of opinion, that however just and proper it may be to encourage our own islands to the extent of supplying ourselves, and thereby doing that justice to the proprietors of estates there which they consider themselves entitled to; yet the extension of the cultivation of those islands beyond that degree that is requisite for supplying Great Britain and her immediate dependencies, with the principal articles of their produce, is by no means likely to promote the interests of the empire; because from the great disparity of price between the British and Foreign sugars, the former cannot be
made

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of Sugars, being British Plantation Produce, imported into Great Britain in the following Years; distinguishing each Year, and each Island from whence imported.

		1772.	1773.	1774.	1775.	1787.	1788.	1789.	1790.
		Cwts. qrs. lbs.	Cwts. qrs. lbs.	Cwts. qrs. lbs.	Cwts. qrs. lbs.	Cwts. qrs. lbs.	Cwts. qrs. lbs.	Cwts. qrs. lbs.	Cwts. qrs. lbs.
Antigua	— —	115,364 1 23	83,965 1 20	235,815 1 23	255,861 1 26	254,575 1 18	181,813 2 —	144,204 — 11	65,022 1 26
Anguilla	— —	— —	— —	— —	1,298 — —	2,129 2 16	3,728 1 2	3 2 12	2,150 2 13
Barbadoes	— —	141,341 1 3	110,911 2 4	139,564 1 3	70,181 1 25	130,242 — 16	110,955 — 19	97,389 2 27	113,038 3 21
Dominica	— —	10,370 2 8	26,705 1 5	53,464 2 12	40,683 1 21	58,665 1 21	47,610 1 24	34,709 3 5	50,936 — 23
Grenada	— —	198,362 2 5	202,679 — —	185,542 — 10	199,824 1 23	172,880 — 9	193,783 — 25	164,338 3 9	191,625 1 6
Jamaica	— —	874,560 1 20	1,057,958 — 23	947,073 1 1	995,387 2 18	824,706 2 15	1,124,017 — 4	1,236,603 1 27	1,185,519 2 7
St. Kitt's	— —	220,716 2 14	110,657 3 3	212,267 — 15	206,049 3 17	231,397 2 12	187,379 1 25	89,755 1 23	113,379 1 16
Nevis	— —	63,125 1 26	30,369 1 20	68,408 — 9	50,488 — 10	72,475 1 11	30,950 1 4	28,151 3 —	35,467 3 1
Montserrat	— —	58,008 2 —	33,776 — 21	47,590 3 9	39,327 2 9	35,849 3 10	25,113 — 13	25,089 2 16	19,186 3 24
St. Vincent	— —	55,909 1 18	61,084 — 18	65,177 — 17	54,071 2 16	64,449 1 27	76,735 2 24	81,283 — 18	76,747 2 1
Tortola	— —	34,660 — 3	30,126 3 24	33,962 3 4	38,665 2 7	78,749 1 6	84,513 3 22	33,704 — 23	29,830 1 14
Tobago	— —	13,625 2 21	14,153 3 17	27,045 2 24	50,385 2 4	— —	— —	— —	— —
Total	—	1,786,045 — 1	1,762,387 3 15	2,015,911 1 15	2,002,224 3 8	1,926,121 — 3	2,065,700 — 12	1,935,223 2 21	1,882,005 — 17

Average of the Annual Produce of the first Period.

Cwts. qrs. lbs.
1,891,642 1 —

Average of the Annual Produce of the last Period.

Cwts. qrs. lbs.
1,952,262 — —

Increase in the last Period

Cwts. qrs. lbs.
60,620 — — equal to
about 4,040 Hogheads.

made an object of export by any other means than by that destructive system of policy which has been too much adopted in some other branches of our commerce, namely, the granting of bounties out of the Exchequer, in order to enable the British exporter to stand the competition of prices in the foreign market. It is a dangerous principle to force commerce and manufactures like fruit raised on a hot bed. In such cases, the capital and the industry of the individual are too often drawn from objects of profit to pursuits which can only be carried on by the aid of the national purse.

Do you think, that by a proper attention to the breeding of Slaves in the British West India Islands, such a number of Slaves may be obtained and kept up, without the aid of importation from Africa, as will be sufficient to raise the West India produce that is requisite for the supply of Great Britain and her immediate dependencies?

I have long been of opinion, that by proper attention to the breeding of Slaves, the stock might be kept up in the British West India Islands, without the aid of importation from Africa. I beg leave, however, to be understood, that this measure is not likely, in my judgment, to be effected by putting an immediate stop to the importations, but by adopting such a system of policy as will gradually do away the necessity for importation.

Prior to the late war, the provisions for feeding the Slaves were chiefly imported from North America, the attention of the planters being almost wholly directed to what is called the crop, namely, sugars, &c. and as these provisions were bought at a considerable expence, the planters did not consider it their interest to encourage the breeding of Slaves at the expence of feeding them ten or twelve years before they were capable, by the produce of their labour in the cane walks, to support themselves. Hence grown Slaves, whose labour can be brought into immediate effect, were, and still continue to be, imported from the coast of Africa; and of these a greater proportion of males than females.

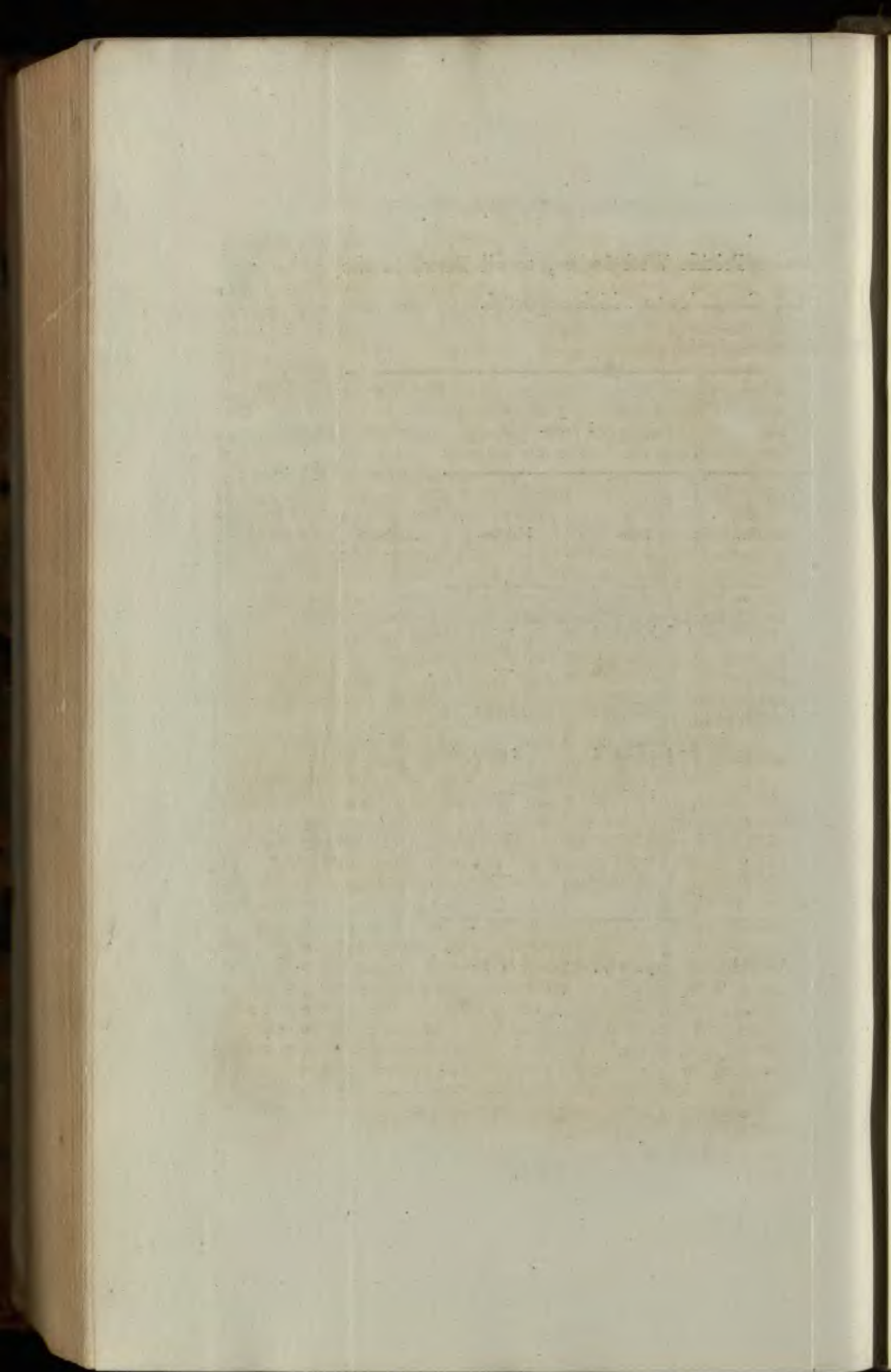
If a different system of policy were adopted with respect to the cultivation of the plantations in the West Indies, and which system I have many reasons for thinking would be attended with advantage to the planters themselves; I am persuaded a sufficient number of Slaves might be bred at least to keep up the present stock; I allude to the cultivating of a proportion of land sufficient to supply the Negroes with provisions, in which the little Slaves, from seven years old and upwards, might be useful. In that part of
America

America where I was resident, and which was cultivated as much by Negroes as the West Indies, the breeding of Slaves was considered so advantageous, that the planter generally valued a child on the day of its birth at five pounds. The prevailing opinion, to the best of my recollection, in South Carolina, at that time was, that the increased population of Slaves by birth was from two to ten per cent. and yet the climate of Carolina, particularly of the rice plantations, is, I believe, more hostile to the human constitution than any part of the West Indies.

In order gradually to check the importation of Negroes from the coast of Africa, I would submit that a slight duty, in the first instance, should be laid upon all Slaves imported; the duty imposed on males to be considerably higher than upon females; or perhaps that the latter should for a time be imported free; and that the rate of this duty should be progressively encreased as the means should be provided of supplying the deficiency which this check would give to the importation; and in order to encourage the raising of plantation born Slaves, and cultivating provisions for their support, which latter circumstance I consider to be materially connected with the breeding of the Negroes, I would propose that the produce of the duties collected upon Slaves imported from the coast of Africa should be applied as bounties for promoting the above purposes. The raising of provisions in some of the islands, would no doubt be less advantageous than others; but I am of opinion that the cultivation of a sufficient quantity for the use of the Slaves would be profitable and politic. Anterior to the late war, the Negroes in the West Indies depended in a great degree for their supply of food on the continent of America. When the disturbances broke out, this source of supply was at once cut off, and the importations from Europe, through captures at sea and other causes, were rendered very precarious. The planters, thus impelled by necessity, were obliged to deviate from their former system, and to turn their attention more towards raising provision upon their own estates. The good effects of this plan has been so forcibly felt, that the importation of Indian corn, which may emphatically be stiled the bread of life, with respect to the food of the Slaves, is reduced from about 600,000 bushels, the quantity annually imported before the war, to somewhat under 300,000 bushels, the medium importation of the last three years; and pease, &c. in a similar proportion. In a political sense, I conceive that no country capable of producing corn to feed itself, ought to be dependant upon any other for any article which it cannot do without, even for a day.

AN ACCOUNT of the Quantity of Rum and Melaffes exported from the British West Indies, to all Parts; in the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789; distinguishing each Year, and the Countries to which exported.

	1787.		1788.		1789.	
	Rum. Gallons.	Melaffes. Gallons.	Rum.	Melaffes.	Rum.	Melaffes.
Great Britain - - - -	2,251,346	—	3,646,667	—	3,396,653	—
Ireland - - - -	344,150	—	688,030	—	754,700	—
British Colonies - - -	885,186	26,380	632,200	24,889	663,470	20,192
States of America - -	1,660,155	4,200	1,541,093	3,923	1,485,461	1,000
Foreign West Indies - -	345,750	—	222,512	—	143,443	—
Southern Parts of Europe	9,560	—	—	—	—	—
Africa - - - -	—	—	19,810	—	43,450	—
	5,496,147	30,580	6,770,332	28,812	6,492,177	21,192



If the British West India Islands should in future raise a quantity of provisions sufficient to feed the Slaves, in what manner do you think the Planters would be enabled to dispose of that part of the rum and molasses, which is at present supposed to be applied to the purchasing of provisions?

Before I reply to this question, I beg leave to lay before the Committee an account of the quantity of rum and molasses exported from the British West India Islands, to all parts, for the three years preceding the 5th of January, 1790, which is the latest period to which the account can be made up.

The quantity of provisions suitable for feeding of the Slaves raised in the British Colonies in North America is very inconsiderable, and the barrelled mackrel and other fish exported from those Colonies to the West Indies, would almost in any event be in demand, more especially as it is now sufficiently proved that the produce of the British Herring Fishery is far from being equal to the demand of our Islands. The Continental Colonies would, therefore, be very little affected by any change of system in raising provisions for the Negroes in the West Indies; and so far from its being probable that the demand for rum in these Colonies is likely to be lessened in future, I am of opinion that the consumption will increase in proportion to the growing population of the country.

By the account which I have just now laid before the Committee, it appears that upon a medium of three years, about 1,500,000 gallons of Rum have been taken off by the Subjects of the United States; which Rum, including the freight, as it can be only imported in British bottoms, may be valued at about 3s. 3d. sterling per gallon in America; the total value at that rate would be £.243,750. This sum is by no means more than equal to the purchasing of lumber, flour and other articles which have little or no connection with the food of the Slaves. In a long examination which I underwent before the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, in the year 1784, relative to the opening an intercourse between the States of America and the British West Indies, I had occasion to look very minutely into the nature and value of the articles which the West Indies receive from the States, and into those which the States take in return from the Islands, and it then appeared to me (and nothing has since occurred to alter my opinion) that the West India Planters will always find a sufficient demand for their Rum.

The quantity of melasses exported from our Islands is too inconsiderable to merit notice.

If a sufficiency of Slaves for the culture of the British West India Settlements should be raised within those Settlements, do you think that the diminution of the British Exports to Africa, which may be the consequence of such a change, would be materially prejudicial to the manufacturing interests of Great Britain?

I feel more diffidence in answering this question than any of the preceding, as nothing is more difficult to foresee than the consequences that may arise from any alteration of system in a trade long established. Casting, however, a retrospective eye to the effect which the changes in other branches of our commerce have undergone in the course of public events, and comparing the probable consequences which may take place in the case in question, by those which experience has afforded an opportunity of determining upon, I shall submit such ideas as occur to my weak judgment, as to the tendency that a probable diminution of the British Exports to the Coast of Africa, in consequence of the change proposed, is likely to have on the manufacturing interests of this kingdom.

The medium value of the British Manufactures exported to Africa, chiefly for the purpose of purchasing Slaves, amounts to about £.400,000 a year, agreeable to the rates of value in the Inspector General's books; but I mention with regret, that from the loose manner in which the entries of Free Goods are made in the Custom House, the Inspector General's value of such goods is not absolutely to be relied upon, and therefore the value of the exports to Africa may have been less or more; however, the Committee will please to observe, that in the £.400,000, I include the value of the goods exchanged for Gold Dust, Ivory, Cam and Redwood, Gums, Drugs, &c. imported from Africa, either directly into Great Britain or through the circuitous passage of the West Indies.

An immediate stop being put to our exports to Africa, would doubtless be felt in a very considerable degree by those artificers, who are at present employed in manufacturing goods for that branch of our export trade, because they would find the channels through which their industry passed to a market shut up before they had time to turn their attention, labour and capital to other pursuits. It was not less with a view to this object, than to the consequences which the Planters in the West Indies might experience by their being at once deprived of their usual supply of Slaves, that I took the liberty of suggesting the crude ideas offered in my answer to the preceding question.

In cases of war breaking out, and being of long continuance

with countries with which we had been in habits of carrying on commercial intercourse, temporary inconveniencies are doubtless experienced, but not to the extent which theoretical reasoning would induce us to imagine. The enterprize of our merchants soon discovers fresh means of vending the produce of the labour of our manufacturers. The superior capital, ingenuity, industry, and integrity of the British artificer, will ever command a market for the produce of his industry. The late revolution in America affords striking proofs of the justice of this observation. With the independence of these States, it was very generally apprehended that Great Britain would also lose the benefit of their commerce; but experience has proved the fallacy of that opinion. The exports of our native manufactures to that part of the world, instead of being lessened since the separation of the two countries, are increased; and as a proof of the delusion of the idea, that the employment of the capital of this country has for some time past been at its *ne plus ultra*, I beg leave to inform the Committee, that the value of British manufactures exported from this country of late exceeds that of the most flourishing period before the late war, when the laws of trade confined those Colonies, which now constitute the American States, in their supply of merchandize to Great Britain, the sum of upwards of £. 2,500,000 annually; and that our shipping has also increased between two and three hundred thousand tons, over that which the empire possessed when the American States formed a part of its dominions. Nor has this great increase of trade and navigation arisen from any special or temporary cause, for it will appear by the books of my office, that the value of our exports has been gradually increasing every year since the late war.

For the facts and reasons which I have thus set forth, I am under no apprehensions that a gradual check to the importation of Slaves would materially affect the manufacturing interests of this country.

Do you not know the price of sugars has doubled in Great Britain within the last eighteen years?

I believe the price of sugars in Great Britain is very considerably increased within the last eighteen years; but to what amount I am not prepared to give an answer. A considerable addition has been made within that period to the rate of duties upon sugars, which will consequently increase the price; and I am inclined to think that the prices at present, and for two or three years past, have been materially affected, as I have already observed, by the disturbances in the French Islands.

Do you not think, if a more ample supply of sugar were sent from the West Indies to Great Britain, that the price in the home market would decrease?

I have already informed the Committee, that the British West India Islands, in their present situation, raise a quantity of sugar more than adequate to the consumption of the whole British empire. If the quantity of sugars in the British West India Islands were considerably increased, such increase might probably have some effect in lowering the prices to the British consumer; but the natural consequence must be a diminution in the price to the West India planter, which would tend greatly to discourage him in the extension of his plantation.

Do you not believe, that the consumption of sugar, and consequently the revenue arising from that article, would increase very considerably if the prices were lower?

I conceive I have already answered this question.

RESOLVED,

That this examination of Thomas Irving, Esq. be reported to the House.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST
BY JOHN BURNET
OF THE SOCIETY OF THE APOSTOLICAL APOSTLES
IN THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH
IN THE YEAR 1643
LONDON
Printed by J. Streater, at the Sign of the Gun, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1680.

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MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

S L A V E T R A D E,

Reported APRIL 7th, 1791.

Witness Examined,

THOMAS IRVING, Esq.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Lunæ, 18^o die Aprilis 1791.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to take the Examination of such Witnesses as shall be ordered by the House to attend the Committee of the whole House, to whom it is referred to consider of the African Slave Trade, and who were impowered to report the Minutes of such Examination from Time to Time to the House; and who were also impowered to examine the Muster Rolls of all the Vessels which sailed from the Ports of *Bristol* and *Liverpool*, from the Year 1780 to the Year 1789, and to report their Observations thereupon to the House;

HAVE, pursuant to the Order of the House, examined the said Muster Rolls, and have made Abstracts thereof; which Abstracts are as followeth; viz.

ABSTRACT of such of the MUSTER ROLLS of BRISTOL SLAVE SHIPS, as were returned into the Custom House there, from September 1784 to 5 January 1790.

P E R I O D S.	Number of Vessels.	Original Crew.	Taken up in Africa or West Indies.	Died of original Crew.	Died of taken up afterwards.	Run of original Crew.	Brought Home of original Crew.	Average Length of Voyage.	Total Loss by Deaths.	Run and discharged in West Indies.	Taken up in their Stead.
From September 1784 to September 1785	8	315	22	76	1	48	166	10 15	77	64	20
Ditto 1785 — Ditto 1786	10	344	45	67	—	51	145	14 11	67	91	47
Ditto 1786 — Ditto 1787	11	378	32	84	1	42	221	10 21	85		
Ditto 1787 — Ditto 1788	6	216	25	35	—	10	118	10 13	35		
Ditto 1788 — Ditto 1789	12	428	12	77	—	47	270	13 28	77		
Ditto 1789 5th January 1790	5	164	36	43	1	9	54	14 12	44		

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ABSTRACT

* Of the Dead, Six were drowned, One was killed, One fell from the Mast Head, and One was washed Overboard.
 § These Two Columns could not be completed for want of Time.
 The Muster Rolls of Three of the Vessels within the above Period not being complete, no Notice is taken of them in this Abstract.

ABSTRACT of such of the MUSTER ROLLS of LIVERPOOL WEST-INDIAMEN, as were returned to the Custom-House there, from December 1786 to December 1789.

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P E R I O D S.	Number of Vessels.	Original Crew.	Taken up afterwards in W. Indies.	Died of original Crew.	Died of taken up afterwards.	Run of original Crew.	Brought home of original Crew.	Average Length of Voyages.	Total Loss by Deaths.
From December 1786 to December 1787	81	1,360	122	28	—	53	1,200	7 8	28
Ditto 1787 — Ditto 1788	90	1,533	151	23	2	89	1,326	6 19	25
Ditto 1788 — Ditto 1789	82	1,354	166	23	1	83	1,173	7 17	24

* Of these, 15 were drowned, 4 killed, 1 died of a Hurt, and 1 fell overboard.

ABSTRACT of such of the MUSTER ROLLS of BRISTOL WEST-INDIAMEN, as were returned to the Custom-House there, from September 1786 to September 1789.

P E R I O D S.	Number of Vessels.	Original Crew.	Taken up afterwards in W. Indies.	Died of original Crew.	Died of taken up afterwards.	Run of original Crew.	Brought home of original Crew.	Average Length of Voyages.	Total Loss by Deaths.
From September 1786 to September 1787	58	962	142	18	1	49	808	8 3	19
Ditto 1787 — Ditto 1788	60	949	190	12	1	59	777	7 10	13
Ditto 1788 — Ditto 1789	91	1,482	189	14	1	114	1,248	7 16	15

* Of these, 12 were drowned, and 2 killed.

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G E N E R A L A B S T R A C T .

TOTAL LOSS of LIVERPOOL and BRISTOL SLAVE SHIPS and WEST-INDIAMEN appearing from the preceding Abstracts.

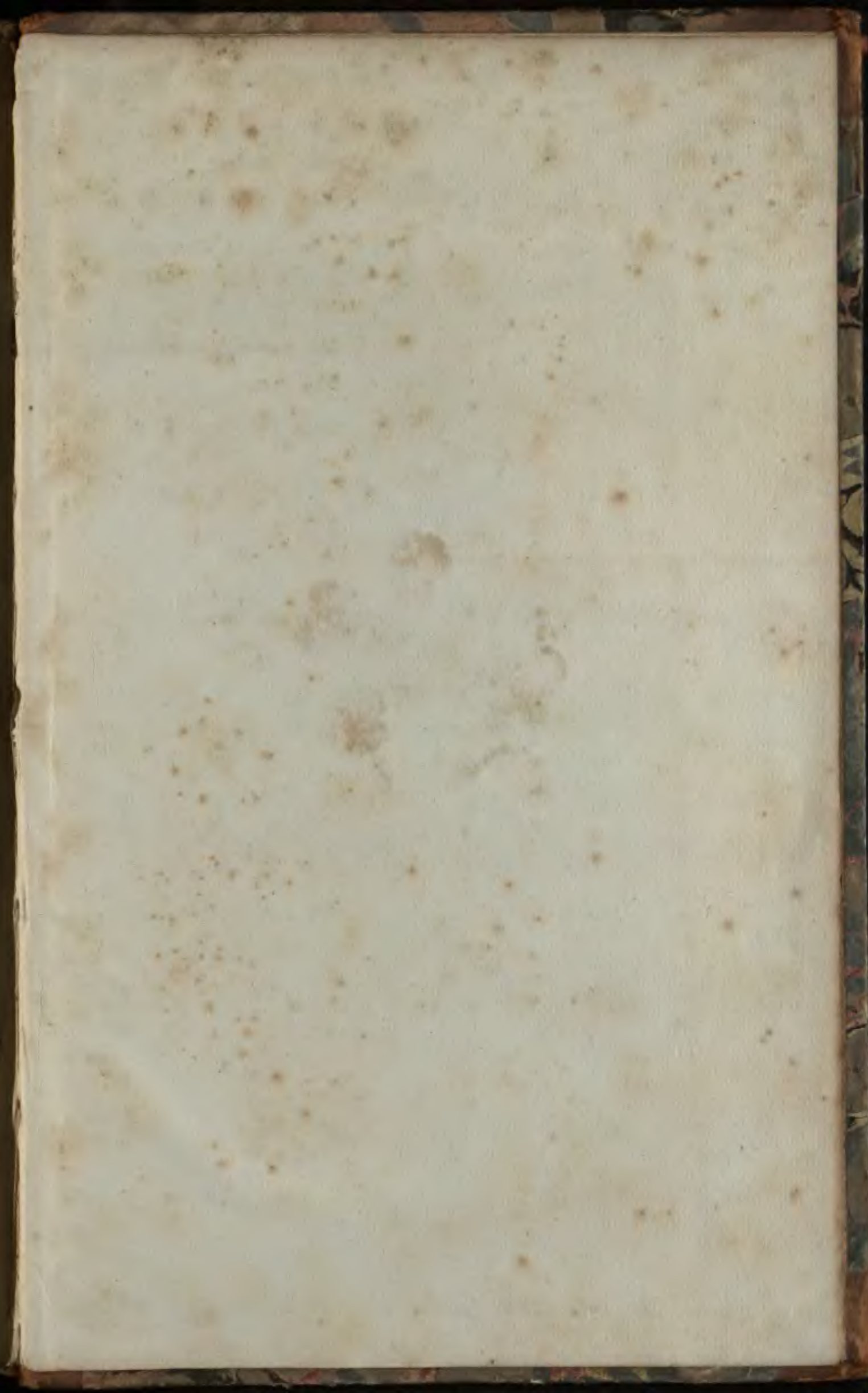
	Number of Vessels.	Number of original Crews.	Lost of original Crews.	Average Length of Voyages.
Slave Vessels - - - - -	350	12,263	2,643	M. D. 12 12
West India Men - - - - -	462	7,640	118	7 12

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD
 SUBJECT: [illegible]

Date	Time	Place	Remarks	Initials	Signature
1918	10:00	St. Paul	Arrived	[illegible]	[illegible]
1918	11:00	St. Paul	Departed	[illegible]	[illegible]
1918	12:00	St. Paul	Arrived	[illegible]	[illegible]
1918	13:00	St. Paul	Departed	[illegible]	[illegible]
1918	14:00	St. Paul	Arrived	[illegible]	[illegible]
1918	15:00	St. Paul	Departed	[illegible]	[illegible]
1918	16:00	St. Paul	Arrived	[illegible]	[illegible]
1918	17:00	St. Paul	Departed	[illegible]	[illegible]
1918	18:00	St. Paul	Arrived	[illegible]	[illegible]
1918	19:00	St. Paul	Departed	[illegible]	[illegible]
1918	20:00	St. Paul	Arrived	[illegible]	[illegible]
1918	21:00	St. Paul	Departed	[illegible]	[illegible]
1918	22:00	St. Paul	Arrived	[illegible]	[illegible]
1918	23:00	St. Paul	Departed	[illegible]	[illegible]
1918	24:00	St. Paul	Arrived	[illegible]	[illegible]

MINUTES
RESPECTING THE
MUSTER ROLLS
REFERRED TO THE
SELECT COMMITTEE,
APPOINTED FOR THE
EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES
ON THE
SLAVE TRADE,

Reported APRIL 18th, 1791.



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